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The American Policy

THE NOTE recently delivered by the American Secretary of State to the Italian Ambassador, contains little which is of interest or direct application to the Russian people. The most important significance of this document lies not in the mere reiteration of the hostile attitude of the American Government towards the Soviet Republic, an attitude already repeatedly expressed in word and deed, but rather in the expression of the purpose of the United States to break with its recent associates in European and Asiatic affairs. The note places the United States, on one ground or another, in direct opposition to England, Italy, and Japan. This is a matter which will be of interest to the peoples and governments of the latter countries, but which does not concern the Russian Government, except insofar as it serves to confirm our repeated contention that there can be no unity of policy or action among the Allies in matters involving their economic rivalries, and that the gross misunderstanding and mishandling of the Russian situation by all the associated nations of the Entente have been the chief cause of the present political and economic chaos of Europe.

However, although Soviet Russia is not directly affected by an academic restatement of the already well-known views of the American Government, we nevertheless share in the profound disappointment which will be felt by the workers everywhere that the official representatives of the American nation have so irrevocably placed themselves in opposition to the aspirations of the toilers of the world, who seek only peace and freedom from oppression. This disappointment will be the more sharp inasmuch as this declaration of the Government of the United States has come at the very

moment when the governments of Europe, yielding to the demands of the workers, have shown a tendency, to revise their previous misjudgments of Russia, and to adopt a policy of adjustment. The Government of Italy has already taken steps to resume active relations with Soviet Russia. Great Britain has expressed its desire to reach an understanding with the Soviet Government. The British Government has invited the Soviet Republic to send representatives to a general conference of nations which should have as its main object the restoration of peace in Europe, by repairing the damage done at the conference of Versailles, where it was attempted to arrange the affairs of Europe without consulting the Russian people.

Against all these steps towards pacification and the restoration of normal economic intercourse in Europe, the Government of the United States has maintained an attitude of irreconcilable opposition. If the policy of the American Government, reaffirmed in this recent note, should prevail as the policy of the Allies, there would be no hope of peace in Europe. Fortunately, however, much as we regret the position in which the American people have thus been placed before the world, we are confident that the hopes and purposes of the European workers, striving for peace and successfully prevailing upon their governments to adopt courses of moderation, will not be frustrated by any official declaration from any source. The European masses will make peace, in spite of the insatiable imperialistic ambitions of their own rulers, and in spite of any interference from the American Government. This utterance of the American Government may give temporary encouragement to the most reactionary elements in

Europe; it may even prolong the bloodshed and destruction a little longer, but it will not swerve the European workers from their determination to achieve peace and freedom. Much less, of course, will it move the people and Government of Russia from their determination to defend the Revolution against all assaults. The naive hope, expressed in some quarters, that this note may affect the purposes and actions of the Russian people, can only arise from ignorance of the facts and is too ridiculous for serious consideration.

Those portions of the note which refer to the internal affairs of the Russian Republic do not merit extended comment. The domestic affairs of the Russian people are no concern of the Government of the United States, and we do not desire to enter into any controversy with American officials upon matters concerning which they are so lamentably ill-informed. Moreover, for us to point out the manifest inaccuracies contained in this note, or to defend the Soviet Government against such grossly unwarranted misrepresentations, would be to appear to accept a principle in international dealings which we must specifically repudiate; namely, the principle put forward in this note that the recognition of a foreign state is determined by considerations of the social structure or political principles of that state. No government has ever based its foreign relations upon this principle, and if the American Government now assumes to do so, we repeat that this is a principle which the Soviet Government emphatically repudiates. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has repeatedly offered to establish friendly economic and political relations with foreign governments with whose principles and internal structure the Soviet Government has no sympathy. In resuming relations with capitalist states, which the Soviet Government has already done in several instances, and is ready to do in general, we should never for one moment wish to be understood as approving or countenancing the social structure or the political ideals of those states. We do not ask them to approve our institutions, nor can they expect us to approve theirs. The principle advanced in the American note, if generally acted upon, would be destructive of all international relations. We know, of course, that this principle does not actually determine the attitude of the American Government and that the real motive for its hostility to the Soviet Republic lies elsewhere. We particularly regret the position assumed by the American Government in this respect because of the unfortunate effect which it will have upon the sentiments of the Russian people. Having only recently escaped from the tyranny of the Russian Czar, and suffering at this very moment from wanton invasion and spoliation by the troops of the Japanese Mikado, and remembering that the American Government held no aversion to intimate and friendly relations with the autocratic governments of the Czar and the Mikado, the people of Russia will not comprehend by what standards the American Government

judges the beneficence and virtue of those governments to which it extends recognition. As for the alarm of the American Government that the diplomatic service of the Soviet Government might become a "channel of intrigue," against which the American people could not defend their cherished institutions, we cannot repress a smile of amazement at such an expression from anyone who is in the least familiar with the traditional and general practices of the diplomatic agents of capitalistic and imperialistic nations. The Soviet Government had its experience with foreign diplomatic services employed as "channels of intrigue" and was able to take adequate steps in its own protection. We should imagine that the American Government, familiar with such matters, might assume that it had the ability to protect itself from any dangers arising from this source.

As for the solicitude of the American Government for the "integrity" of the Russian Empire, we can only explain this by the continued and favored presence in Washington of certain reactionary Russian elements who still hope for the restoration of the old Czaristic regime with all its unbridled tyranny over the peoples formerly held in subjection along the borders of Russia. We are amazed that the influence of these discarded representatives of Russian Imperialism should have moved the American Government to abandon the principle of "self-determination of peoples." However this change may have been brought about, and whatever the American Government may seek to gain by supporting the restoration of Russian Imperialism, we must emphatically deny the claim of the American Government to determine the present or future status of any of the component parts of the former Russian Empire. This is a matter for decision between the peoples inhabiting those regions and Soviet Russia, and it is not for the Government of the United States to decide which of the aspirations of these people are "legitimate". The Government of Russia has freely recognized the independence of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, and other border states, and so long as the peoples of these states desire to maintain their independence, their sovereignty will be respected by the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government, moreover, will defend by every available means the right of these peoples to self-determination against the pretensions of any foreign power. The peoples of these states, freed at last from the long tyranny of Russian Imperialism, will view with amazement and alarm this declaration of an intention on the part of the American Government to restore them to their former bondage.

The hope which the Soviet Government has maintained, against all appearances to the contrary, for the early resumption of friendly intercourse and profitable economic relations between the peoples of Russia and America is now definitely destroyed by this official declaration. The Rus-

sian Government cannot urge and will not permit the resumption of commercial relations between Russia and America so long as the attitude and policy of the American Government remains that expressed in this document. It has become plain that the present administrators of the foreign

policy of the United States are irrevocably hostile to the Russian Government. This fact, however, does not shake our confidence that there is no conflict, but only sympathy and identity of interest, between the broad masses of the American people and their fellow toilers in Russia.

New Problems for Russia

By N. LENIN

(An address delivered at the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, held at Moscow about the end of March.)

WE MUST give our best thought to the question as to what should be the basis of our agitation and propaganda, to the analysis and interpretation of the reasons for our victories, why our sacrifices in the civil war paid a hundred-fold, and how to profit from this experience and organize our work so as to insure a victorious outcome in a different war, in the war on the bloodless front, in the war which is different only in form but is waged against us with more fury and determination by all the old representatives, the servants and leaders of the old capitalist world.

Our revolution has, more than any other revolution, confirmed the law that the resistance of the bourgeoisie is intensified in proportion to the force of the revolution, the force of the attack, the energy, determination, and triumph of victory. The more we, proletarians, are victorious, the more we destroy the capitalist exploitation,—the more the capitalist exploiters learn to unite and pass to a more determined attack.

All of you well remember—it is but a short while ago if you think of it in terms of time, but so far back when compared with the present events—how Bolshevism was looked upon as a joke at the beginning of the October revolution. And though in Russia this view had to be discarded very soon, it was held for quite a long time in Western Europe. During the last year we have lived to see this view, which was a sign of the isolation and weakness of the proletarian revolution, discarded also in Western Europe. Bolshevism has become a world phenomenon. The workers' revolution has raised its head. The Soviet system, in the creation of which, since the end of October, we followed in the footsteps of 1905, developing our own experience,—this Soviet system has become a phenomenon of universal historical significance. And now the whole world, without any exaggeration, has divided into two camps consciously facing each other. It should be noted that during this year they have lined up against each other for a final and decisive struggle, and just at present, while we are meeting in congress, we are living through what is perhaps one of the greatest, sharpest, as yet unfinished transition moments from war to peace.

You all know how the leaders of the imperialistic Entente powers, who shouted to the whole world

that they “will never give up the war against the usurpers, bandits, the enemies of democracy—the Bolsheviki,” were forced to lift the blockade, how they failed in their attempt to ally the small nations, because we not only won over to our side the workers of all countries, but also succeeded in winning the bourgeoisie of the small countries, for the imperialists oppress not only the workers of their countries but also the bourgeoisie of the small nations. You know how we won over the wavering middle class within the advanced countries. And now the time has come when the Entente is breaking her solemn promises, is violating the agreements into which she entered with the various Russian counter-revolutionary groups, and the latter are left in despair with these worthless agreements. The Entente has thrown away hundreds of millions on these agreements and had to give up this policy. Now, after lifting the blockade, they have actually started peace negotiations with Soviet Russia, and these negotiations have not been completed, because the small powers have lost faith in them and in their power.

We see that the position of the Entente cannot be defined from the standpoint of the ordinary conceptions of jurisprudence. They are neither at war nor at peace with the Bolsheviki. We are recognized and not recognized by them.

This absolute disintegration of our adversaries who were sure of their power, shows that they are but a handful of capitalist beasts at odds among themselves and absolutely powerless to fight us. And now the situation is such that Latvia has made an official peace proposal to us, Finland has sent a communication which officially speaks of the line of demarcation but which really marks a transition to a peace policy, and, finally, Poland—the Poland whose representatives have displayed and are still displaying a particularly belligerent attitude, the Poland which more than any other country has been getting, and is still getting, trains with war supplies, and has been promised every kind of aid if she would only continue to fight Russia,—even this Poland, whose tottering government would consent to any war adventure, has sent us an invitation to open peace negotiations.

We must be extremely cautious. Our policy demands most of all carefulness. It is very hard to determine the proper course, for there are no

lines pointing the way. The foe himself does not know what will be his next step. The gentlemen directing the French policy, who more than anybody else are inciting the leaders of the Polish landed proprietors and bourgeoisie, do not know what will come next, do not know what they want. today they are pleading with the Germans: "Gentlemen, give us a few trains with cannon, several hundred millions, and we will be ready to fight the Bolsheviki." They are suppressing the news of strikes spreading in Poland, they are clamping down the censorship lid to conceal the truth. And the revolutionary movement there is growing. At the same time the revolution in Germany grows into a new phase, into a new stage. In the wake of the German "Kornilovism," the German workers, according to the latest despatches, are creating a Red Army. And the Polish workers are getting more and more inflamed. Into the consciousness of the representatives of the bourgeois-landowners' Poland is stealing the thought—is it not too late? Will not a Soviet republic in Poland come earlier than the execution of a national act for peace or war? They do not know what to do. They do not know what the next day will bring.

We, however, know that each month brings a gigantic increase of our forces. For this reason our international situation is now particularly firm, firmer than ever. But with regard to the international crisis we must be extremely watchful and must be ready to face any surprises. We have a formal peace offer from Poland made at a time when these gentlemen are in a desperate situation, like that which tempted their counterparts, the German monarchists,—who are better trained, with greater experience and more political knowledge—to embark on a similar adventure; and this is even more likely from the Polish bourgeoisie. We know that our adversary, who does not know what to do and what he will do tomorrow, is in a desperately difficult situation and we must firmly tell ourselves that though a peace offer has been made, a war is possible.

Their future conduct cannot be foreseen. We have watched these men, we know these Kerenskys, these Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries. We have seen during these two years how they extolled Kolchak one day, were almost with the Bolsheviki on the next day, then went to Denikin. We have seen how all this was covered up with phrases of liberty and democracy. We know these gentlemen. For this reason we grasp the peace offer with both hands and are willing to make the maximum concessions, being confident that peace with the small powers will advance our cause infinitely better than war. By means of the war the imperialists deceived the toiling masses, they suppressed the truth about Soviet Russia, and any peace will clear the road for our influence which has already become great during these years. The Third Communist International won unheard of victories. But we know at the same time that war may be imposed on us any day.

