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Nikolai Lenin

By MAXIM GORKY

VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN is an adherent of the theory which holds that the role of the individual in the progress of culture is insignificant, but he himself is, in my opinion, a source of energy without which the Russian Revolution could not have taken its present course.

I once compared him—conditionally—with Peter the Great. This comparison was ridiculed as an exaggeration, but it was, of course, a conditional comparison: to me personally Lenin's role as a social reformer of Russia seems less significant than his importance as a world revolutionist. He is not only a man on whose will history has imposed the awful task of arousing to the very bottom the variagated, clumsy, sluggish human ant-hill which is known as Russia,—his will is a tireless battering ram whose powerful blows shake the formidable capitalist states of the West, and the hideous slavish autocracies of the East which were stagnant for thousands of years.

I still think—as I did two years ago—that to Lenin Russia is only the material for an experiment which has been launched on a universal, planetary scope. At one time this thought, dimmed by the feeling of commiseration for the Russian people, made me indignant. But, observing how the course of events in the Russian revolution, widening and deepening, is ever more arousing and organizing the forces which are capable of destroying the foundations of the capitalist order, I am now of the opinion that even if Russia is destined to serve as the object of an experiment, it is unjust to hold as responsible for this the man who strives to transform the potential energy of the Russian toiling masses into a kinetic, active energy.

To each according to his deserts,—this is no more than just. A people which was rotting in the stifling atmosphere of the monarchy, a sluggish people, lacking will-power and faith in itself, not sufficiently "bourgeois" to be strong in resistance and not sufficiently strong to subdue in itself the beggarly but firmly held aspiration for bourgeois welfare,—this people, by the very logic of its stupid history, must obviously live through all the dramas and tragedies which are the inevitable fate of an inert being living an epoch of outspoken, brutalizing class-struggle, the most hideous expression of which was such a vileness as the war of 1914-1918.

I do not, of course, intend to compose a speech for the defense or vindication of V. Lenin. Neither I nor he are in need of it.

But I know him to some extent, and when the "objectively thinking people" accuse him of being the cause of cruel civil war, of terror and other crimes, I think of Lloyd George, who in 1913-1914, while delivering nice laudatory speeches about the German people to English teachers who were leaving for a visit to Germany, and to German teachers who were visiting England, was at that very time preparing bayonets and shells to be used against the Germans. All these "great men": the best—the most shameless cynic, Clemenceau; the Socialists who voted credits for the organization of the all-European slaughter; the scientists who invented poisonous gases and other abominations; the poets who cursed the Germans in 1914 and the English in 1918,—precisely all these musty and rotten elements of the decaying old order inflicted a deep, perhaps mortal wound on European culture, and they continue to torment

Russia, facilitating the continuation of the civil war, intensifying it by the blockade, and murdering little children by cold and hunger.

Mistakes—if they need be mentioned at all—are not crimes. The mistakes of Lenin are the mistakes of an honest man, and history knows of no reformer who has not made mistakes. It is different with Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Company. They commit no errors, they act as professional murderers, condemning a whole people to the tortures of hunger and cold, and facilitating the continuation of civil strife, which is absolutely senseless, for save the Bolsheviki there is no force in Russia capable of taking the power into their hands and arousing the exhausted country to the energetic effort which is necessary for productive toil.

* * *

RETURNING to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, I must say that my personal sympathies for him do not affect me when I write about him. I look upon him as an object of my observations equally with all other men and phenomena which interest me as an interpreter of the life of my country.

Take this man as he addresses an assembly of workmen. He speaks in amazingly simple words, a vigorous, iron style, with irresistible logic. But in his stern words I have never detected either crude demagoguery or the insipid foppery of beautiful phrases. His is invariably the same *leit-motif*—the necessity of destroying to the very root the social inequality of man, and the means to this end. This ancient phrase acquires on his lips a sharp, uncompromising sound: one always feels that his faith in it is unshakable, one feels the calm of his faith, leaving no room for doubt,—the faith of a fanatic, but a scientific and not a metaphysical or mystical fanatic. It seems to me that he takes hardly any interest in individualized mankind, he thinks only of parties, masses, states, and in this domain he possesses the gift of vision, the intuition of a genius, a thinker-experimenter. He possesses that extraordinary clearness of thought which can be acquired only through intense, ceaseless work.

A Frenchman once asked me: "Don't you think that Lenin is a thinking guillotine?" I replied: "I would compare the work of his mind to the blows of a hammer which is endowed with sight and crushes precisely the thing which it is high time to destroy."

To the smug and comfort-loving, to the philistines of all countries, Lenin must, of course, appear as an Attila, coming to destroy the Rome of their sluggish and comfortable well-being, based on slavery, blood-shed and spoliation. But just as ancient Rome deserved to perish, so do the crimes of the modern world prove the necessity of its destruction. This is a historical necessity which no one and no means can prevent.

There rises the plaintive babble of the value of European culture and of the necessity to protect

it from the assault of the new Huns. Only on the lips of revolutionists is this sincere and important; but it is a hideous lie on the lips of those who organized and assisted in the slaughter of 1914-1918.

The advancement of culture—if these terms signify the further progress of art, science, technology and the humanization of man, which goes along with and results from this progress—cannot, of course, be impeded by the new conditions which will make it possible for the masses, the many millions, instead of only tens of thousands, to participate actively in cultural work.

* * *

SOMETIMES the audacity of the imagination, essential to all literary artists, urges upon me the question:

"What is Lenin's vision of the new world?"

Then there unfolds before me a beautiful vision of the earth, exquisitely shaped by the toil of free men, into a gigantic emerald. All men are intelligent and everyone has a feeling of personal responsibility for everything which is created by him and around him. Everywhere are beautiful orchard-cities filled with majestic buildings, everywhere the forces of nature, subdued and organized by the mind of man, are at work for his benefit, and he himself is—at last—a real master of the elements. His physical energy is no longer spent on rough, filthy labor, it has been transformed into spiritual energy, and all its power is directed to the investigation of the fundamental problems of life, against which the human mind has battered for ages without avail, shaken and torn as it was by the necessary effort to explain and to justify the phenomena of social strife and worn out by the drama involved in the recognition of two irreconcilable principles, which was unavoidable in a world of such phenomena.

Ennobled technically and comprehended socially, toil has become an enjoyment for man. The intellect of man—the most precious element in the universe—has, at last, become really free and really fearless.

Fearlessness of thought and keen penetration in the domain of politics are the fundamental traits of Lenin's mind. The world had never heard such language as is used by the diplomacy which is inspired by him. It is, to be sure, a language which tortures the tender ears of the diplomats, of cutaways and smoking-jackets, but it is a mercilessly truthful language. And truth will remain rough as long as we men will not ourselves make it as beautiful as our music, which is one of the finest truths we have created.

I do not believe that I ascribe to Lenin dreams which are alien to him, I do not think that I romanticize this man. I cannot imagine him without this fine dream of the future happiness of all men, of a bright joyous life. The greater the man, the more daring his dreams.