Questions of Economic Reconstruction

Important considerations of principle forced us resolutely to direct the toiling masses to make use of the army for the solution of the immediate basic problems of economic construction. Let us take up these considerations of principle, which are of tremendous significance.

The old source of discipline, capital, has been undermined; the old source of unification has disappeared. We must create a new source of discipline and unification. Any compulsion arouses indignation and protests, shouting and wailing among the bourgeois democracy, which extols the words "liberty and equality" failing to understand that freedom for capital is a crime against the workers, that equality of those who have plenty and those who are starving is a crime against the toilers. In the name of the struggle against falsehood we are enforcing obligatory labor and the union of the toilers, having no fear of compulsion. For never has a revolution been carried out without compulsion if it showed ability to lead this class to sacrifices. The revolution has a right to use compulsion if it is necessary for the realization of its aims.

In the controversy as to the historical factor of the domination of the bourgeoisie, the compromisers, the German Independents, the Austrian Independents, and the French Longuetists, always forget such factors as revolutionary determination, firmness, and inflexibility of the proletariat. And this inflexibility and hardihood of the proletariat of our country who said to themselves and to others and have proven it by deeds, that we would rather all perish than surrender our territory, than surrender our principle of discipline and firm policy, to which we must sacrifice everything,—that is a fact. This is the historic fact, at the moment of the integration of the capitalist countries and the capitalist class, at the moment of their despairing crisis, this is the decisive political fact which makes ineffective the phrases of majority and minority, of democracy and freedom, notwithstanding the pleas of the heroes of the past historical period. The decisive factor in this case is the class-consciousness and firmness of the working class. If the worker is ready to sacrifice himself, if he proves himself able to exert all his energy,—this solves the problem. Everything must be sacrificed to the solution of this problem. The determination of the working class, its inflexibility in carrying out its slogan "Rather death than surrender!"

We are now facing the task of solving the problems of economic construction, of the rehabilitation of ruined production, and how to direct toward this end every force that the proletariat can bring into play, how to make use of their absolute unity. We must have an iron discipline, an iron order, without which we would not have lasted not only over two years, but not eventwo months. We must know how to make use of our victory. On the other hand, we must understand that this transition requires many sacrifices, and the country has

already made many sacrifices heretofore. From the standpoint of principle the activity of the Central Committee was clear. All our activity was subordinated to this policy, was directed in this spirit. Take, for instance, the question—which seems but incidental, which taken by itself, not in connection with the whole situation, could not be claimed to have any importance as far as the basic principles are concerned—the question of collegiate or individual management. It is imperative to consider this from the angle of our fundamental gains in knowledge, in experience, in revolutionary practice during the past stages.

The Expression of Class Domination

Comrades, allow me to bring some theory into this question—how does a class rule, in what does the domination of a class manifest itself? We surely are not inexperienced in this respect, and we differ from former revolutions by the fact that there is no utopianism in our revolution. If the old class has been replaced by a new class, the latter can maintain its power only in a furious struggle with the old class. And not unless it is able to destroy the old class, will the new class be completely victorious. This is the way in which the question is determined by the gigantic and complex class struggle. Or else you will sink in the swamp of confusion.

In what is the domination of a class revealed? In what was revealed the domination of the bourgeoisie over the feudal class? The constitution said: "In freedom, inequality." What a lie! As long as there are toilers, the capitalists can, and as capitalists they are even forced to, speculate. We say that there is no equality, that the satiated is not equal to the hungry, or the speculator to the toiler. In what then is the domination of a class revealed? The domination of the proletariat is revealed in the expropriation of the property of the landed proprietors and capitalists. While the spirit and the fundamental content of all former constitutions—including the most democratic—was based in the last analysis only on property. Our constitution has won the right of historical existence. The victorious proletariat has definitely abolished and destroyed property—this reveals the domination of this class. First of all—in the question of property. The domination of a class was secured by the decision on the question of property. The constitution then recorded what life had already decided—"capitalist and land-owners' property is no more," and added: "the working class, according to the constitution, has more rights than the peasantry, and the exploiters have no rights at all." This recorded everything by means of which we established the domination of our class, by means of which we linked ourselves with the toilers of all sections, of all small groups. The petty bourgeois property owners are divided. Those who had large property are enemies of those who had less property, and abolishing property, the proletariat declared open war against them.

There are still many who are unenlightened, who are in the dark and who will support any kind of free trade. But in the struggle, when they see the discipline, the self-sacrifice, in the victory over the exploiters, they cannot fight. They are not for us, but they are powerless to act against us. The domination of a class is determined only by its attitude toward property, and this determines also the constitution. And our constitution has correctly recorded our attitude towards property and the question as to which should be the upper class. Those who connect the question as to how the domination of a class is expressed with questions of democratic centralism, cause such confusion that any successful work on this ground becomes impossible. The clearness of propaganda and agitation is the fundamental condition of work.

If our opponents admit that we accomplished wonders in the development of agitation and propaganda, it should not be understood superficially, in the sense that we used much paper and many agitators, but rather as referring to the content of the agitation, that the truth contained in this agitation forced its way into the minds of everybody. And we must not deviate from this truth. When classes replaced one another they altered the attitude toward property. Replacing the feudal class, the bourgeoisie changed the attitude toward property. The constitution of the bourgeoisie says: those who have property are not equal to those who are poor. This was the freedom of the bourgeoisie. This "equality" gave the domination in the state to the capitalist class.

And what are you doing? When the bourgeoisie replaced feudalism did they confuse the state with management (administration)? No, they were not such fools. They said that in order to manage, they must have people who know how to manage; for this purpose we will take the feudal administrators and will change them. And this is the way they acted. Well, was this a mistake? No, comrades. The ability to manage does not come from nowhere, nor is it of divine origin. And because an advanced class is an advanced class, it does not at once become capable of managing. When the bourgeoisie came into power it took men from the feudal class for administration. And, comrades, any other way is impossible. We must judge things realistically. The bourgeoisie made use of the preceding class, and now we are confronted with a similar problem—how to take advantage of and subject their knowledge, their technical training, how to make use of all this to insure the victory of the working class. We have said that the victorious class must be mature, but maturity is not attested by a certificate; it is proven by experience, by practice. The bourgeoisie conquered before they knew how to manage, and they insured their victory by promulgating a new constitution, then recruited administrators from their own class and began to learn, took administrators from the preceding class and began to teach and train their own, the

new administrators, to the work of administration, using for this purpose the whole state apparatus, sequestering the feudal institutions, placing the schools at the disposal of the rich. Thus, after many years and decades, they trained administrators of their own class. And now in a state which is built in the image of a dominant class we must do as was done in all states. If we do not want to take the position of pure utopianism and inane phrases, we must say that we ought to learn from the experience of the past, that we must secure the constitution conquered by the revolution. But for administration, for national construction we must have men who know the technique of administration, who have had experience in state and economic affairs. And such men can be gotten nowhere else, except among the preceding class.

Concerning Collective Management

Quite frequently the arguments on collective management are imbued with the spirit of the worst ignorance, the spirit of opposition on specialists. With such a spirit we cannot win. In order to win we must comprehend the complex historical environment, we must remember that we are building Communism out of the ruins of the old bourgeois world, and in order to build this Communism we must take hold of technical knowledge and science, and make them accessible to wider circles. And we cannot get this, save from the bourgeoisie. This fundamental question must be clearly presented and must be made the basis of economic construction.

We must direct both the affairs of the state and the work of reconstruction with the aid of men of the class that we have overthrown; men who are imbued with the bias and prejudice of their class we must re-educate. Then we must select administrators from the ranks of our class. We must use the whole state apparatus so that the schools, extra-mural education and practical training,—that all this should serve the proletarians, the workers, the toiling peasants, under the direction of communists. This is the sole way in which we can organize our endeavors.

After our experience of two years we cannot argue as if we were for the first time undertaking Socialist construction. Thank heaven, it is not true. We committed enough foolish acts both in the period of Smolny and in the following period. There is nothing shameful in this. Where were we to get sense if we were for the first time undertaking a new endeavor? We tried one way, and tried another way. We followed the line of least resistance, because we could not separate the sound from the unsound—this requires time. Now the recent past from which we have emerged, this past when chaos and enthusiasm reigned, is gone. Documents are left of this period. The Brest peace is a historical document, more than that—it is a historical period. The Brest peace was forced upon us because we were powerless in every domain. What was this period? It was a period of impotence from which we emerged the victors. It

was a period of collegiums everywhere. This historical fact cannot be evaded.

When we are told that the collegiums are a management training school, I reply: comrades, we cannot forever stay in the lower grades! This will not work. We have grown up, and we will be spanked, and spanked in every domain, if we will act as school boys. We must move forward.

On the Trades Unions

We must climb upward with energy and with a single will. The trade unions are carrying gigantic burdens. We must see to it that they learn the task in the spirit of the party and in the spirit of the struggle against the false democratism and the cries about appointees. All this old harmful rubbish, which can be tolerated only in resolutions and conversations, should be swept out. Otherwise we cannot win. If we have not learned this lesson in two years, we are laggards, and laggards do not win.

This is an extremely difficult task. Our trade unions have given gigantic aid in the construction of the proletarian state. They were the link which connected the party with the millions of the unenlightened mass. Let us be frank. The trade unions have borne on their shoulders the whole task of the struggle with the economic chaos. When they had to assist the state in the work of provisioning, was it not one of the greatest tasks?

The proletariat continued to make sacrifices. There is talk of violence, but the proletariat by making the greatest sacrifices proved that this violence was justified and right. The majority of the peasant population of the fertile provinces of our famished, devastated Russia had for the first time better food than they had had for centuries in czarist and capitalist Russia. It was necessary that the vanguard of the working class should make this sacrifice. It was a school of struggle. Having graduated from this school, the worker must go further. Now it is imperative to make this step.

The trade unions have their history and past. In this past they were organs of resistance against the oppression of labor, organs of defense against Capitalism. But when the working class became the class controlling the state power, and when it had to make more sacrifices and give more lives to the struggle than before and had to starve more, the situation was changed. Not everybody comprehends and appreciates this change. And here the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries come to our aid, unconsciously demanding that individual management be replaced by collective management. No, comrades, this will not pass. We are through with this stage.

A Different Front

We are confronted by a very complex task: having conquered on the bloody front—to conquer on the bloodless front. This is a more difficult war. This front is more severe. We say this frankly to all conscious workers. After the war which we won at the front, we have to face a bloodless war.

We are confronted with the following situation: the more we conquered the more we had to deal with such regions as Siberia, Ukraine, and Kuban. There the peasants are rich. We know that there the peasant who has a parcel of land says: "to hell wit the Government; I will set the price for my produce as I will see fit, and I should worry about those who starve." We have to rule with the aid of the class which has spent its energy and which must exert itself again. The speculator peasant, who after coming in contact with Denikin swayed toward our side, will now be aided by the Entente. The war has changed its front and forms. Now we are being fought by commerce, by swindling. They want to make swindling international. They want to transform peaceable economic construction into peaceable disintegration of the Soviet power. We regret disappointing you, gentlemen imperialists, but we are on guard. We say: "We had war, and we therefore still insist on this fundamental slogan—to maintain unabated and to transfer to the domain of toil the

principles of firmness and unity of the proletariat. The old prejudices, the old habits, we must discard."

(At this point Lenin mentioned a pamphlet by Gusev, which was written for the congress and in which the author formulated a plan for industrial reconstruction.) Lenin then continued:

With the aid of specialists we can elaborate in greater detail this basic economic plan. We must bear in mind that this plan counts on an effort which will last many years. We do not promise at once to deliver the country from famine. We say that the struggle will be more severe than at the battle front, but it is of greater interest to us, because it is a closer approach to our really fundamental tasks. It will require a maximum exertion and that unity of will which we manifested before and which we must manifest now. If we will solve this problem, we will be just as victorious on the bloodless front as on the front of the civil war.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

August 16, 1920.

WARSAW is situated on both banks of the Vistula. The western part of the town, on the left bank of the river, is connected by railway with Berlin and Vienna; the northeastern part of it, known as Praga, is situated on the right bank of the Vistula. Both parts of the town are connected by the Alexander Bridge, 1,666 feet long, which was built in 1865. There is also another bridge, besides the railway bridge, across the river.

Fort Sliwicki, situated at the northwestern extremity of Praga, defends these bridges and, together with the Alexander Citadel, on the western bank of the Vistula, almost directly opposite this fort, these fortifications were left by the Russians when Warsaw was disarmed by order of General Sukhomlinov, late War Minister of the Czar's regime. Fort Sliwicki and the citadel were left intact only for inner-political purposes. The old Russian Government, ready for the coming insurrection of Poland, kept these forts fully armed, with the idea of destroying Warsaw by their artillery in case a revolution should break out in the Polish capital.

It must be noted that all the heavy guns of these forts were directed towards Warsaw.

Praga is connected with Petrograd, Moscow, and the Baltic republics, as well as with Ukraine, by four main railway lines of great strategical importance, because they are protected by the Vistula, Bug and Narev defence lines.

About twenty miles northwest of Warsaw, where the Vistula and the Bug meet, is the former fortress of Novo-Georgievsk, or the Modlin forts. This fortress was built in order to protect Warsaw from German invasion, but was considered useless from

a strategical standpoint and dismantled entirely soon after the Russo-Japanese war. I do not mention the other fortified places west of Warsaw, which have no importance at the present moment, when Warsaw is the objective of the Russian Red Army. Practically, Warsaw has no technical defense at all, from a purely military point of view, and is protected only by the natural barriers of the Vistula, Bug, and Narev, on the north, and the Vistula and Bug on the east, while its eastern portion, Praga, is open to the invaders once the Bug has been forced.



WARSAW AND ITS ENVIRONS

(New York papers of August 17 report a Moscow wireless of the same date, announcing the fall of Warsaw. If the press report is true, it proves that Col. Bek was correct in his prophecy that Warsaw would fall within "the next few days.")

"There is no river that cannot be crossed," Napoleon often repeated, and the history of warfare has proved this to be true. Only in June, 1920, I noticed the statements of the French and Polish military experts that the Soviet army would be unable to cross the Dnieper, Berezina, and Dvina, because of the strong defence of the Polish army, which had prepared in advance the most up-to-date positions for *passive defense*, on their western banks. Nevertheless, the Russian cavalry crossed these rivers with extraordinary ease and penetrated in the rear of its enemy, thus producing a panic amongst the fighting body of the Poles, and facilitated the crossing of these rivers by the Red infantry. Finally, all the natural obstacles, namely, the Dvina, Berezina, Dnieper, Narev, and Bug, were forced by the Soviet army, which now is already on the eastern banks of the Vistula, and I do not see any reason why it should not cross this river also, which is easier to cross than, for instance, the Dvina or Berezina.

There were two possible methods for the Russian command to capture Warsaw, either by means of a general assault, or to force it to surrender by an encircling movement. The former certainly would have been accomplished more swiftly, taking into consideration that the Red Army has already overpowered the most serious natural and technical lines of defence of the Polish capital. But, in moving its masses on Warsaw, the Russian Soviet Army would have been obliged to prepare such an attack by most intensive artillery fire, which would mean the destruction of the city, with heavy casualties among the civilian population, which is far from the intentions of the Russian General Staff.

To say that the Russian Red Army is short of siege artillery suitable for the purpose, is simply a miscalculation on the part of the military critics of the Allied press, who have forgotten that only a month ago they declared that the Red artillery was very active, and was using big guns "captured from Kolchak and Denikin," against the Poles. It is therefore incredible that they should have been left somewhere in the rear, unless they were captured by the "victorious" Wrangel during his latest "great victories."

It is sufficient to look at the map to understand that the Red Army, about twenty to twelve miles from Warsaw, at the very outskirts of Praga, and bombarding Fort Sliwicki, could easily bombard Warsaw. The fact that our airmen, as newspapers tell us, are flying over the city unmolested and dropping propaganda, shows that the Russian command does not intend any unnecessary destructive action.

Therefore the Russian General Staff decided to undertake a gigantic encircling movement which has been called "dangerous" by Vidou, an eminent military writer: "The Bolshevik generals are carrying out an extraordinarily daring manoeuvre on the fronts north and east of Warsaw," he said, and further explains a matter which I think the Red General Staff knows something about and

naturally had counted on, namely, the fact that "the terrain northeast of Warsaw is particularly difficult, being covered by the Narev and Vistula rivers," and that the fortress of Modlin is an especially formidable obstacle.

"The Soviet forces," he continues, "are trying to move further westward, probably toward Plock, so as to take Warsaw in the rear, but in so doing they are lengthening their whole front from the Vistula to the Prussian frontier." Further, Professor Vidou declares, "this movement exposes the Bolshevik line to a counter-offensive, which might easily pierce it, even if not delivered in great force."

Theoretically, the supposition of this French strategist seems sound, and I should share his opinion if the Polish field army were intact, and Warsaw were a fortress prepared for the defence from eastern invaders. But in reality Warsaw is not a fortress, and the Polish field army is beaten, and there are no reserves at the disposition of the Polish command for properly accomplishing the suggested counter offensive, except those which the Allies were supposed to send for the Polish relief through the famous corridor, now partly in the hands of the Red Army.

Already on August 13, I stated to the *Philadelphia Press* representative that "in my opinion, the Polish army is completely routed. The Russian General Staff hasn't decreed the capture of Warsaw, because they are busy surrounding the Polish army and cutting off entirely the communication of the Polish force with Danzig, from where the Poles can only expect war materials and money from the Allies. The Russians are also directing their *cavalry army* toward Plock, with the objective of cutting off communication along the Vistula river and afterwards threatening the Warsaw-Bromberg railway, and thus practically rendering it impossible for the Allies to communicate with the Polish Army through the famous corridor. This has all been much more strategic than the immediate capture of Warsaw, but I predict Warsaw will be captured by the Bolsheviks in the next few days." (The *Philadelphia Press*, Saturday, August 14, 1920.)

The Russian-Polish battle line is divided now in two fronts: the Western front (250 miles in length), which begins at the East Prussian frontier and now very probably ends at Lublin. This front, under the command of the twenty-seven year-old leader, Comrade Tukhachevsky, a former lieutenant in the old Russian army, is operating against Warsaw. Comrade Tukhachevsky is an experienced officer, who distinguished himself as an army commander, first against Kolchak, then against Denikin, later again against Kolchak, after which he once more returned to the southwestern front to fight Denikin's hordes. Comrade Yegorov, former Lieutenant-Colonel of the old army, is commander-in-chief of the so-called southwestern front (100 miles in length), which extends approximately from the Lublin district up to Kamenetz-Podoisk, and is in occupation of

northeastern Galicia, operating with Lemberg as its objective. This front includes also the armies which are guarding the Rumanian frontier along the Dniester river to the Black Sea (300 miles in length). The general command over all the Soviet armies is in the hands of the well-known leader, S. S. Kamenev, a militarily well-trained former general of the old army, who is aided by Comrade Lebedev as his chief of staff. All these leaders are Communists who joined the party in the early days of the Revolution.

The general military command over all the military organizations in Russia is with the Supreme Revolutionary Military Council, the executive member of which is also the Commissar of Military Affairs, or War Minister, Trotsky. Therefore, the earlier information so often and so persistently repeated by the Associated Press, that General Brussilov is in the command of the armies operating against the Poles, is incorrect; it has also been officially denied by Moscow. General Brussilov, however, is with the Red General Staff, and holds an advisory position, like many of the Russian generals and officers of the late Russian army. The greater part of the commanding element of the Red Army are recently trained and fully experienced officers of the working class of Soviet Russia. One of them is the former corporal of the Czar's army, Comrade Budenny, who is now heading the so-called Red cavalry army, a unit which does not exist in any capitalistic military organization. An independent cavalry army naturally can be created only in such a country like Russia, which has 43,000,000 horses, and once cavalry is organized on the principles of a mounted infantry, and supported by horse artillery and special machine gun units, and represents not an auxiliary body to an army corps, but a quite independent tactical unit, such a cavalry army cannot have any rivals except in the form of an identical organization, inspired by the same spirit and method of tactics; but such a rival army cannot be found either in Poland or in all Europe. Therefore, the Soviet General Staff is enabled to undertake even such "dangerous" manoeuvres as theoreticians consider even impossible, and I am absolutely sure that the Red Army will carry it out to a victorious end.

We have often read in the American newspapers during the last two years that the Red Army would be unable to carry out this or that one of its strategical problems, and yet, it is getting stronger and stronger, together with the present Russian regime, although the former American ambassador to Russia, David R. Francis, for more than two years has been predicting "that the Soviet Government at Moscow will go to pieces in six months."

According to the special telegram to the New York Times from Washington, of August 13 (N. Y. Times, August 14), Mr. Francis has stated this once more, "made the prediction with confidence . . ." He said that "when the Russian people understood, through the medium of Secretary Colby's note of last Tuesday, that there was

no intention on the part of the United States Government to interfere with Russia's conduct of her own affairs, and that it favored a united Russia, the effect would be detrimental to Bolshevik rule." In view of the fact that it was openly and officially declared that Secretary Colby's note would be widely distributed among the Russians by Wrangel and in other ways, and that this would take place—while Russia is at war with Poland and France, this action of the United States Government may be considered as military propaganda and should therefore be discussed by a military expert.

Therefore I am taking the liberty to state, after having studied the note, that it would be very desirable that it should be distributed among the Russian people, especially amongst the soldiers of the Red Army, and I believe it will be so distributed, but not by Wrangel or by any other agency than by the Soviet Government itself, because this note is of a kind that will certainly produce an effect on the Russian masses such as the Bolsheviks are anxiously looking for.

Secretary Colby could not send out better moral help for the beaten Poles and I suppose they hardly expected assistance of this kind.

In spite of all the repeated accounts of Wrangel's alleged victories north of Crimea, I firmly stated in the *Philadelphia Press*, of August 14, that the army of this Russian usurper is already "surrounded by Soviet forces north of Crimea, is completely routed, and will be destroyed before any military assistance from the Allies can reach it." The recognition by France of this German baron is the greatest blunder, much more senseless than was the support of Denikin and Kolchak.

France is too late with her recognition, as is also Secretary Colby's note, for any distribution in Soviet Russia with the aid of Baron Wrangel.

The resolution of the organized workers of England and the decision of Italy have already reached the Russian people, and the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia hence know that they are far from alone in their efforts. Russian strategy was supported at the decisive moment by the powerful veto of the British workers, addressed to their imperialistic government. Such help from the outside is a great aid to the Russian Red Army, now supporting the newborn diplomacy of the Soviet Republic.

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

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

Concerning a Disappointed Traveler

By B. J.

THIS thing that we brag about—this vaunted progress in the means of communication and globe-trotting so that everyone knows exactly what everybody else in the most distant parts of the world is doing—all this is a lie and a delusion. It will and must remain so, as long as it is to the interest of one class to withhold or bar any information whatsoever from another class. Meanwhile we must try to nourish our hungry curiosity about the mystic wonders of the East with such stuff as the "Voyage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville," or, if that resists digestion because of its antiquity, with Bertrand Russell's "Soviet Russia—1920."*

Let there be no mistake about it: Bertrand Russell is one of the greatest men of our time, a profound philosopher, a brilliant metaphysician, and an uncompromising revolutionist in higher mathematics. Nor is he content with being a great high-priest in academic temples, for when Europe was writhing in the travail of the war he came forth bravely and pronounced a stinging anathema against the social system which breeds such horrors. Then did those doughty champions of freedom, who proclaimed that, if necessary, they would die for the sacred principle of liberty, take his liberty from him and cast him into prison for speaking freely and courageously the truth as he saw it.

Concede his greatness and his valor, but do not be dazzled by it into blindness. Even the sun has spots. Bertrand Russell's trenchant criticism of Soviet Russia based on a sojourn of five weeks and a day in that tremendously vast country, of whose life and language he confesses he knew nothing, is a distinct blemish on his career as a political observer and commentator. This is not the first instance of such a blemish, for in his chapter on International Relations in "(Proposed) Roads to Freedom" he fails to consider the origin and nature of nationalism without which it is impossible to discuss satisfactorily the amelioration of international relations; after showing how the capitalistic system inveigles the working classes into becoming accessories to the crimes of imperialism he predicts with a queer inconsistency that owing to the psychology of competition, power, and envy, the participation of the workers in the capitalistic system will still cause war even after the revolution has destroyed the capitalistic system and all participation therein; and finally, dubbing himself a "sober idealist" he condones the exploitation of the subject peoples of Africa by the Europeans, he calls the discontinuance of this banditry Quixotic, and proceeds to offer some white-man's-burden buncombe for public consumption. Bertrand Russell does sometimes write on matters with which he is very scantily familiar.