Lenin is more a man than anyone of my con-

temporaries, and though his thought is, of course, mainly occupied by such political matters which a romanticist would be constrained to call "narrowly practical", still I am certain that in his rare moments of repose his active thought soars much further in the beautiful future and beholds much more than I can imagine.

The fundamental aim of Lenin's whole life is universal welfare, and he must inevitably see in the far-off ages the end of the great process to the beginning of which all his will is ascetically and courageously devoted. He is an idealist, if we interpret this concept as a merging of all thoughts in one idea—the idea of universal welfare. His personal life is such that in an epoch of religious fervor Lenin would be considered a saint.

I know this assertion will make the smug philistines indignant, that many comrades will smile at this, and that Lenin himself will have a good laugh. "Saint" is really a paradoxical and strong term to be applied to this man for whom—as the ex-revolutionary Chaikovsky said—"absolutely nothing is sacred." Saint Lenin,—whom the well-bred and cultured leader of the British Tories, Lord Churchill, considers "the most ferocious and abhorrent man"!

But the honorable Lord will not deny that the saintliness of the church seldom excluded ferocity and cruelty. Evidence to this effect may be found in the bloody fights of the church fathers at the oecumenical councils, in the inquisition and in many of the other abominations. On the other hand, the domain of civic activity has always given a greater number of truly saintly men, if we assume this to signify unselfish and fearless service to the interests of the people, of freedom, of truth.

Lenin, the stern realist and keen statesman, is gradually becoming a legendary personality. This is as it should be.

From the obscure villages of India, many Indians who have felt the age-long oppression of British officials go secretly to Kabul, tramping hundreds of miles along mountain paths and in forests and risking their lives, they come to the Russian mission and inquire: "What kind of a man is Lenin?" And, at the other end of the globe Norwegian workmen say to an indifferent Russian: "This Lenin is the most honest of chaps. There has never yet lived such a man."

As I said before, this is as it should be. Most men must have faith before they can begin to act. It will take much longer for them to begin to think and comprehend, and the evil genius of capital is oppressing them with ever greater intensity by poverty, alcoholism and exhaustion.

It seems necessary to mention that the passion of friendship is not alien to Lenin, and that in general, nothing human is alien to him. I feel somewhat embarrassed and amused in speaking of this, but the smug and comfort-loving of the whole world are so sacred, and Lord Churchill becomes so exasperated and upset when he gazes toward the East. Being of kindly disposition, I

feel myself obliged to reassure somewhat the scared and irritated philistines and all the other enemies of the Bolshevik leader.

It sometimes happens that Lenin exaggerates the good qualities of certain people to their favor and to the injury of the cause. But almost without exception his negative appraisals—though they may have seemed unfounded—are inevitably vindicated by the men whom he appraises negatively before even seeing the results of their work. This possibly proves that the evil qualities of men are everywhere considerably more numerous than the useful qualities.

In this stern statement there sometimes appears a spark of almost feminine tenderness, and I am sure that the terror costs him unbearable, though very well concealed anguish. It is improbable and inconceivable that men condemned by history to the irreconcilable contradiction of killing some for the sake of the freedom of others, should not suffer soul-torturing pains. I know several pairs of eyes in which this burning pain has settled for life. I instinctively abhor any killing, but these men are martyrs, and my conscience will never let me condemn them.

I notice that in discussing Lenin I am involuntarily led to digress to other subjects. But it could not be otherwise when one speaks of a man who is in the center of everything and above everything.

Of Lenin himself one could, of course, say a good deal more than I have said here. But I am hindered by the modesty of this man who is absolutely free from any conceit. I know that even the little that was said in these remarks will seem to him excessive, exaggerated and ridiculous . . . Well, let him have his laugh, he does laugh so well. But I hope that many will read these lines with some profit to themselves.

I have spoken in these lines of a man who had the courage to begin the process of the all-European social revolution in a country in which eighty-five per cent of the peasants want to become well-fed bourgeois, and no more than this. Many consider this fearlessness as madness. I started my work as a provoker of revolutionary moods with a glorification of the frenzy of the brave.

There was a moment when a natural commiseration for the Russian people led me to look upon this frenzy as almost a crime. But now, after I have seen that this people is much better at patient suffering than at honest and conscious work, I once more sing the glory of the sacred madness of the brave.

And of these Vladimir Lenin is the foremost and the most magnificently mad!

ARTICLE BY GEORG BRANDES

For lack of space Georg Brandes' article on Russia, promised for this issue, has been postponed to next week's issue.

The Work of the People's Commissariat of Health

By N. SEMASHKO, *People's Commissar of Health*

GREAT difficulty has attended the carrying out of the work of the People's Commissariat of Health. Epidemics, the general disorganization left by the imperialistic war, which was much increased by the civil war, and food difficulties, were among the serious impediments met with in the work of the institutions concerned with public health. One epidemic followed close upon the heels of the other, requiring the entire attention of the medical staff, and, as a result, even the most essential reforms and improvements were capable only of partial accomplishments, if they did not have to be postponed altogether.

The year 1918 was marked by a cholera epidemic. The People's Commissariat of Health undertook the most energetic measures to stop this epidemic and, in spite of very difficult working conditions, the outcome was a success: only 35,619 cases of cholera were recorded in 1918, while the previous cholera epidemic, in 1908, had more than 200,000 such cases. In the autumn of 1918, the "Spanish Influenza" swept over the country; more than 700,000 cases were recorded. In addition to the practical measures, the People's Commissariat of Health also undertook a far-reaching scientific study of this as yet little known disease; scientific staffs were organized and instructed to gather all possible information concerning the nature and the types of the disease; meetings were held and much material was collected. Now a special commission, including many experts, is digesting this material and preparing it for publication.

After the Spanish influenza came the typhus. This epidemic began in the autumn of 1918 and reached its climax in the Spring of 1919. During the eight months ending with July, 1919, the total number of cases of typhus registered was 1,299,263, of which between eight and ten per cent ended fatally. The cities, whose food situation was particularly grave, were most affected.

In July and August the typhus subsided, only a few cases still being recorded. In October, and more particularly in November and December, the typhus again began to increase. Its revival occurred about the time of the advance of our army in Siberia, and was due to the fact that all the districts that were being evacuated by the Whites were full of typhus. As a matter of fact, it was the friendly relations between our soldiers and the local population and the war prisoners that aided in spreading this epidemic in the army. Serious efforts had to be put forth to prevent it from reaching the rest of the country. When the epidemic subsided in the East, and our army was advancing in the South, the disease began to infiltrate from the South; other epidemics encountered by the advancing army were: intermittent fever, very serious typhoid fever and cholera epidemics. We did not succeed in putting down these South Russian epidemics until late in March,

1920. Other sections of the country had already been cleared of it by the beginning of the same month. No epidemic appearance of typhoid fever were still to be observed in May.