* *The Nation*, (N. P.), July 31, 1920; pp. 121-126.

We are not therefore so terribly shocked when we find this great man fumbling about Soviet Russia with his competence as a diagnostician impaired not only by negative handicaps (ignorance of language, of conditions in Eastern Europe, etc.) but by an unaccountable positive prejudice. "Friends of Russia here think of the dictatorship of the proletariat as *merely a new form of representative government*, in which only working men and women have votes and the constituencies are partly occupational, not geographical." Later on he repeats, "Before I went to Russia I *imagined* that I was going to see an interesting experiment in a new form of representative government." It is too bad that he was disappointed, but it would be hardly fair to call the Bolsheviki to task because Mr. Russell confused the quiet speculations of the National Guildsmen in England with the actual struggles of the Bolsheviki in Russia. He imagined he was going to see a fascinating model laboratory for trying out new schemes of representative government, and it pained his gentle nature to discover instead the class struggle unmasked, brought out into the open in its naked ferocity. His conversation with Lenin leads one to conjecture that little love was lost between the two gentlemen, for the latter probably suspected that the grandson of Lord John Russell was looking for a proletarian revolution to suit his own very fastidious palate.

He apparently did not know that the Communists regard all improved brands of bourgeois democracy as so much improved camouflage for concealing the relentlessly brutal economic exploitation of the workers. In the words of Lenin, "But we shall never admit equality for the speculating peasant, just as we do not admit 'equality' of the exploiter and the exploited, of the well-fed and hungry, or the 'liberty' of the first to plunder the second."** The Bolsheviki maintain that "the state is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonism,"** and they are not interested in perfecting this product. "Socialism is the suppression of classes,"** and with that accomplished, the state as we know it is automatically abolished. All this Mr. Russell might easily have learned without troubling himself with a long and strenuous journey from jolly old England. But since he did so gallantly undertake the trip, his intelligence should have told him that Soviet Russia is not a finished product, but in the turbulent flux of a transition stage. "The class struggle does not disappear with the dictatorship of the proletariat; it only assumes new forms."** "This period of

* *Economics of a Transition Period*, by N. Lenin; *SOVIET RUSSIA*, Vol. III, No. 5, pp. 105-109, July 31, 1920.

** "The State and the Revolution," by N. Lenin; p. 12 (published by The British Socialist Party and The Socialist Press, London, 1919).

transition cannot but be a period of struggle between dying capitalism and growing Communism, or, in other words, between Capitalism already defeated but not yet destroyed, and Communism, already born, but still extremely weak."* Mr. Russell's splendid passion for intellectual honesty should have cautioned him to hold his judgment of Communism in abeyance.

Mr. Russell has a very harrowing tale to tell about the Extraordinary Commission, and he ascribes incredible atrocities to it: "It has shot thousands without trial, etc." He does not, however, describe a single outrage that he has personally witnessed. We can only accept such evidence as hearsay of an indeterminate degree. A much more substantial statement of the status and conduct of the Extraordinary Commission is that made by D. J. Kursky, People's Commissar for Justice, who in his report to the Congress of Soviets, dated December 4, 1919,** rejects as false the theory of bourgeois law about the superclass nature of courts, frankly admitting that the Revolutionary Tribunals and the Extraordinary Commission are instruments of the proletariat in the war against the bourgeoisie. Kursky then describes how by a decree of the Russian Central Executive Committee the Extraordinary Commission was deprived of its right to give extra-judicial verdicts. The Revolutionary Tribunals are privileged to revise judicial enquiries carried out by the Extraordinary Commission, and to visit prisons and free inmates illegally imprisoned. "The fierce character of the civil war under which we are living has prevented the complete realization of these humane principles." It may very well be that both friends and foes of the Bolsheviks "deal only in superlatives," but this cannot be said of the Bolsheviks themselves, who have a too realistic problem before them and who know how to face the truth even when it is adverse.

Much credit is due to Mr. Russell for reporting this fact of fundamental importance: that when the incentive of amassing wealth is removed, men of ability will still give their services to the community either out of patriotism or because they enjoy the opportunity of developing their ideas freely without the obstacle of tradition institutions.

If Russian art is only holding its own under the stress of very unpropitious circumstances, it is a wonderful achievement of the Bolsheviks. Peace and the re-establishment of normal relations with the rest of the world is necessary for the continued development of Russian Communism and Russian art. As for the future let our disappointed traveler take new hope in the words of his contemporary, G. B. S., "Art rises when men rise, and grovels when men grovel." Art will rise very high in Russia—and elsewhere.

* "Economics of a Transition Period," by N. Lenin; *SOVIET RUSSIA*, Vol. III, No. 5, pp. 105-109, July 31, 1920.

** *Contemporary Review*; Vol. CXVII, pp. 861-878, June, 1920.

BATTLING FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

With what earnestness the Italian comrades regard their task of preventing arms and war material from being sent for use against Russia is made clear by the following report:

On the 18th of June representatives of the Italian proletariat from Trieste arrived in Prague. They were authorized by political and Social Democratic organizations to obtain from the leaders of the Czecho-Slovakian Social-Democracy guarantees that the transports of Czech legionaries, which were being sent by way of Trieste, would in no case be sent against Soviet Russia. The last transports had encountered difficulties as the workers refused to unload them and demanded the disarming of the soldiers. The Czech Consul in Trieste tried to persuade the workers that their fears were groundless, but the Social-Democratic organization of Trieste had thought it advisable to apply directly for information and guarantees to the leaders of the Czech Social-Democracy.

The Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party therefore held a meeting at which the Italian representatives were present, and at which the declaration was made, that no one in the Republic thought of taking any military action against Russia, and that the fears of the Italian comrades were groundless. The Italians informed the meeting that one of the resolutions adopted in Milan was that no transports for use against Soviet Russia were to be allowed to pass through Italy. After a prolonged discussion, the Italian representatives were given a written declaration in the name of all the Czechic workers that no hostile steps against Soviet Russia would be tolerated. Every attempt of that kind would meet with the retaliatory action of the proletariat. And finally, the Italians were given the assurance that the Czechic legionaries who had just come home were declaring that they would never fight against Soviet Russia. Thereupon the Italians announced that they would from that time forth allow the transports to go through Italy unmolested and fully armed. (*From a recent issue of a German newspaper.*)

HELP THE RUSSIAN CHILDREN

On our editorial pages, the reader will find a presentation of the plight of the 780 Russian children who will reach New York about September 1st.

They need clothing and blankets for their journey across the Atlantic and through the Baltic Sea to their homes in Petrograd. They need food and clothing and medicaments, in addition to the expenses of their entertainment in New York before their steamer sails for Europe.

Our readers should send contributions for this purpose to the address below, in addition to encouraging their friends to do likewise.

RUSSIAN SOVIET BUREAU, Dept. A
Room 304

110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

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.

THE TRAGEDY of the Menshevik is that the position of begging the question which is characteristic of his philosophy is not only not acceptable to both of the contending parties between whom he is trying to act as moderator, but that, to complete his misfortune, the most reactionary of the reactionaries are the first to attempt to make common cause with him.

Mr. Bertrand Russell went to Russia under the impression that he was a Communist. He found, after observing Communism in actual operation, that he had been mistaken—that the ways of Communists in power were not sympathetic to him. In a series of interesting articles which Mr. Russell contributed to the *London Nation* (they were later reprinted in the *New York Nation*) he has advanced a number of objections to the Soviet Government and to the party dominant in that government, concerned chiefly with the alleged absence of “democracy” in the technique of elections and in certain other phases of the administration of the country.* Mr. Russell has no doubt experienced a number of unpleasant shocks as a result of the frequent and gleeful reprinting of his comparatively mild strictures by the counter-revolutionary press in his own country as well as abroad. But he probably was less disappointed by any of these peculiar “allies” than by his new associate, who is no less a person than Premier David Lloyd George. “I trust the members of the House and the country will read the remarkable articles of Bertrand Russell,” said Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons on August 10, in his long speech on the Russo-Polish situation. And then the Premier pointed out statistically (using Mr. Russell’s figures) that Soviet rule in England would mean the rule of a small class of only 200,000 persons (Mr. Lloyd George appears to imply that the class at present ruling in Great Britain is a somewhat more numerous body); that the parliamentary system is more “tolerant” and “humane” than that of the Soviets (Mr. Russell used similar words: “kindliness and tolerance”); that elections are not “democratic” in Russia, and numerous other things.

Not dissimilar was the plight of the Menshevik

* Some of these objections are considered in the last issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*.

during the early days of the Russian Revolution. Seriously wishing, as most of the Mensheviks did, that the capitalist system in Russia might be overthrown, he yet was so firmly convinced of the impossibility of achieving this object in a country so undeveloped industrially as was Russia, as to be willing to resist even by force of arms the accomplishment of the overthrow of capitalism. What this meant to the Menshevik in the way of entangling alliances with other counter-revolutionary elements it is painful to rehearse. Every force working for the destruction of the government set up by the Russian people quoted the Mensheviks in the prosecution of its counter-revolutionary policy, printed their articles in its papers, afforded their spokesman an opportunity to speak in its organizations. Many an honest Menshevik has no doubt felt pangs of remorse on seeing his articles reprinted in *Struggling Russia*, the former organ of Mr. A. J. Sack and his very provisional government. How far this resistance went is well-known. In spite of frequent efforts, on the part of the Soviet Government, to give the Mensheviks an opportunity to retain their freedom of the press and their other channels for self-expression, it was found necessary on each of these occasions to withdraw their privilege of association and to close the offices of their newspapers, for their determination to place all their efforts at the disposal of counter-revolutionary forces was so persistent as to make it impossible to grant to them the right that was given as a matter of course to *bona fide* supporters of the Soviet Government—to the really working-class elements of Russia’s population.

After all their alliances with foreign and domestic counter-revolutionists had proved to be failures, the Mensheviks finally began to support the Soviet Government, a course to which they were impelled chiefly by the horrors of the Allied policy of intervention. These men were poor Socialists, but they were Russians who loved their country, and hatred of the foreign invader moved their spirits to do what their economic convictions had failed to make them accomplish. In this respect, also, as we shall later observe, they were not unlike Mr. Bertrand Russell.

Mr. Lloyd George tells us he would not like to see established in England the working-class government that now rules Russia, and in describing its “tyrannies” he bases his statement on—Bertrand Russell. And we are sure that Mr. Russell has already bitterly regretted having given one of reaction’s most able champions the weapons with which to fight his class opponents.

But we know that Mr. Russell’s data are in themselves by no means as damaging as Mr. Russell himself seems to believe. Hardly any of the things he urges against the Communists are serious defects: it is rather in the manner of his presentation that Mr. Russell has injured the hearts of the friends of Soviet Russia abroad. Mr. Russell’s claim to be a friend of the Communists, to have been disappointed by their methods, to have tried hard to be “fair” with them—these painful

and over-conscientious observations of a lugubriously pedantic "objectivity" are the weapons by which he had made himself acceptable for quotation in the reactionary newspapers of all the world.

We must close—it seems to be the fate of the radical untrained in economics that he is brought into a most unholy and self-destructive alliance with the forces of reaction. We cannot refrain from repeating that it is sad to find Mr. Russell consorting with Mr. Lloyd-George: it is a sadness not dissimilar to that which is felt on witnessing the spectacle of a young and unspoiled maiden in dangerous intimacy with a lady of entirely different age and moral character. And, as the past suddenly flashes upon us, we recall the Welsh miner, Lloyd-George, of a few years ago, one of England's greatest "radicals", who has himself more than completed since then the transformation which, in the case of Mr. Bertrand Russell, has barely begun.

* * *

BUT even the relatively innocent Mr. Russell already displays a cloven hoof. We had thought of him as of some ethereal person, far removed from life's vulgar struggles, entirely apart from such mob-psychologies as that of crude nationalism and insular imperialism. But, on reading the second one of the reprints of his articles (*The Nation*, New York, August 7), we observe things that had not at first revealed their true nature to us; for instance, this paragraph:

But if we continue to refuse peace and trade, I do not think the Bolsheviki will go under. Russia will endure great hardship in the years to come as before. But the Russians are inured to misery as no western nation is; they can live and work under conditions which we should find intolerable. The government will be driven more and more, from mere self-preservation, into a policy of imperialism. The Entente has been doing everything to expose Germany to a Russian invasion of arms and leaflets, by allowing Poland to engage in a disastrous war and compelling Germany to disarm. All Asia lies open to Bolshevik ambitions. Almost the whole of the former Russian Empire in Asia is quite firmly in their grasp. Trains are running at a reasonable speed to Turkestan, and I saw cotton from there being loaded on to Volga steamers. In Persia and Turkey powerful revolts are taking place with Bolshevik support. It is only a question of a few years before India will be in touch with the Red Army. If we continue to antagonize the Bolsheviki, I do not see what force exists that can prevent them from acquiring the whole of Asia within ten years.

There is no doubt that there are strong elements of Bolshevism in the uprisings now taking place in Persia and Turkey, but Soviet Russia is not invading those countries, and, even if it were, that would be no cause for alarm to the pacifist "internationalist", Mr. Bertrand Russell. A true pacifist or internationalist would not express undue concern over the national institutions which the Persian or Turkish people—perhaps, he suggests, with the aid of the Russian people—are about to establish in their own countries. Can it be that Mr. Bertrand Russell is really a British nationalist after all, a man in whom the "judicious attitude", the "reserved judgment", the "kindliness and toler-

ance", are only the modes in which an ingrained desire for the continuance of British world empire expresses itself? Does Mr. Russell not display somewhat too much solicitude for "the whole of Asia"? It is not impossible that the political doctrine of Bolshevism, which is the philosophy of the dominant factors in the Soviet Government, may also animate such governments as may be established in that continent in the near future, but why should this fill Mr. Russell with concern?

If we continue to antagonize the Bolsheviki, I do not see what force exists that can prevent them from acquiring the whole of Asia within ten years.

The acquisition of the whole of Asia by Bolshevik Governments—or does Mr. Russell imagine that the Soviet Government could conquer all these countries against the will of their populations and put up a single government over all of them?—no doubt involves discomforts to certain classes of persons. Perhaps Mr. Russell is solicitous for the Japanese imperialists, who are helping themselves in Eastern Siberia; perhaps he is desirous that the United States shall continue to hold the Philippine Islands, or France to govern Annam and Cochin-China;—or perhaps he fears that British world-empire may be deprived of India, Hongkong, Burmah, and Mesopotamia? It is the British Government which he is warning to refrain from antagonizing the Bolsheviki, and the reason he assigns is that the Bolsheviki may otherwise become powerful and aggressive, and therefore, may deprive England of some of the colonies from which her wealth is drawn.

Now, what is Mr. Russell's position, anyway? Does he think Bolshevism is so poor in merit that it must be held together by a common antagonism against foreign aggression? And does he think that a defective political system, tyrannized by a small minority of 600,000, and unpopular with the rest of the people, could have maintained itself against *all the rest of the world, exercising against it all the pressure of their military and economic organization*. Is this logic, or mathematics, or ideologic folly?

* * *

ASIA is an interesting continent. It is frequently spoken of as a land of mystery and of breathless possibilities. A dignified magazine printed in New York devotes its pages to Asiatic material only—to studies of the peculiarities of Asia's (to us) strange peoples. But let us be human. Let us assume that Asians are like us in their normal reactions. If Asiatic populations are in any danger of allying themselves with the Soviet Government, or of adopting Bolshevik rule, can it be because they will not be able to resist Bolshevik aggression? At the bottom of his heart, Mr. Russell knows that if Asia leans to the Russian side, it is because the Russian Soviet Government looks good to it; it is because the Soviet Government has no aggressive designs on it; and because anyone with half an eye can see that the Soviet Government in Russia is a success. Who is drawing Asia

and the Soviet Government together? Does the Soviet Government carry its doctrine by force into Asia. Have China, Persia, India, Afghanistan, Japan, been sufferers from any aggression on the part of the Soviet Government? *Have any of these countries suffered from English aggression?* Would they turn naturally to England or to the Soviet Government for an alliance in the common pursuit of peaceful aims? or—let us say—for protection against foreign aggression or exploitation?

Mr. Russell is all wrong. The Soviet Government can do nothing that will in any way accelerate the eagerness of Asiatic populations to clasp its hands in friendship—for they have only to look at the Soviet Government to see how magnificently it compares, as a neighbor, with any other country. But then, perhaps Mr. Russell is not wrong after all. We also see nothing that can prevent Asia from accepting Soviet Russia's outstretched hand of friendship.

* * *

SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY children whose homes are in Petrograd will arrive in this city in a few days on their way back home. They are worn out and tired with traveling and the following account of their travels in Russia will explain why they are tired and worn out:

In the summer of 1918 some three thousand children were sent to the Ural region from Petrograd in order that they might be among surroundings that assured them the possibility of securing plenty of food and care, conditions that were then, as now, decidedly lacking in Petrograd. They had hardly begun to enjoy the advantages of their new location, than the Czecho-Slovaks began their treacherous internal attack on the new republic, and seized the city of Kazan, cutting off railroad connections with Petrograd. The children were thus compelled to live in counter-revolutionary territory during the winter of 1918-19, and when Kolchak began his famous retreat, in May, 1919, he moved these unhappy youngsters with him at each stage of his retirement, thus pushing them eastward over the whole breadth of Siberia. In their temporary camps illness and privations so often decimated their number, that over 2,000 died before the present remnant left Vladivostok. A Japanese steamer, the *Yomei Maru*, brought them to San Francisco, and they are now, the 780 who remain, making the journey through the Panama Canal on the same steamer, which will take them to Europe from New York. Our readers may contribute to the expenses of entertaining these children in New York and providing them with toys and books and clothing to take back to Petrograd, by sending checks, currency, or money-orders to our publication office, drawn in favor of "The Russian Soviet Bureau." It is a cause to which all should contribute to the best of their ability.

In remitting money, readers should indicate the purpose of remittance by using the words: "For the Children from Siberia." All such contributions must reach our office on or before August 30.

MURDER OF DEPORTEES

The White Guards serving in the Latvian Army themselves disclosed the cruel act whereby they were compelled by their officers to shoot three deportees from England together with two other captives. Ten of these guards have written the letter which follows to the Social Democratic Faction of the Constitutional Assembly of Latvia.

"We cannot be silent! We, the soldiers of the 8th Army Corps of Dvinsk, 6th Division, have been today, May 27, 1920, surprised by a mysterious and exciting event which we cannot pass over in silence. Two soldiers brought to us at 8.30 P. M. five civil persons who had been sent by unknown superiors. The Chief Sergeant of our Division explained to us that we should permit these five persons (two men and three women) to pass through our front to Soviet Russia. Then we (ten soldiers) received orders to take light machine guns and lead them through.

"Our suspicions were first aroused by this: Why should the government send captives and communists to this place for an exchange of prisoners with the Soviet Government? For that purpose we have an official prisoners' exchange station: Rosenovskaya, and prisoners are sent in large batches several score at a time, convoyed by specially appointed Government officers. Further, the prisoners explained that three of their number (two men and one woman) had been sent from London through Libau and Latvia to Soviet Russia and they were already many weeks in Latvia as a result of different commandatures (government establishments in charge of local government dictators). These three persons had spent twenty-eight years in London and were now deported as foreigners (they were born in Dvinsk). The others, the two women, they explained, had come across the front at Rosenovskaya, bought salt, and on their way back to Soviet Russia, were arrested by our soldiers, sent to Rezhitz's commandature, and from thence here. Together with the prisoners we went about a verst and a half from our front line into the neutral zone. Then we were all commanded to go down from the road to a forest some hundred paces to one side. On reaching the forest, we (soldiers) were ordered to shoot down the five persons we were convoying through the front. The order was finally carried out, after serious discussion among the soldiers who were all greatly excited by this unexpected and unforeseen order.

"Comrades, we cannot describe to you this terrible deed, nor our own commotion. Comrades! Up till now know that our government has given various orders of this nature—as in the shooting down of school boys in Wolmar, etc. . . . Now, when the back lines of the front expect the abolition of capital punishment, men are sent from the back lines to the front for murder!" . . .

The ten shooters concluded the letter to their comrades "of the Social Democratic faction of the Constituent Assembly of Latvia," by asking for an official investigation of the terrible deed!

A Russian Journey in the Spring of 1920

A Visit to the Center of the Communist Party. An Easter Feast at Moscow.

By Z. HÖGLUND

Friday, April 9.

It probably appears incomprehensible to many how the Bolsheviki, this party which had such a small beginning, and which was still small in 1917, has been able to take the lead in the Russian domain of hundreds of millions, and to retain this lead. There have been several reasons, of course, but the real one and the most important, is that the historical development of Communism was and is the only power which can hold humanity together and prevent its disintegration. To a very great extent their success is due to the fact that the Bolsheviki were never a soft, weak party of seventy-five per cent paper-members as were most of the other Socialist parties, but have always been a fully organized and exemplary revolutionary organization, ready for battle. To belong to the party of Lenin and Trotsky is not to belong to a party of parliamentary lobbyists, and to stand before ministerial chairs, nor does it mean the leading of the class struggle from a safe tower of poetry; it is to put quiet living behind one, to renounce all personal interests, and to risk one's life daily. And yet, or rather therefore, this party exercises at the present time in Russia, and over the world, an enormous power of attraction. One understands the mass psychology that is making Russia win over a world of enemies, when one remembers that during a week of agitation when Denikin was dangerously close to Moscow last year, the party enrolled 17,000 new members, in spite of the fact that their becoming members was equivalent to joining the Red Army, and that every enrolment in the party was a candidature for death.

Today I had an opportunity to observe closely the organization of this party and its way of working. The Communist Party has its secretariat in a big building on Moskovskaya Street, opposite the main entrance to the Kremlin. About 120 people are directly employed here, in offices for agitation, registration, distribution, organization, instruction, statistics, rural and women's agitation, chancery, finance, etc., etc. The leader is a woman named Yelyena Stasova, an elderly woman, descended from an aristocratic bourgeois family, who held the same position some twenty years ago when neither the party nor the central committee existed, as such, when there was only the committee of St. Petersburg. She has been four times in jail, was deported in 1913 to the government of Yenissei, in Siberia, obtained permission to visit her old parents for six months in 1916,—and did not return, for March, 1917, intervened.

The number of memberships in the Communist party was 611,000 at the last Congress, Stasova informed us. The walls of several of the rooms in the secretariat are covered with statistical tables. They are very particular about the keeping of statistics, so that it is possible at any moment to put

one's finger on the exact situation in any part of the country. Among other things I learned that the class grouping at the last congress, among the representatives, was as follows: 271 workers (fifty-one per cent); 129 intellectuals (twenty-three per cent); employers (in the Soviet service) 65 (twelve per cent); forty-four artisans (nine per cent); twenty-four peasants (five per cent). As to the age of memberships of the party the following figures were given: representatives who were in the movement before 1903, thirty-three (six per cent); 1903-07, 136 (thirteen per cent); 1908-11, thirty-four (six per cent); 1912-16, seventy-three (twenty-four per cent). The city is divided into thirteen districts and the party has 680 groups, in factories, etc., and 300 lecturers work here constantly, and there are thousands of smaller local meetings.

The guide for the day was Nyeovski, first assistant to Kalinin in the Department of Peasant Propaganda. (Kalinin is President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.) Nyeovski is a little man, forty-three years of age, formerly a private teacher of mathematics in Petrograd, a revolutionist and organizer since 1895, and has spent altogether eight years in jail. I learned from another person that he had been a teacher. His own reply to a question as to his occupation was that he was a revolutionist.

During the six months of concentrated work in rural agitation, Kalinin and Nyeovski have had a wide and comprehensive experience, not the least of which has been the receiving of peasants and peasant deputies. More than 3,000 peasants have visited them to discuss the food question, and there have been half as many for other agricultural problems. Out in the country districts the peasants have been visited in large meetings, according to districts; the situation of the republic has been explained to them; and those who understand and sympathize with the movement are brought into it. Nyeovski read a few reports from those agitators who had been sent out to the rural districts. One reported that complaints were made of injustice in the requisition of horses. The agitator in question had advised them to form a party organization in this district and obtain justice through this organization.