There was no cholera in the summer of 1919, only a few sporadic cases being recorded.

The People's Commissariat of Health also paid special attention to smallpox infection; from November 1, 1919, to July, 1919, there was 81,851 such cases registered. The most energetic measures were taken by the People's Commissariat of Health to oppose this epidemic. Former governments had never dared attempt to take such measures; by decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars of April 16, 1919, obligatory vaccination was provided for in Russia. Large credits were allotted and vaccine distributed with the purpose of exterminating this epidemic. Smallpox is now non-existent.

Details of the Soviet Medical System

Owing to the extremely hard conditions of work, already suggested above, the People's Commissariat of Health could never have carried out its duties if the Revolution, which so completely altered the course of the Russian national life, had not also made considerable changes in this field of activity.

The great alteration in question was the complete reorganization of the public service. All medical services were united into a single institution which now exists as an independent department, or the People's Commissariat of Health.

Already before the war the European medical press was discussing the possibility of such a department. In 1913, a well-known French medical writer, Mirman, in one of the articles contributed by him to "Hygiene" asked what would be the source of information to answer a French deputy who might ask what measures the French Government undertook in order to fight phthisis, and arrived at the conclusion that four ministers would have to answer the question, the Ministers of Labor, Agriculture, Interior, and Public Instruction, possibly, in addition, the Ministers of War and of the Navy. Of course, the sanitary efforts of the hygienic service among various institutions produce clashes and endless expenditures of labor and funds. "The organization of a Department of Public Health," writes Mirman, "would bring order into this chaos." The honor of having established the first Commissariat of Public Health belongs to Soviet Russia. Furthermore, such unification was a necessity brought about by the situation, and made possible the task of carrying out a health service at all, by coordinating the work of the military and civil medical services, avoiding reduplication, utilizing in the most economic manner the limited medical staff (reduced by the mobilization and by the epidemics) and the very small

supply of medicaments (which could not be increased owing to the blockade).

We see, therefore, that the creation of the People's Commissariat of Health is important not only from the standpoint of principle, but also from the practical point of view.

There is an additional factor which much facilitated the work of public health. It is the watchword set up by the People's Commissariat of Health, which has been strictly followed from the very outset: "the workers themselves must take care of their health."

Everyone understands that in Russia all branches of government, including therefore the Commissariat of Health, are in the hands of representatives of the workers and peasants: "the Soviets of Workers', Peasants and Red Soldiers' Delegates." But the watchword of the Commissariat of Health means more than this. It means particularly that a great deal of assistance is received in the daily work of the Commissariat from the people themselves. In explanation, let us mention the Workers' Committees to Combat Epidemics, established in 1918 by the Soviet of People's Commissars. These committees functioned not only in the cities, but also in the larger villages, assisting the local sections of the People's Commissariat of Health. During typhus epidemics, the duties of such committees consisted in inspecting the baths, the supply of soap, cleanliness of lodgings, especially of public institutions (stations, jails, boarding houses, etc.), and in spreading among the population correct information and advice on hygiene. Such committees are appointed in all the important districts of large cities; the elected have representatives in the factories. The assistance of women (workers and peasants) is particularly desired, for, being housekeepers, it is easy for them to teach the population habits of cleanliness. We may say without exaggeration that the epidemics of typhus and cholera were stopped chiefly by the assistance of the workers' and peasants' committees. But this is not all. Not a single important problem has been carried out without the assistance of the workers. The question of systematic measures to combat social diseases, such as phthisis and venereal diseases, was discussed with the representatives of trade unions, Women's Organizations, Young People's Unions, etc. The organization of sanitary protection for workers was carried out by special inspectors, elected from among the workers themselves: inspectors of dwellings were organized in the same way. Not only from the standpoint of organization, but also from the standpoint of its practical value, this system was of great importance. It is a fact that the People's Commissariat of Health can only overcome the numerous difficulties met

with in this impoverished and devastated country by assuring itself of the support and assistance of the population.

The third peculiarity of the Soviet medical organization is this: it is now operating on an entirely different social basis. Formerly, necessary sanitary measures for the benefit of the poorer classes always met with obstacles. For instance, sanitary protection of labor in factories always interferes with the profit of the capitalists. Motherhood and childhood could not be fully protected, even though such protection may be provided for, owing to the merciless necessity of increasing the production of the plant. Private property rights also interfered with the improvements of housing conditions, etc. In Soviet Russia, sanitary reforms do not know such obstacles.

The above circumstances played a very important part in combatting the so-called social diseases. The name "social disease" was derived from the social conditions in a capitalistic state, as even the bourgeois medical service recognizes the fact that diseases, such as phthisis and venereal diseases, are an outcome of these conditions.

The betterment of the economic conditions of the working class, the abolition of the system of exploitation, the establishment of protection of labor, motherhood and childhood—all these measures formed a strong foundation for success in combatting social diseases, this evil of humanity.

Purely curative measures, however, are only one of the links in the long chain of measures for combatting tuberculosis and venereal diseases. A great deal of work has been done in this field: in the year 1919 we had 17 summer sanatoriums with 876 beds; 54 permanent sanatoriums with 4,750 beds; 5 infirmaries for the tuberculous, with 310 beds; 5 children's sanatoriums with 280 beds and 9 dispensaries.

This summer (1920) beds are installed much more rapidly, as large private estates are used for this purpose, and there is, therefore, sufficient reason to believe that at the end of this year the number of beds will have increased fifty per cent.

For combatting syphilis alone, 3,363 special beds and 29 ambulances were available in the period from January 1, 1919, to May 1, 1920, in addition to 11 laboratories performing the Wasserman test.

In addition, the work of instruction in hygiene has been directed very methodically along the line of combatting these social diseases, thus making the fight particularly against infantile tuberculosis and syphilis effective. Also, the protection of motherhood and infancy has attracted particular attention on the part of the Soviet Government. At present, the following institutions are available in Soviet Russia:

	Homes for Babes in Arms	Institutions for Children 1-3 years old	Day-Nurseries	Consultations	Milk Kitchens	Houses for Mothers and Children
Total for Russia . . .	115	56	24	72	4	4
Total for Moscow . . .	3	8	36	21	14	1

The above table shows that most of the institutions are scattered in the provinces.

*What the Soviet Government Has Done for
Public Health*

In examining the results attained by the People's Commissariat of Health, the difficult conditions under which this work has been carried out must again be emphasized. Numerous diseases were called forth by the war and by the starvation conditions. Under these awful conditions, which are serious even for people in good health, it was impossible to employ good, systematic treatment. It was only the methods introduced by the Soviet Government that made it possible to move effectively against these conditions.

We have spoken above of the work done in suppressing epidemics; the money spent in this endeavor during one and a half years by the People's Commissariat of Health was over one milliard rubles (about 1,200,000,000 rubles). Never before had so many patients been admitted to hospitals shortly after their infection.

At present there are 150,000 special beds for civilians suffering from epidemics. In addition, there are 250,000 beds for soldiers.

The organization of treatment has made great progress. The report of the All-Russian Conference of Health Boards shows that during two and a half years the number of treatment beds for civilians increased forty per cent (we must point out that the figures include only permanent beds in therapeutic, surgical, special and other hospitals; special beds for the infected, as above indicated are not included); there are now four provincial physico-mechanical-therapeutic organizations at Kazan, Saratov, Orel, and Kostroma. No fee is taken in any Soviet hospitals or medical institution for treatment. The ambulatories and the hospitals deliver medicaments free of charge. The drug stores are nationalized and all medical goods are distributed in the most economical and systematic manner.

Special forms of medical attention are perhaps best illustrated by the example of the development of dentistry.

Before October, 1917, free dental ambulatories were very few in number and were found only in the large cities, particularly the capitals. By May 1, we already had 1,406 free national dental ambulatories, uniformly distributed throughout the Republic, including even institutions in villages, which employ 1,776 dental surgeons for free dental care of the population. In addition, 160 dental ambulatories have been organized in the Red Army, for which purpose 1,500 dentists have been mobilized. There is also a free dental ambulatory in each provincial capital. The expenses for the organization of dental treatment in 1920 are about 352,000,000 rubles.

The government has been particularly effective in the work done in health resorts. Before the October revolution the health resorts were under the direction of various departments and institutions, such as, for instance, the Ministry of Trade and Commerce, Home Office, The Irkutsk Mountain Department, local government of the Cau-

casus, military direction of the Cossack Army, and even the clergy. At present, however, all health resorts without exception are under the direction of the People's Commissariat of Health. Formerly, health resorts existed only for the rich; now not only treatment, but board and lodgings at these health resorts are at the expense of the government. For 1920, the estimated expenses allotted for the maintenance of health resorts are about 2½ milliard rubles.

At resorts where formerly there appeared the members of a capitalist society in order to cure their bloated stomachs and gouty limbs, the working people are now restoring their health. According to the statistics of one of the big health resorts, that of Lipetz, the patients were distributed last year as follows: Workers and working members of the intelligentsia, 70 per cent; Red Army soldiers and invalids, 25 percent; others, 5 per cent. The People's Commissariat of Health has made considerable efforts to broaden the work connected with health resorts, and now that the Crimea has been cut off by the White Guards, we have in Central Russia 20,000 beds at these health resorts, in Ukraine 35,000; in the Caucasus 40,000; on the coast of the Black Sea, 30,000; in Siberia, 18,000; total, 143,000 beds.

Special attention is paid to health in general. Free feeding of children below the age of sixteen was decreed by the Council of People's Commissars. Thousands of children in winter, and many more in summer, enjoy a stay in the children's colonies and sanitariums, for which purpose the estates of the former landed proprietors are used. The People's Commissariat is particularly interested in children. It is about to install special institutions, to be called "Institutions for Defective Children," in all provincial capitals. The decree of the Council of People's Commissars stipulates that children below the age of eighteen are not subject to trial in court. Their cases are examined by a special committee composed of officers and teachers, which decides either to send them to an educational or a medical institution of the People's Commissariat of Health, or the People's Commissariat of Instruction.

What Could Not Be Done

There are many problems still remaining unsolved in spite of the two and a half years of work and the results which have been already obtained. Under the rule of the czar, every inhabitant paid about one ruble in health taxation. Of this sum ninety-five kopeks went for purposes of general treatment, and only five kopecs for sanitary prophylaxis. In other words, all effort was directed toward curing diseases, while only a very insignificant labor was devoted to their prevention. Furthermore the appropriation for health protection was quite insufficient. Of course, this ridiculous condition continued even under the Kerensky Government, where more attention was given to cure than to prophylaxis. But all this now is changed. More than sixty per cent of the appropriation of

the People's Commissariat of Health for 1920 (the total appropriation for the Commissariat runs into several milliards) will be spent for sanitary prophylaxis. The People's Commissariat of Health will consider it its duty to combat unsanitary health conditions, ignorance, dirt, lice, those wretched vestiges of Czarism and slavery; the Commissariat will do all it can to accustom the people to cleanliness, to improve the sanitary conditions of living, particularly the housing conditions, to

put an end to the terrible infant mortality (under the Czar one child out of every four died before the age of one year), to improve the medical systems and make it really accessible to the population and of a nature to be useful to the population. Such are the aims of the People's Commissariat of Health. The economic disorganization, the war and the mobilization, to be sure, have offered very serious obstacles to the full realization of this program.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

September 7, 1920.

LITHUANIA is fighting the Poles. Armed by Great Britain, organized militarily by British officers, and financed by the British treasury, the Lithuanians have turned against the Polish army nursed by the Entente.

This is a real triumph of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Government; it is a great support to the strategy of the Revolutionary General Staff of Soviet Russia. Henceforth the right flank of the Russian Red Army will be fully protected by the Lithuanians, and this is happening at the most important moment of the development of the general Russian offensive towards Warsaw. On the other hand, a revolution in Italy appears to be in progress, which may develop into a general uprising of the Italian proletariat against its government.

From a purely strategical point of view the Italian revolution has come just in time for the Russian strategy, as it certainly will destroy the carefully prepared plan of the Entente, first, to use Italy as a base against the Russians, and secondly, to establish a route through Italy for material support to the Poles. Had Italy remained passive to the situation in Soviet Russia the Allies would have overcome the difficulties in Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, and finally succeeded in one way or other in forcing these small nations to open their gates not only to cargoes directed into Poland, but even for the actual military support of the Polish army, by consenting to the transport of troops to the Polish battle-front. Now this looks quite different. The Italian movement may be a long and very serious one, and the Italian proletariat will never support the strategy of the enemies of the Soviets.

Isolated from the imperialistic Entente, the small Balkan States, especially Rumania and Hungary, even if they do not follow the Italian example, will certainly remain at peace, well knowing that if their conduct is unfriendly to the Russian Soviet Republic, they will become the object of the Soviet strategy and pay dearly for their hostility.

Summing up these political circumstances of the central and southern part of Europe, and taking into consideration the seriousness of the re-

verses of Wrangel's army north of the Crimea and in Georgia, I am brought to the conclusion that the left flank of the Soviet army operating against the Poles is also absolutely secured, and that the present moment may be considered as very favorable for the great Russian offensive against the Poles.

I see that in the near future the Polish armies will have to meet the bulk of the Red Russian forces somewhere between Brest-Litovsk and Warsaw, where the Poles will be completely defeated and will again seek shelter beyond the Vistula. The Russian cavalry army, in spite of its alleged "annihilation", is still holding the enemy in check in Galicia and is continuing its raids in the rear of the Polish front, thus threatening the operative lines of the Poles.