As a result of the agitation work within the Red Army, there has been developed a more conscious revolutionary spirit, and an almost incredible self-discipline. For instance, after the Yudenich victory, the soldiers, realizing the immense difficulties of transportation, readily consented to not being sent home at once, and remained at work in and near their immediate stations. During the time between April 1, 1919, and March 1, 1920, 11,656 party members were sent to the fronts for political agitation, most of them last fall, against Denikin and Yudenich. They were

taken largely from the political and administrative party groups, and they have contributed largely to the increase in the fighting ability of the army. Political courses are given throughout the Red Army. The best pupils are picked out and sent back to the workers' high school at Moscow for further education. More than 300 talented soldiers have been sent from the fronts to Moscow, in this way. Among the troops there are in addition 2,348 non-political educational schools, 3,088 libraries, 1,315 soldier-clubs, also of an educational character and with educational aims, 472 theatres, and 220 moving picture establishments. All this organization has been created within the past eleven months. 9,600,000 kilograms of literature have been sent to the army, at a cost of 16,000,000 rubles.

Easter Sunday, April 11.

Nothing human may be strange to one who is out on an exploring expedition, and the Russian Easter has always been so typical to the westerner that Friis and the undersigned—Grimlund is more ungodly—decided to study it at close hand, by sacrificing a whole night's sleep.

Moscow is a city of churches, according to a popular saying, and actually it is. On almost every street corner there is a church or a chapel, and there is probably no country in the world with the possible exception of the United States, that can compare in number with the edifices erected for church purposes. Ivan the Terrible was a great builder of churches. It is said that every time he perpetrated a new crime his conscience made him build a new church to bribe heaven. And his successors to the throne have also had a great deal to atone for, and have atoned in the same way.

At half past twelve this morning, according to the summer reckoning of the Bolsheviki, we arrived at the home of Klinger, the treasurer of the Third International, one of the most lovable of our Russian comrades. He lives in the quarters occupied by the same Third International, formerly the German legation, where Count Mirbach was murdered. The stairs are dimly lighted, and add fuel to our already active imaginations. Klinger, who is worn out from work and who suffers from digestive trouble, has slept a little, and, waiting while he dresses, we obtain from his writing desk some idea of the workings of his active mind. There lie to be read presently, the German edition of Faust, Frank's splendidly written war-book, "Man Is Good"; Brandes' "Das Junge Deutschland", and the "Afflictionbuch" by Pfemfert.

We have still plenty of time, Klinger informs us. The priests are sabotaging the summer time reckoning of the Bolsheviki, and consequently it is still a couple of hours before their midnight, when the Easter celebration begins. According to our watches, which keep Bolshevik time, this will be half past two. Soon we start out upon the streets of Moscow.

The city is crowded with people, veritable migrations, on their way to the many churches, particu-

larly the largest ones. Rockets throw a variegated rain of stars over the city, and shots are being fired, among shouts of joy and festivity. Who does the firing? The priests, the priests. People walk with candles in their hands, which they try to keep burning as long as possible.

The great Tsar bell of the Kremlin is now sounding. We arrive at our destination, the Church of the Deliverance, the largest in all Moscow, 102 meters high, built in 1837-83, located south of the Kremlin, by the river bank. The wide enormous stairs are crowded with people, and there are so many people inside that we can only find our way in by following one of the small energetic currents of people moving in and out through the crowd. It is more like a crowd seeking sensation than a religious crowd. Men and women, soldiers, old women, boys and girls—there is hardly room to cross one's self. Some of the audience can scarcely hold their candles, and there are long streaks of wax on many a garment; toes are trodden upon, and cries appealing to "tovarishch" resound.

Just as we had succeeded in getting half way into the shining, and, in its way, beautiful church, with its quantities of candles, and the small lamps in front of beautiful pictures, a procession meets us and the crowd parts to make way for it. There are two banners at the head, one with a golden cross upon a green field, the other with a picture of Christ, and following these banners a procession of choir boys with candles, then a group of long haired popes, some in red garments with round caps and big candles, and various gay ornaments held aloft. The procession marches out and goes around the church singing, and enters again. Wherever it passes the chant goes up, "Christ is risen," and the people answer, rather faintly however, "Yes, He is truly risen."

Our friend Friis has been separated from us, in the midst of the crowd, and is fighting desperately to rejoin us. This is the less surprising as he has landed beside a homely old lady and is undoubtedly thinking of the obligatory Easter kissing attack, which may begin when least expected. Klinger and I have had the luck (and taste) to remain near three very sweet-looking girls. Friis fights madly for happier hunting grounds, and is finally by our side again.

The procession has again reached its place by the altar, where order is called and singing begins, now solo, now alternative song, then polyphonous. They bow, swing gorgeous censers, light candles, and perform other picturesque ceremonies. In the midst of our interest in this we find that our three pretty girls have disappeared. Instead we find beside us a beautiful woman, of a Madonna-like beauty, where she stands illuminated by a wax candle. Yet there is nothing religious, in a literal sense, about her. The odor of perfume brings quite different associations of thoughts and feelings.

Klinger, who stands looking like a strayed Me-phisto, with his long beard, and I, are suddenly interrupted in our scrutiny of the Madonna by Friis,

who pathetically exclaims, "They have stolen my money." Quite right,—in the midst of the crowd he has had to give an unwilling contribution of from six to seven thousand rubles (according to the present rate of exchange only fifteen to sixteen crowns). He becomes less interested, and more and more impatient. "We have already stood here for two hours,—we cannot stand all night," he insists. We finally persuade him to remain a little longer.

The priests continue. They walk about, bow to each other and to the Icons, swing their censors, lift the crucifix, light candles, mumble prayers, and sing. And this has gone on for thousands of years. What an ocean of unproductive work! I think of Columbus, Newton, Voltaire, Darwin, Marx, and Edison. The song, however, is beautiful, although the main bass has recently been arrested as a counter-revolutionist.

Few faces among the audience show genuine devotion. They cross themselves mechanically and are thinking of various things. Remembering the possibilities of acquiring vermin, we are cheered by hearing a voice at our side utter: "It is a good thing that there has just been a week of baths."

The pontiff, an extremely neat and elderly gray-beard, gives his blessing, and delivers a short sermon. Two others hold candles beside him, kiss his hands, and bestow blessings. Then he places himself upon a chair opposite the altar, reads a long litany, kisses a big golden cross, and hands it on to be kissed by the others. All the priests kiss the altar, which is beautifully decorated with flowers, and the big Bible which lies there. There is a new procession among the crowds.

It is past five o'clock in the morning. Feet are beginning to get sore, and legs to weaken. A young man is asleep, standing beside us. Now Friis becomes too impatient, and when we learn, from a bystander, that this will continue for at least another hour, we decide to leave. Klinger remains, following everything with wonderful devotion. Later on I heard that he had studied for the priesthood in his youth. It is interesting to think that the treasurer of the Communist International might have been, under other circumstances, a Russian pope.

Thus we do not see the end and cannot ascertain for ourselves whether they still observe the traditional kissing. We are told, later, that it is very rare, however. When we come out in the early morning, the bells are sounding everywhere, and the stars shine in the cool spring sky.

Except for the ringing of the bells, which continues for a whole week, one beginning when another leaves off, the Easter begins beautifully. The one week of spring has already made great progress here in Moscow. During the past few days the river has risen higher and higher, and great chunks of ice dance merrily down upon it. People stand on the bridges with pussy willows in their hands, gazing at the sight. Now the river is going down again, several meters each day. Today, Easter Sunday, everyone looks neat and quite

well-dressed. The women have evidently consulted their mirrors. Many of them walk about in fine white shoes. The bourgeois press should see this!

Small girls are selling violets in the sunshine, on the stone stairs. Boys play upon the streets, with copper kopecs. In front of the Metropol a dozen boys are practising the building of a barricade by placing a stone pile against a trolley pole, undisturbed by the police. Little girls are playing jackstones on the sidewalks by the river. Their toys are prettily decorated, and are not unlike those used by Swedish children. People sit quietly in the parks, the children play in the sand, and along the river an occasional fisherman hauls in a small fish. Dogs lie drowsily upon the asphalt, the buds on the trees are swelling visibly, the air shimmers as in summer, and the gold and tinsel shine on the many cupolas.

At the Red Square, along the wall of the Kremlin, there is a long, long grave, where are buried many of the fallen heroes of the two Russian revolutions. In the middle of the wall there is an allegoric painting, surrounded by the rays of the rising sun. Upon a red banner, slightly faded by the storms of winter, can be read: "All honor to the Socialist fighters," and on the other side: "All honor to the vanguard of the proletarian revolution." Wreaths are scattered at two places, one where the twelve victims of the attempt of September 23, last year, are resting, and the other upon the grave of General Nikolayev. He was at first a Czarist general, who later on went over to the side of the people and the Soviet. He fought bravely and with great honor against Yudenich, was taken prisoner by him, was hanged, and had a red star cut upon the flesh of his chest. When the Reds recaptured Yamburg, they found his mutilated body and buried him with great honor here among the heroes of the revolution. His picture occupies a leading place in the office of the International.*

Except for this there is no distinction made in this grave. All those who fell in the revolution are buried here, with the same lack of discrimination that is shown in caring for the children of the Whites and the Reds alike, all being cherished with the same loving care.

Monday, April 12.

The Commissars and other Russian Communist leaders have not abused their possibilities for power nor applied it to high living. Instead they have paid for their positions with a fearful strain upon their nerves and energy. But there is one man in the Kremlin who still seems to be well off, as though nothing had affected his life in either the war or the revolution. He is Demyan Byedny, the Beranger of Bolshevism, the poet laureate, as he may perhaps be called. That he is well off does not depend upon the fact that he is specially paid by the government, but upon his enormous

* See SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. II, No. 2 (January 10, 1920).

popularity among the people, who send food and beverages to his little flat in the Kremlin,—Russian peasants who are extremely fond of his funny satirical fables, and soldiers who are enraptured by his revolutionary songs.

In company with a woman comrade, Eugenie Ditrikul, from *Pravda*, I visited the illustrious poet this afternoon and had a very pleasant discussion about the poetry of the time, etc. However, as an account of this visit would take too long, I shall only briefly characterize the poet himself.

He is a strong, broad-shouldered man of thirty-seven years of age, quick of wit, and with a deep bass voice. He is very jovial, full of laughter, reminding one of a kindly giant among children. He has a wife, the ideal sort for a poet, one who keeps the house and sees to it that he is able to keep his poetic temperament unimpaired by small worries. In the nursery, which is full of toys of all kinds, there are two small human poems of flesh and blood, enjoying a worldly paradise.

Demyan Byedny was born in 1883, in a peasant family at Kherson, studied languages at the University of Petrograd, beginning with plans for becoming a professor, but found himself in the revolutionary movement during the reaction after 1905. It was his writing of political fables that attracted Lenin's attention to him. He is a modern Aesop, and has, as a matter of fact, translated into Russian the works of the great poet of fables. He participated in the world war for the period of one year, but thereafter kept himself in retirement in Finland, from whence he came to take his position as a revolutionary poet with *Pravda*, as soon as that paper published its first number in March, 1917.

He is the most popular poet of the revolution, if not also its most literary one. He has written twenty-eight poems, some of which have been printed to the number of from 200,000 to 400,000 copies, generally in small illustrated satirical pamphlets. He showed me the proof of a new poem of this same kind, which is soon to be published, and in which he describes the march of the children of Israel out of Egypt and to Canaan as a parable of the liberation of the proletariat from the capitalists. Lenin and Trotsky are Moses and Aaron, and the pictures show among other things the marching of the Israelites under a banner with the inscription: "Workers of the world, unite." He has also written a few poems in heroic style, and a varied selection of prose.

The day becomes a literary one. In the afternoon I meet the young French poet, Henri Guilbeaux, also well known to Swedish Socialists as the publisher of the excellent magazine, *Demain*, in Switzerland, which was later on suppressed by the faint hearted Swiss Government upon an order from the French chauvinists, in connection with the deportation of Guilbeaux. He went to Soviet Russia and cannot for the present return to his so-called fatherland, because he is there under sentence of death as an ally of the Bolsheviks.