It is ridiculous to suppose that the Allies will be able to save Poland from the disaster towards which the Polish imperialistic leaders of the Pilsudsky type are pushing their people. Danzig, with its "corridor" now is still at the disposal of the Polish supporters and unfortunately for them this "corridor" has by no means been cleared of Red elements. From a purely military standpoint, I do not consider Danzig as a strong and safe base for the supply of the Polish battle-front, and very soon it will be seen that I am not mistaken.

A corridor with too many rooms on either side is a very dangerous thing, especially if these rooms are filled with elements hostile to those who are moving through the "corridor".

Practically the Polish supporters will have to face a serious problem, to repeat what they have already tried so abortively to execute, namely, to start once more an armed intervention in Russia, with a strong Allied army. If they still have in view such an absurd adventure, so much the worse for them, for it is not necessary to be a military expert to prophesy a complete collapse of such a foolish enterprise. And only by a strong and active military support, namely, by reinforcement of the Polish army with a very strong contingent of Allied forces, the situation of the Polish army can be temporarily improved. Any capable military student certainly should realize that landing operations on a large scale would be an absolute impossibility for the Allies, especially at the pres-

ent moment, when one part at least of Europe is ablaze with revolution.

Let us not overlook the fact that in 1917 and 1918, there was practically no definite military organization in Russia. The new-born Soviet Republic had still to fight the German invasion, and had to meet its counter-revolutionary enemies within, supported by the Entente. Then the general intervention began, and, in spite of all the efforts of the Allies, it failed. Nor should we overlook the fact that in those days the Soviet army was not yet popular among the working people of the world, or rather, the greater part of them, thanks to the "anti-bolshevik" propaganda of the Entente, supported by its reactionary press. We must not neglect the truth that in those days the revolutionary movement in Europe had not attained its present proportions.

Quite different are the happenings of the present moment. The Russian Soviet army is considered by the foremost military experts as perhaps the strongest army in the world, with an extraordinarily able General Staff, well equipped and brilliantly led, in the field. This same Red army, which was two years ago an object of the most bitter mockery and criticism on the part of the newspaper correspondents, had now acquired wholesome respect of its former mockers. The series of most striking victories of the Red army over its numerous and powerful enemies has inspired the complete confidence of the workers of the world in the strength of the proletarian army of Russia and there is no means left in the hands of the imperialistic coalition to persuade them to the contrary.

Therefore I take the liberty to declare firmly and confidently that the Russian Soviet Republic is not much concerned about the possibility of a future war against Russia or about any kind of support that Poland may or may not expect from America or from elsewhere. The military strength of the Soviet Army is growing with noticeable rapidity, and, in spite of the expected disorganization of the Russian fighting body, after the alleged "defeat" of the vanguard of the Russian cavalry army on Warsaw, which the Polish and French military experts predicted so firmly, the Russians are now moving towards the west, having seized the initiative, which proves that the rear of the Soviet army is in complete order and that the check which they received before Warsaw was only of tactical importance, without the slightest effect on the general strategical situation of the Soviet army.

"Under-estimating the Bolsheviki strength is a great mistake," said General Rozwadowsky, Chief of the Polish General Staff, to Colonel Henry J. Reilly (*The Philadelphia Press*, August 30). "We know," continues General Rozwadowsky, "the Bolsheviki had organized seventy odd divisions. Their total loss in killed, wounded, prisoners, and other casualties, approximates 250,000. However, their man power virtually is unlimited, and makes replacement only a question of time. As an example,

Budenny's cavalry in the south lost probably half its strength during its advance to its present position before Lemberg. Now practically it is at full strength, due to replacements easily accomplished."

In other words, this Polish strategist is openly confessing his conviction of the impossibility for the Polish army to fight the Bolsheviki in the future, and it is absolutely certain that had the Poles freed themselves from the destructive tutelage of France or any other capitalistic country, they would have established a peace with Soviet Russia long ago. The autumn now is at hand. The rainy season in Poland will favor the Russians, because the Poles who are basing their tactics mostly on technical warfare, will be handicapped by the bad roads, which are the greatest obstacle for an army which is using all the modern machinery of destruction, such as tanks, armored cars and heavy artillery. During the rainy season, the activity of the aviation service is also paralyzed to a certain extent, and at last it is becoming known that the Poles generally do not stand either rain or cold. Finally, their resistance must weaken. Quite different is the case with the Russians, who are waging war with limited resources in heavy artillery and the other technical machinery of modern war. Their chief weapons are their numerous cavalry and their infantry, which know no obstacles, and which would be supported by their field artillery. It is well known that the Russian soldier can stand rain and frost with equal firmness, and from his boyhood he is accustomed to the most severe climatic conditions. So the approaching autumn and, later, the severe winter, do not frighten him, especially when he realizes that the seasons always were and will be faithful allies to the Russian people.

I must say that if the war is prolonged another winter, the Russian people will have to suffer much, but however terrible these sufferings may be, Soviet Russia will overcome them both at home as well as in the field, while imperialistic Poland must collapse, in spite of all the endeavors of her supporters to save her existence.

Napoleon often repeated: "He will be victorious who can suffer a half-hour longer than his enemy."

Russia's trials began in 1914; what can it mean for the Russian people to suffer one winter more?

But can the Poles stand the approaching winter? The Allies think they could, but I can assure them without any hesitation that with the next winter the end of the Polish army will be a *fait accompli*.

LITHUANIAN AND LATVIAN TREATIES

The texts of the treaties of peace signed between Soviet Russia and these two border states, are in our possession, and will be published as soon as space permits. Do not miss the October issues of SOVIET RUSSIA.

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

“Psychological Imagination”

IN A recent speech in parliament, Mr. Lloyd George quoted Mr. Thomas Shaw, an English labor leader, who returned a short while ago from Russia, to the effect that “the people (in Russia) are submitting not only to military conscription, but to industrial compulsion which the workers of Britain have never dreamt of.”

The allegation is clear. The poor people of Russia, kept down, as others allege, by the “force and cunning” of a handful of Bolsheviki, have to “submit” to every kind of compulsion. It would seem that men who, only a short while ago—during the great war—were either themselves, like Mr. Lloyd George, instrumental in bringing about military conscription in their own country, or, as Mr. Thomas Shaw, were “submitting” to it, should not have the temerity to express surprise at the introduction of military subscription in a country attacked on all sides and compelled to wage war against ever new hosts of enemies, a war which Mr. Lloyd George himself has done much, for his part, to foster, and which, if not for the “submission” of Mr. Thomas Shaw and his friends, would probably have long ago reached its end. However, it was the “industrial compulsion” that has seemingly most shocked the mind of the English visitor. For, has not “English life ever since 1688” been based on “kindliness and tolerance” (Bertrand Russell)?

Had the adherents of the Soviet regime felt the necessity of adapting themselves to the mental processes of their intellectual opponents, they could easily hire some learned men of the professorial guild, who with citations from many recognized authorities on constitutional law, would compose an “Apologia” showing the supreme rights over the individual that are vested in the “state”. We are sure many an intellectual opponent would be overawed by such learned quotations. Or they could bluntly point to the “necessity” that “knows no law”, not even—remember the war—the supreme law of a country’s constitution. Fortunately for revolutionary Russia, it needs no apologists, as the Russian revolutionary masses themselves, in their constant struggle for the maintenance of the Revolution and its achievements, offer more than enough argument for the soundness of their government and its policies. It would possibly surprise the opponents of the Soviet regime who are constantly raving about “compulsion”—if arguments, generally, could find weight with them—to hear that it was the worker and peasant soldiers themselves—those mobilized in the Third Army of the Ural—who advanced the idea of transforming their army into a labor army, in order to utilize the period of military calm—it was after the defeat of Kolchak—for the improvement of the industrial situation in the Ural region. Nor would it suit men with preconceived judgments, to learn that the matter of compulsory labor and the formation of labor armies have been discussed

in thousands of meetings, in the various Soviet departments, sections and sub-sections, local and provincial soviets, at the congress of the councils of national economy, trade union conferences, peasant congresses, and no less in the assemblies of the Red Army soldiers themselves. At all of these meetings the opponents of the measure, by no means all of them drawn from the Soviet Government’s political opponents, the Mensheviki and the Social-Revolutionaries, but who, more often than not, were genuine “hundred per cent” Communists, discussed the situation with a liberty, candor, and seriousness which would do honor to many a western democratic assembly where the “will of the people” is being coined. There also the advocates of the government measure, who most of the time are men equipped with the training received through their Marxian schooling, and who besides have passed through the hard and convincing school of two revolutions, were obliged to explain and defend the proposed measure by explaining the “material causes” (material causes in the Marxian sense, of course, which does not exclude such a “cause” as the “submissiveness” of some labor leaders in some countries) which necessitate the adoption of the measures. Shall we add that these numberless gatherings of the Russian workers and peasants, taking place all over Soviet Russia during the entire period of the revolution, which, after a thorough discussion of all government measures and policies, usually end with the adoption of a corresponding resolution, are the places where the will of the Russian people is being formed and expressed, in order later to be carried out by the executive organs of the Soviet Republic?

This being so, we cannot abstain from devoting a few lines to the working of the petty bourgeois mind so far as its judgment of Russia and the revolution is concerned. With its disdain for all “doctrinarism” (Bertrand Russell, for example, has an almost inborn dislike of Marxism, with its “stressing of material causes”) and with its instinctive fear of great mass movements, the petty bourgeois intelligentsia is at a loss to understand the live connection that binds, at a time of a revolutionary upheaval, the masses of the people with their revolutionary leaders, making both, as it were, the organs of one will that is behind them. Having no clue, owing to his superficiality and class prejudice, to the undersanding of the psychology of the revolutionary masses of Russia, and having consequently arrived at the vain and ridiculous idea that the people of Russia are but an object of the Soviet Government’s measures and experiments, the petty bourgeois intellectual, in order to solve his problems, follows at once his mental habits: he employs “psychological imagination”, that is, he emphasizes the national peculiarities of the Russians (“Oriental traits in the Russian character”) which, according to his view,

produce in the Russian leaders a fatalistic fanaticism with which they cling to their communistic doctrines, while in the Russian masses they express themselves in the fatalistic passivity with which they submit to their leaders.* Side by side with this accentuation of the national peculiarities of the Russians, goes his conviction—based apparently again on “psychological imagination,” that these peculiar Russian national traits are completely strange to the nation to which he happens to belong. However, this insistence on the psychological and other peculiarities of the other nation as contrasted with one’s own is not original. It occurs with regularity whenever the petty bourgeois defenders of an old order try to vindicate it against the onslaught of progress. It was so in Russia years ago, when the *narodniki* insisted that Russia need not enter the path of development of western Europe. Similarly in Germany, a few decades earlier, the German counterparts of the Russian *narodniki* insisted that Germany must not at all follow the steps of England.** And in the same manner the sweeping remark of Mr. Shaw regarding “industrial compulsion” in Russia has this—though concealed—meaning that what is called “Russian methods” would generally be entirely impossible of adoption in England.

A very illuminating historical comment on this kind of allegation was given by Professor Charles A. Beard in the *New Review* of June, 1914, in an article entitled: *The Key to the Mexican Problem*. We quote from it, because of their timeliness, the following paragraphs:

Contempt for other countries and scorn for their incredible follies are two characteristics that have always accompanied the development of nationalism. In the seventeenth century, when the English Whigs were laboring with might and main to establish parliamentary supremacy and had to execute one king and drive out another in order to accomplish that high purpose, Torcy, Louis XIV’s cynical minister, remarked with ill-disguised amusement on the inherent disability of the Anglo-Saxon to conduct himself with decency and self-respect. The half-century of turmoil in the British Islands was looked upon by less-informed continentalists as a battle of kites and crows arising from a temperamental opposition to order and settled social life. The

* This obvious contradiction is but a result of the fact that such “psychological” assumptions are devoid of any actual value. In a somewhat different connection, the well-known German psychologist, Prof. Hermann Ebbinghaus, passed the following remarks on the popular supposition that the “views” (or religion) of men influence their way of action:

“A sluggish and comfort-loving man with deterministic views may cross his hands and say: let things pass as they are destined to; there is nothing further to be done here. But what leads him to this is not his views, but his independently existing tendency to laziness. For an active and energetic man with similar views is possessed of the consciousness that he is the means selected by the destinies of the world, through which they come into realization. This is also confirmed by historical experience. Fatalistic Islam is losing quite inactively one piece of its power after another. Still, originally, it has with the same fatalism conquered a world in a quick onrush, and kept the peoples of the West in terror. And has perhaps the modern belief of the Boers in predestination—which is not, however, identical with determinism—made them any less active and less energetic than the orthodox belief in freedom has made the Spaniards?”—Hermann Ebbinghaus, *Abriss der Psychologie*, p. 153.

** The problem is discussed with great ingenuity by the late Russian socialist writer, George Plekhanov, in his work entitled: *K voprosu o monisticheskoi vzglyadye na istoriyu*, published under the pseudonym of N. Beltov. Plekhanov thus characterizes the sociological views of the petty bourgeois intellectuals: “If there is anything original in their views it is their naive ignorance as to how little original they are.”

Frenchman, who then laughed at the Englishman’s expense, of course prided himself upon his own good sense and innate devotion to properties under the beneficent rule of the Grand Monarch.

Long afterward, for reasons similar to those which had disturbed England, the land of Torcy and Louis XIV was torn with civil discord which ran a course almost identical with that across the Channel. The English had executed Charles I. The French beheaded Louis XVI. The English had instituted a Protectorate. The French experimented with a Consulate. The despotism of Cromwell was matched by that of the Corsican adventurer. The English had welcomed their restored and flattered Charles II. The French endured their Louis XVIII. The English had driven out James II, the Stuart who forgot and learned nothing. The French ousted Charles X, the Bourbon who, like James II, forgot and learned nothing. And for William III, there was a bourgeois Louis Philippe.