Guilbeaux is a small, thin man, thirty-four years of age, with blond hair, who might easily be taken for a German. He first studied engineering, and participated in the French social democracy, but left it very soon and has not belonged to the party for the last ten years, but has associated with syndicalist and anarchist spheres. He has now been for several years a real Communist. He is very glad that the Strassburg Congress, which was held recently, led the French party so much to the left, but thinks that the Lorient Group should leave the party. He maintains that the intellectuals in France are for us, to a great extent, but is very doubtful whether they will remain so in case of a revolutionary situation in their native land. As far as his old friend Romain Rolland is concerned, he too, is a Communist, but Guilbeaux is certain that he will remain faithful to his radical point of view, since he is honest and sincere.

The development of Romain Rolland in regard to Bolshevism is very interesting, and Guilbeaux has shown me several letters which show that the great French poet, who was strongly against the Bolsheviks in the beginning, is now directing his energies where they are most needed and will be most effective, namely, against the Entente imperialism, and has decidedly taken his stand with Soviet Russia. Among other remarkable letters from the time of the world war, the former editor of *Demain* has one from the great German-Austrian poet, Rilke, written November 13, 1916, and proving how even then that great personage, musical and artistic, without interest in politics and people, was already suffering from the war. As a document illustrating the reactions of the intellectual world a few lines may be reproduced here.

"You can imagine what I have suffered since life has become so dreadful. The terrible death of Verhaeren (the Belgian poet who was killed in a train accident), has plunged me into impenetrable grief. This great heart, this heroic friend, will be of no further help in restoring and enriching life. And when shall the work of recovery begin?"

Guilbeaux is at the present time busy with the preparation of a book on proletarian ethics and revolution, and is at the same time editing a continuation of the magazine, *Demain*, which is, unfortunately, rarely published on account of the scarcity of paper. He also works on the French edition of the great magazine of the Third International. He has learned the Russian language very well since arriving here.

The writer of these lines has been ashamed of his ignorance of this language, during his sojourn here, and has been constantly conscious of the opportunities he is missing, because of this lack of knowledge. Not least did I realize it this evening when I, in company of intellectuals and proletarians, attended a recital of the drama by Lunacharsky, "The Chancellor and the Iron Worker", conducted by the author himself.

The recital was held in the press building, in a small room which had been furnished with a simple stage and about 200 chairs, ideal for an intimate

social theater. The walls were decorated with posters, with satirical cartoons of the bourgeoisie, and the labor press. The audience was an interesting mixture of intellectuals, school children, splendid looking laborers, and a general gathering of Russian people, like the party Congress the other day. Balabanova enjoys the performance in the company of three Italians who have recently arrived, and is overjoyed at meeting these representatives from her former country. With me there are two young boys, looking like college boys, but of a laborer type. One produces a paper and shows it to the other. It is a poem. Both of them read and discuss it. For a moment I feel something of the sentiment of my own college days, twenty years ago, when one waited eagerly and impatiently to see one's first rhymes printed.

Lunacharsky will be here within an hour. It is a Russian custom to give the full four quarters to each hour, so this cannot be blamed upon Bolshevism. He places himself upon a little stage beside a table, produces his typewritten manuscript, and begins his recital. He has a wonderful voice, which he varies in superb fashion in different roles,

and such is its magic and his mimicry that one scarcely misses scenery.

The play is, strictly speaking, a whole dramatic cycle, centering about the war and the revolution, a chronicle of humanity during the past few years. It begins with the chancellor of the north land declaring a war. The proletariat are being sold through the acceptance of a position of Minister of Labor by a Social Democrat, the iron worker. After the war is ended this man intends to work on the Social revolution. This he explains to his father, the laborer, who being ill wishes for a bourgeois peace. After the war a government is thus established, which is later overthrown by a Kornilov-Kapp *coup*, and is later succeeded by a Communist government.

After the recital a short debate and discussion of the play took place, during which the comment was made that it has been built too loosely and that the end was not in harmony with the beginning. The general opinion, however, was to the effect that the play contained many valuable points. It will be given in Moscow next fall.—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, June 23, 1920.

Working Women in Soviet Russia

By HELEN BLONINA

UNDER capitalism the proletarian and peasant womenfolk were completely estranged from social and political life—both by the conditions of bourgeois family tradition and by their political subjection. Thanks to this, when power passed into the hands of the Soviets, when before the working class there arose the complex and difficult task of control and reconstruction, the working woman in the mass proved to be still more inexperienced than the working man. In order successfully to engage the working women in the common task, it was necessary, first and foremost, to help them to learn how to work, and to make clear where and how they could best apply their energies.

It was necessary to work out new methods of propaganda, new methods of approach, adapted to the psychological peculiarities of the working and peasant women and to the new problems awaiting them. And in this connection especial importance has to be attached to propaganda by deed, i.e., to propaganda by means of the direct attraction of the working and peasant women to one form or another of Soviet or similar work.

Women's Delegate Conferences were organized, which have rendered great services in this sense. These delegate conferences are composed of representatives from all the factories and works of the given ward or town, elected at general meetings of the undertakings. They play the part of institutions by means of which working women learn in practice how to carry on Soviet work, how to apply their forces and revolutionary energy to the common proletarian struggle and work of recon-

struction. From another point of view, they constitute an excellent link between the Soviet institution and the masses of working women.

The delegates break up into groups, working in one or another Soviet institution (mainly, hitherto, in the following sections: social welfare, labor, education, and health), and there assist in the creation, investigation, and control of creches, homes, children's parks, elementary and other schools, public dining halls and kitchens; in the elimination from these organizations of abuses or disorder; in supervising the distribution of boots and clothing in the schools; in collecting evidence for and assisting the inspectors of labor; in insuring the exact fulfilment of the regulations governing female and child labor. They are entrusted with the organization of ambulances and hospitals, the care of the wounded and the sick, the inspection and control of barracks; they participate in the militia (police); they supervise the payment of separation allowances; they assist in the engaging of women workers in all forms of direction and control of production, and so on.

On their part, the sections acquaint the delegates with their activity, and enroll them in schools or courses of instruction in one branch or another of Soviet work opened by them (courses in social welfare, pre-school education, Red Sisters and sanitary workers). At the same time the delegates, continuing to work in their factory or their workshops, make periodical reports to their electors concerning their activity and that of the sections in which they work, and organize vigilance committees in the workshops to receive complaints,

requests, and suggestions from the women workers.

The delegates take an active part in all the campaigns initiated by the Soviets or the Party (fuel campaign, sanitary detachments, food detachments, help for the wounded, fight with epidemics, expeditions for agitation into the country, etc.) The delegate conferences assemble two to four times a month. Lately, in Moscow and in some other towns, the basis of representation has been lowered, and delegates are now elected one for every twenty working women. In this way, through the medium of the delegate conferences, it becomes possible to reach the widest possible masses of women workers, and more and more they begin to constitute reserves, from which the Party and the Soviets can draw new forces. This was strikingly illustrated by the Party "weeks." In Moscow, for example, where during the Party "week" about 15,000 new members were enrolled, amongst them some thousands of women, a large percentage of the new membership was given by these very delegate conferences.

Great possibilities for agitation are contained in the non-party conferences of women workers, which in separate towns, provinces and counties are convoked approximately every three to four months.

Oral and printed propaganda and agitation are also carried on. In almost every party organ there is a "Working Woman's Page."

We can say, without exaggeration, that, whatever the faults and deficiencies in our work, the results achieved during the past year have surpassed our expectations.

A year ago there existed only a tiny group of class-conscious women workers, while the mass of the remainder, though revolutionary in temperament, was still lacking in consciousness and in organization. Today there is a strong body of intelligent workers, members of the Communist Party, and all with experience of one form or other of Soviet or Party work, gained during the past year. Not a few brilliant agitators have made their appearance, and now women journalists are also rising from the working-class ranks.

The women workers' movement already embraces the widest possible masses, and is becoming a considerable political force. Work has gone best in Petrograd, Moscow, the Moscow province, and the province of Ivanovo-Voznessensk. Undoubtedly the women workers are best organized and most class-conscious in Petrograd. Work has also begun in other provinces, and in some places fairly promisingly. At the All-Russian Conference of Party organizers of women workers there were present representatives of twenty-eight provinces; in addition to which comrades from the Ural, from Ufa, Orenburg, Astrakhan, amongst other places, were unable to be present, although work is going on there. The working women's movement thus covers today the whole of Russia.

The women workers have displayed splendid capacity both for organization and for labor. In

spite of unprecedented difficulties, they have already succeeded in helping the Soviet sections (sub-committees) to organize not a few creches, children's parks, schools, public dining halls, etc. And, while the working man has to go to the front in the ranks of the Red Army, to defend the Soviet power from the attacks of the Denikins, Yudeniches, Entente imperialists—the working woman in the rear is replacing him, not only in the factory and the workshop, but also in the Soviets, the trade unions, the militia, etc. Many women workers, also, expressed a wish to fight at the front against the White Guards, side by side with the working men.

REPATRIATION OF RUSSIAN WAR PRISONERS

Moscow, July 26.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs has called the attention of the French Foreign Minister, in the matter of the repatriation of the Russian war prisoners by way of Odessa, to the fact that all ships without exception must make known their arrival twenty-five nautical miles before Odessa by wireless to Odessa or Nikolayev, and then take aboard a pilot. The Italian warship "Rucchia", which disregarded this order, sank in a mine field.

The text of the Port Regulations governing the arrival of foreign ships in Soviet Russian harbors was printed in full in SOVIET RUSSIA for August 7, 1920.

VACANCIES IN UNIVERSITIES

HELSINGFORS.—The Soviet press regularly carries reports to the effect that professors are needed for universities and colleges. The *Izvestia* of June 4 contains an announcement of competitive examinations for the chairs of geology and mineralogy in the Institute of Forestry and for the chairs of pathology and therapy in the Medical Institute. It is expected that Dr. Rubel and Professor Grinchikov will be appointed to these chairs.

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Official Communications of the Soviet Government

DECLARATION OF THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE RIGHT ON THE POLISH QUESTION

1485. May 8. 1920.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of the right, which has remained perhaps the worst enemy of the Soviet power, has communicated to the Moscow Soviet a declaration which symbolizes better than anything else the union of all Russian society about the Soviet power against the Polish aggression, for in the midst of the usual unfounded recrimination of this party against the Soviet policy, is found approval of the policy towards Poland and an appeal for the support of the Red Army. The Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of the Right recognizes in particular that the Polish aggression is the work of renegades of the revolution, adventurers of the type of Savinkov, Burtsev, and Petlura, who, as is known, are at the same time the proteges and the hirelings of the Entente. The declaration follows:

The phantom of a new bloody and devastating war lies over Russia. This time the danger for the integrity and independence, for the freedom of the internal development of Russia, comes from the young Polish Republic. The imperialism of the Polish bourgeoisie, tempted by the alleged weakness of Soviet Russia, and excited by the imperialist elements of the Anglo-French bourgeoisie, has presented to the Russian people insensate and criminal demands, hostile to the vital foundations of the Russian state, and threatening to seize from Russia several territories whose population is entirely Great Russian or Ukrainian. Instead of solving all territorial questions in litigation by means of an inquiry and under circumstances guaranteeing the full voting freedom of the population, the Polish bourgeoisie have drawn the sword and with criminal thoughtlessness kindled the flame of a new fratricidal war. Led into error by the gossip of the renegades of the revolution, and insensate adventurers of the type of Savinkov, Burtsev, Petlura, and others, the Polish Government expected to have in its campaign against Soviet Russia the sympathy and support of the Russian democracy always insulted and crucified by the Bolsheviki authorities. In the name of the fraction of the socialist democracy which has always carried on and is now carrying on the most implacable war of ideas against the dictatorship of the Bolsheviki party, the Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party declares loudly that, while remaining as before faithful to the ideal of socialism and democracy, it deems it to be its duty to wage all the working peasant class and the laboring class to fight with all their energy to repulse the conquering pretensions of Polish imperialism. In the war imposed upon the Russian people for their national good, the socialist democracy will perform its duty to the end. The

salvation of Russia from the danger which menaces her demands imperiously that the war become a national cause. Devoted ardor, acceptance of all sacrifices, revolutionary enthusiasm, firm internal discipline, these the Russian people should oppose to the Polish imperialism armed with French cannon and English gold. But the national ardor cannot develop its force and attain all its aims unless at the head is found a governmental power working in perfect harmony with it. All the popular enthusiasm would disappear if the power thought to replace the aims of legitimate defence, comprehensible and clear to every revolutionary worker's conscience with other foreign aims. The words of advice which we address to the power which the will of destiny has in the present period of trial placed in a position to lead the Russian people to battle are in no way dictated by a sentiment of revolutionary partisanship, of party hate or factional rivalry. They are born solely of the warm desire to save Russia from the new danger of national dismemberment which threatens, and to settle as quickly as possible under circumstances acceptable to both sides a war which weighs heavily upon an economic situation already unfavorable. The peasant revolts which have been widespread in the South and the East, and which have destroyed the political fortresses of Kolchak and Denikin, have manifested the will of the people to defend the revolution against every menace of reaction or restoration. They bear witness also to the antipathy of the population for the anti-democratic policy, the cause of insurrections. We believe firmly that the Red Army which guards the western limits of revolutionary Russia and defends its interests in the most difficult conditions, will be equal to the great national and human task which has been imposed upon it by history, and for the accomplishment of which the hearts of the whole Russian nation beat in unison with those of the Red Army. We now urge all citizens to support with every force the Red Army which is defending the interests of the nation.