Strange as it may seem, the French contest for parliamentary government, which almost paralleled that of the English, was regarded by the descendants of those Englishmen whom Torcy held beneath contempt for their political imbecilities, in exactly the same spirit and with the same degree of penetration. Who does not recall Burke’s stately and vindictive diatribe (for in spite of its lofty airs it was nothing more) and the many lesser diatribes against the poor, weak, and vacillating Frenchman wanting one thing today and another tomorrow, and in general acting like a spoiled baby? Chesterton has sagely remarked that to the average Englishman the French Revolution is still something like a huge bye-election.

Illustrations of the opening statement of this article might be indefinitely multiplied, if there were no limit to the patience of printers and readers. But one more reference will bring the principle closely home to the citizens of the United States. A little more than half a century ago, the people of this country engaged in a desperate fratricidal conflict, testing whether the republic founded by their fathers could endure. For four long years they waged such a civil conflict as the world had never seen. Property totaling into the billions was destroyed in the South (including millions owned by Englishmen) and under the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in the North the rights of persons were everywhere put in jeopardy. Wiseacres in Europe laughed loud in their scorn for a slave republic which had forever demonstrated, on a stupendous scale, the failure of democracy.

These lines were written before the Russian Revolution. Today it is Russia, that is the Russia of the workers and peasants, that is the center of philistine scorn. Mr. Thomas Shaw draws a picture of the Russian people as living under manifold forms of compulsion, and declares that the English working class never dreamt of similar conditions of compulsion. To us the “voluntary” sale of labor power to an employer in whose enterprise the worker is not interested in the least, but to whom he is compelled to sell his labor power by the force of economic relations, seems also a kind of “industrial compulsion,” though not decreed by the force of law. Moreover, the Russian “compulsion” seems to have the advantage that despite its greater duress, the workers somehow feel and realize that it is the Russian people as such who will reap the advantage from their sweat and toil, and not a small privileged group. However, as a labor leader, M. Shaw ought to be acquainted with the history of English labor, which would tell him that it needed the draconian legislation of the early English labor statutes to “induce” the ex-

propriated English peasants and artisans to adapt themselves to even this "voluntary" compulsion of the normal process of capitalist production. A brief review of these statutes containing such punishments for beggary and vagabondage as "tying to the cart-tail and whipping until the blood streams from their bodies", or "branding with an R on the left shoulder and setting to hard labor", or even, in case of repetition of the "crime", execution would convince many an English ideologist that not only in Russia life was "fierce" and "cruel", while the history of the English strike and trade union movement up to 1825 would more than prove that life in England, even after 1688, was not all based on "tolerance and kindness". But above all, the perusal of the English practice of the past would show that the capitalist class did not always depend on the working of the law of "supply and demand", but that, when it was necessary, it used the power of the state to hold down the workers to the drudgery of factory work. Many of these compulsory labor laws existed until the end of the nineteenth century, as the law (act of 5 Eliz., repealed 1875) compelling all persons able to work as laborers or artificers, and having no other means of existence, "to work upon demand", or the law permitting a criminal action against a contract-breaking workman, though allowing only a civil action to the worker against the contract-breaking master.

It is comprehensible that a statesman, like Mr. George, would not keep in memory the history of the English people some centuries or even decades ago. He even forgets what he himself did only a few years ago, during the war. Did not Mr. Lloyd George, when he assumed the office of Minister of Munitions, insist that it was necessary for the civil authorities to have the same control over the men in the workshops and the factories as the military authorities possessed over the men in the trenches? But that a labor leader of Mr. Shaw's reputation should allow to slip out of his memory the past martyrology of his own class, and moreover, that he should forget that recent bit of "industrial compulsion" known as the "work or fight" order that had to guide the English trade unionists during the war, is more than regrettable. Or does he perhaps think that revolutionary Russia is at present not engaged in a bitter war for existence?

We do not know much about the national psychology of the English, but we do remember the reactionary uses made of the stereotyped psychological observations pertaining to the Russian "plain" people. Thanks to them, an average French (or other) investing *rentier* beheld in the Russian people before the revolution gentle and humble semi-barbarians, willing, in the simplicity of their minds, and out of devotion to the Czar, to toil and sweat in order to secure the interest on his Russian investments. Similarly, even a

* As quoted by Robert Williams, *The Soviet System at Work*, London, 1920, p. 16.

few weeks before the revolution, the American public was deluded by ingenuous correspondents with tales of the peculiar "psychology" of the Russian *muzhik*, whose mind was preoccupied with the sole desire to please the Czar, and whose devotion for the "little father" had no parallel in the other nations. Today all these investors behold in every Russian of the "lower classes" an image of laziness, disorderliness and faithlessness.

However, if lessons are to be drawn from history, one such lesson is the outstanding fact, clearly demonstrated during the last few years, of the ease with which these so-called national differences yield to the fundamental social antagonisms. Symptomatic in this respect is the talk of "general human civilization," indulged in by the reactionary "bearers of civilization," in countries that were but recently warring with each other. Confronted by the new rising proletarian culture in Russia, the English and French forget completely their vicious diatribes against the "Deutsche Kultur" that had to be destroyed for the happiness of mankind, while the Germans have ceased their scurrilous attacks on the French culture of *decadence* or the English shopkeepers' civilization, presumably an abomination to mankind, to be preferably supplanted by the "healthy and harmonious" German *Kultur*.

But the "psychological imagination" that imagines it beholds national "resemblances", for instance, between Winston Churchill and Robert Smillie, or between Lenin and Kolchak, disregards entirely the fact that this sort of thing is at best hardly capable of recognition, and is particularly concealed whenever elementary problems of social nature come seriously into play. After all, it was not to Mr. Smillie that Mr. Churchill looked for inspiration, or for advice in his bold and bloody plans of assailing the Russian revolution, but to Kolchak and Von Ludendorff. Therefore psychological points of "resemblance" of this sort, being incapable of affecting one's attitude, or even one's frame of mind, have to be relegated, it seems, to the domain of transcendent psychic monads, to act there as they list. As for itself, this "psychological imagination" must be given its real name, which is, the "feeling of nationalism", even though it be unconscious. *For it is just where ideas are lacking that a word will be a splendid substitute* (Faust).