(Signed)

The Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

PEACE POURPARLERS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LITHUANIA

1489. May 8, 1920.

(First Meeting May 7)

The president of the Russian peace delegation, Yoffe, declares the conference open and greets the representatives of the Lithuanian Republic. Lithuania, having never been in a state of war with Soviet Russia, the pourparlers will aim rather at the definition of the juridical relations which should exist for the good of the two republics between two nations which have always been so near to one another. The principles proclaimed by the Russian Revolution of the right of peoples

to self-determination, principles which Soviet Russia defends in all negotiations, furnish the guaranty that in the pourparlers with Lithuania no insurmountable difficulty can arise. At the moment when imperialist Poland, which, despite the will of the Lithuanian people, occupies a part of the territory of this people, tries to impose by force its domination upon the Russian and Ukrainian peoples, now more than ever the only possible basis for solving these conflicts is the liberty of the peoples to dispose of their destiny. On this ground agreement between Russia and Lithuania is certain and rapid. All the questions allied to the imperialist war should be set aside in order not to revive in the least the wounds of the past. Russia will raise against Lithuania no claims arising from the old subjection of this country to the former Russian empire. At the same time the Russian delegation is ready to consider with sympathy the unfortunate situation in which the imperialist war and the Polish aggression have placed the Republic of Lithuania.

The president of the Lithuanian delegation replies by expressing the desire of his government to establish amicable relations between the two peoples. He declares himself convinced in advance that Soviet Russia will above all repair the historic injustice of the Czarist government by renouncing formally the sovereign right of Russia over Lithuania. He expresses the hope that Russia will do all in its power to allay the suffering into which the imperialist war has plunged the Lithuanian people. The president of the Lithuanian delegation closes by declaring himself certain of the favorable issue of the negotiations.

GORKY AND POLAND

The *Krasnaya Gazeta* of April 9, publishes the following statements of Maxim Gorky:

"The whole world sees and knows that it is not we who have plotted this war. I am the declared enemy of war, that most hideous phenomenon in all the world; but if I am seized by the throat I shall defend myself to the last drop of blood. Blows are inflicted upon your heads because you are trying to build a new life. You are hated not at all for some error or cruelty, but because you have broken the rusty chains of the political regime. When the workers of Soviet Russia wanted only to take up their peaceful work, a new enemy appeared before them and now wishes to crush them with blows. But that should not frighten us. On the day of the proletarian fete of the First of May you showed what fraternal solidarity in labor leads to, and that example, better than any words, testifies to the fact that our common efforts shall triumph over the enemy. Perhaps this blow coming from Poland is the last obstacle which separates us from the free road where we shall build our life in conformity with the new communist principles in such a way that all will see us and hasten to imitate us. That is my profound conviction. Greetings to you, Comrades."

THE DEFENSE AGAINST THE POLES 1514. May 12, 1920.

On May 10 three Red aviators, flying over Zhlobin, engaged in combat an entire escadrille of Polish planes. A Polish plane was shot down, falling a verst and a half from Zhlobin. After having put to flight the enemy machines the Red aviators landed without damage within our lines. On May 9 one of these same aviators had already shot down an enemy balloon in the region of Bobruisk.

In *Pravda* Sokolnikov shows that the Allies and the Poles propose to make the Ukraine serve the same selfish aims as formerly Germany. But it is certain that the result will be the same and that the Entente will not get more from the Ukraine than it did from Germany.

Trotsky issues an order of the day to invite all the troops of the west and southwest front to regard as sacred in all circumstances the wounded or prisoner enemy. If the Polish White Guard torture, shoot and hang not only the communists, but all the Red soldiers fallen into their hands, Soviet Russia will hold responsible only the ruling classes and not the people of Poland. The only vengeance permitted against all the crimes of the Polish is to push as violently as possible the attack against the Polish White Guard.

The Central Executive Committee and the Council of Defense proclaim a state of siege in a number of provinces of the center and the west. Full power passes to the bureaus of the Executive Committees of the province.

The People's Commissariat of the Interior urges all the district and canton soviets to make known to the village population by means of reunions and meetings the causes of the war with Poland. There should not be in the republic a single citizen who does not know these causes perfectly.

The mobilization of the communists is proceeding. Certain committees such as that of Riazan furnish a larger number than that fixed by the Central Committee.

The number of volunteers is so great in Moscow that new bureaus had had to be installed. In addition in the units which have not been designated for the Polish front masses of soldiers have enrolled to leave for that front.

The Russian aviator, Rossinski, has just established a new record for Russia, two thousand versts in twelve hours, forty-two minutes, the course from Moscow to Nizhni, Kazan, Samara and return with a one hundred and twenty horsepower motor.

There were counted at Petrograd on May 1 eighty technical schools, thirteen of them superior schools, with about ten thousand students.

On June 1 there will be opened new workingmen's faculties at the superior technical school of Moscow, the institute of surveying, the academy of mines, the popular polytechnicum, the industrial and economic institute, and the Razumovskoye agricultural academy of Petrograd.

POLISH TERROR

1518. May 13, 1920

In the territory occupied by the Poles the latter pillage and in every way maltreat the peaceful population. The Red prisoners are stripped of their clothing, beaten into unconsciousness, confined in camps, where they die of hunger when they are not shot.

In the Soviet provinces of Rybinsk, Kaluga, Viatka, Kurgan, Kostroma, Tula, whole populations assembled in meetings swore to destroy the Polish White Guards. The volunteers enroll by thousands. All classes wish to take part in the war. At Tula the representatives of the Mensheviks and the socialist revolutionaries urge their supporters to reinforce the Red Army with every means at their disposal.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

The agricultural campaign is proceeding with the greatest success in the governmental organization of sowing and the creation of local shops for the repair of tools. An increase is observed in the communal cultivation.

The line from Perm is improving every day. The number of trains in daily movement has grown from 560 to 900 since last January. The percentage of trains out of service has diminished from twelve to seven per cent, that of locomotives from sixty-four to forty-five per cent. The one hundred and seventy-nine bridges destroyed by the Whites are all rebuilt.

In *Pravda* Lomov compares the fuel situation on December 18 and now. Of wood in place of the thirty-five million steres there are today one hundred million. Of coal the Moscow basin in the three first months of this year has increased its production twenty per cent in comparison with last year. The mines of Cheliabinsk and Kizel in the Urals give every satisfaction. The basin of the Donets continues to improve. Of naphtha one hundred million poods at least will be brought from Baku on the Volga and at least twenty-five will be realized from the reserves of Grozny and Emba. The result is that a considerable part of the trains employed in the transport of fuel are liberated, coal and naphtha having a fuel value triple or quadruple that of wood. These trains can now be employed in food or industrial transport.

The Soviet power, not content with protecting the small industries which have always rendered enormous service to Russia, is occupied with organizing them into grand units and trusts. Thus four of these trusts exist in the region of Pavlovski Posad near Nizhni-Novgorod, embracing ten thousand artisans. In the region of Muron two trusts are organized and two others are in the process of organization, embracing seven thousand artisans. The movement is spreading in the other provinces.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Russo-Lithuanian peace pourparlers. At the second meeting of the conference Yoffe proposed the following text proclaiming Lithuanian independence: "Conforming to the principle proclaimed by the Russian Soviet Republic of the right of the peoples freely to dispose of themselves and to separate themselves entirely from the state in which they may be, and repudiating consequently the imperialist policy of Czarism, the consequence of which was the annexation of Lithuania, Russia recognizes and confirms the independence and sovereignty of the Lithuanian state as well as all the resulting juridical consequences and voluntarily renounces for ever all the sovereign rights which the Russian Government had claimed over the people and the territory of Lithuania. The fact of the old subjection of Lithuania to Russia imposes upon the Lithuanian people and country no obligation towards Russia." The Lithuanian delegation accepted the proposed text and the next meeting is to be devoted to the question of frontiers.

THE ENGLISH DELEGATION IN RUSSIA

The delegation of English workingmen's organizations has been received at the Russian frontier by Melnichanski, president of the Moscow Council of trade unions. At Petrograd the chief of the delegation, Ben Turner, bore witness in his discourse, to the solidarity of the English workers with the Russian revolution for the class war to the end. Purcell declared that the delegates came to Russia to learn from the Russian workers to follow their example. Williams expressed his conviction that the members of the delegation would learn much as the guests of the Russian Communist Party.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

The mines of Kizel in the Urals in April yielded nearly one million seven hundred thousand poods of coal, that is, ten per cent more than in March. The nationalized paper mills of the region of Petrograd will furnish in May sixty-two thousand poods of paper in place of forty-nine thousand in April.

Measures taken by the direction of professional instruction to obtain an anticipated promotion of engineers have produced considerable results. Thus the superior technical school of Moscow will supply more than five hundred engineers, that is, more than all the superior technical establishments of Moscow and Petrograd in all of last year.

IN UKRAINE

The Independent Social Democratic Party of Ukraine, having at its head the old ministers of the Rada, Tkachenko and Mazurenko, after having entered into tentative accord with Petlura has resumed the war against him and is defending the soviet idea.

FOOD AND TRANSPORTATION

Moscow, June 24.—The People's Commissar for Food Supply, Sviderski, publishes the following statistical data dealing with the work accomplished by the Soviet Government in the domain of food supply and transportation. According to this data, it is the plan of the Soviet Government to raise annually from three to four hundred million poods of wheat for the Red Army and the industrial centers of the country, and also for those provinces of the country which are not able to supply themselves. During the past year, it has succeeded in preparing ninety-one per cent of this quantity. For the improvement of the transportation system, the Soviet Government is beginning to electrify some of the railways of the country, particularly those of the districts adjacent to Petrograd and Moscow.

BREAKING THE BLOCKADE

Moscow, June 28.—A blockade runner has arrived in Esthonia with fifty wagon-loads of agricultural implements and thirty-seven wagon-loads of paper.

Moscow, June 16.—Latvia and Soviet Russia have reached an agreement regarding the exchange of fugitives. The carrying out of the agreement will begin immediately. Yoffe is authorized to act for Soviet Russia, and Vesman, Bergis and Kalnin for Latvia.

LITVINOV, RUSSIA'S REPRESENTATIVE IN NORWAY

Moscow, June 30.—The Soviet Government expects that in the near future, the Norwegian Government will be ready to start negotiations with the Soviet Government relative to the questions now pending between the two countries; and that the Russian representative, Litvinov, will soon receive the necessary facilities for the journey to Norway. The object of the negotiations on the part of the Russians is the attainment of an understanding between the two countries in questions which concern them both. Litvinov is also the Swedish representative, and is awaiting passports from Sweden.

FOOD CONDITIONS ARE IMPROVING

Moscow, June 30.—From official figures, we learn, in comparison with the last few years, that the distribution of bread is steadily increasing. In the community kitchens established by the city authorities, from seven to eight hundred thousand people eat daily.

NEW RUSSIAN SCHOOL

Moscow, June 30.—The Soviet Government has issued a call to all Russians belonging to the learned professions, who are now in foreign countries, to return to Russia in order to help in the establishment of a new Socialist school.

THE NEXT ISSUE

of

SOVIET RUSSIA

Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:

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2. THE "MISERY" OF THE RUSSIAN SCIENTISTS, by C. Smirnov.
3. COMBATTING THE DISORGANIZATION OF TRANSPORT. *An official article on methods used and results obtained in the rehabilitation of the railroads in Soviet Russia.*
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