INCREASED BREAD RATIONS IN RUSSIA

In spite of all reports of the bourgeois press, according to which Russia has no bread supply and is starving, the council of workers of Petrograd has decided to increase the daily bread rations on June 25 to two pounds for group A, 1.5 pound for group B, and 0.75 pound for group C. Children without exception receive a daily bread ration of one pound.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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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 FRENCH LOAN has been placed. The mysterious financial operation that is designated in the financial pages of the newspapers as "a \$100,000,000 refunding loan" was successfully put over, as New York newspapers of September 10 put it, in the course of one hour. No doubt France's credit is now somewhat too promiscuously associated with that of Poland, and no doubt Poland's is pretty far gone, as the "no market" comment opposite the word "Poland" in the Foreign Exchange Quotations would seem to indicate. But it was not impossible, as the event has shown, to find purchasers for these new securities, after the public "mind" had been assiduously belabored for weeks with accounts of Polish "victories" and "Bolsheviki" collapses, and after even Wrangel had been prevailed upon—with an eye to the fact that some bond-purchasers are Jews—to utter a rather mild and condescending disapproval of pogroms. The fact that both he and the Poles are at present indulging in veritable orgies of pogrom activity is one that will not transpire until long after the so-called "refunding" operation has become long a thing of the past. Meanwhile *Kuryer Polski*, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, may continue with impunity to let the cat out of the bag as to prospective pogroms in Poland, as they did in a letter sent out by them which we reprinted in our last issue.

DESTRUCATION is the dominant fear of the capitalist press when it alleges to discuss the situation in proletarian countries. The reader will recall the howl of indignation that was raised in the newspapers about the reconstructional activities of the Hungarian and Bavarian Soviets last year. Of course, when Russia is under "discussion", the "destruction" assumes proportions so "alarming" as to encourage the counter-revolutionary press to cherish wayward hopes of a speedy overthrow of the Russian Soviet Government. Regret is expressed in at least one quarter, however, that in spite of the serious "plight" of the Soviet Government, there is a probability that it may yet hold out for another year, and readers are warned not to be too hopeful of the destructive effects

of forest-fires said to have been raging in many parts of Russia. Who kindled the forest-fires, we are not told—it is only the dismay that is expressed at their failure to accelerate the "ruin" of Soviet Russia that leads to a conjecture that perhaps they were of incendiary origin, and that perhaps the incendiary was not a mere amateur, but was well paid for his act.

The people of Italy are about to be subjected to similar "interpretation" in the columns of the counter-revolutionary press. They appear to have taken peaceful possession of many factories, and to have made a serious beginning at production under proletarian control. We are given amusing accounts, in hostile newspapers, of the inefficiency of their management and the resulting ridiculously low production, occasionally coupled with confessions that the owners of the factories had locked up the raw materials and hidden the books, to prevent a proper running of the establishments. All this we have already heard in connection with Russia, and it may be some time before we get authentic information as to what has really occurred in Italy.

Meanwhile, let us call the attention of the reader to two of the articles appearing in the present issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*, which throw considerable light on the causes of whatever destruction the Soviet Government has had to cope with. One is the article by the jurist, Goykhbarg, "Kolchakists on Trial," which gives some indication of the manner in which the counter-revolutionists in Siberia squandered the property of the Russian and Siberian populations. The other is the interview with Professor Lomonossov, now a prominent official in the Commissariat for Means of Communication, who points out the extent to which the railroads were run down and wilfully destroyed by the beasts who have conducted the White invasions into Soviet Russia's territory. But their day is nearly over, and Soviet Russia will soon be able to devote herself heart and soul to the work of reconstruction. If the case of Italy is parallel to that of Russia, the revolution in Italy is not nearly so wasteful as is alleged.

BONAR LAW or some other British politician said the other day, in reply to a note by Commissar Chicherin, that while he had no doubt of the ability of the proletarian dictatorship to make rich men poor, he was not at all certain that they could do much toward making poor men rich. There is no doubt an appearance of truth in Mr. Bonar Law's remarks, as far as the present condition of Russia is concerned. It has thus far been very difficult to do much toward making poor men rich, thanks largely to the intervention by France and England in Russian affairs, and to the counter-revolutionary activities of the Russian hirelings of those governments. It would be interesting to reflect on what better modes of administering Russian affairs would have been introduced—had they remained in power—by those friends of the Entente diplomats who succeeded in arrogating

control to themselves as soon as the proletariat of Petrograd and Moscow, in March, 1917, had overthrown the Czarist Government. To be sure we should not have heard much of the sufferings of the peasants had Kerensky maintained his hold; we were not told much about these things when the Czar was in power. The Entente would have considered all to be well with Russia if the few bourgeois and reactionary Russians in control of the country had merely succeeded in keeping the country at war, in hurling one peasant army after the other into destruction in order to keep certain bodies of German troops engaged on the "Eastern" front, in holding down the rising resistance of the population and continuing to rule Russia as a dependency of the Entente, a tributary who must furnish cannon-fodder even though it remain itself unsupplied with cannon. If certain portions of the upper layer of Russian society could be kept in sufficient comfort and strength to hold down the lid—that was all Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Churchill, and Mr. Lloyd George wanted. But their friends in Russia lost power, and these three gentlemen, and the newspapers who echo their views, have an entirely different tale to tell. Now that the effort is being made in Russia to give to everyone who works—in other words, to all but these few friends of the Entente—an opportunity to share equally in the distribution of food and comforts, the present difficulties encountered in this task are hailed with glee by the counter-revolutionary world. And their exultation is not hard to understand, for much of the occasion for it is directly due to their own machinations.

* * *

POLAND'S claim, expressed while the Soviet Government was attempting to persuade the Polish delegates to the Armistice Conference to report for the negotiations, to the effect that the Soviet wireless station was refusing to receive Polish wireless communications, is somewhat weakened by a revelation made recently in the columns of *Humanite*, of Paris. *Humanite* says that the following wireless message from Carnarvon was picked up by the Paris station:

"By order of the British Government the Warsaw station is asked to cease its boycott of the Moscow station, and to take a message of extreme urgency."

Humanite goes on to report that while Warsaw remained silent, emitting no answer, remaining apparently in a broken-down condition, it displayed perfect efficiency an hour later, when it called up Prague and began sending out stock exchange quotations.

* * *

SIX MONTHS is the period commonly allowed for the persistence of the tottering Soviet Government. And this period is allowed rather indiscriminately, whether it begin in January, 1919, or September, 1920. And always the source is official and confidential and awe-inspiring. And yet, gift sources must always be looked carefully in the mouth. We refrain from pursuing the origin of the latest six-months' scare, but cannot resist

the temptation to look more closely at the sources of some of the other "news" trickling out of Russia or belled from the seats of counter-revolutionary news services.

The latest "documentary" evidence that Russia is no place to live in, and advising workers not to travel to Russia in order to live and work there, comes from Stockholm, Sweden. It appears that a delegation of Swedish workers, who had gone to Russia in order to investigate conditions of life there, returned recently to their homes and published an unfavorable account of their observations in Russia. But it is interesting to note that this report, to judge by the accounts of it given in the New York daily press, was published in the Stockholm *Social-Demokraten*, a right-wing Socialist organ, which, like all of its counterparts in European cities, is furiously opposed to the Soviets. We shall probably receive copies of other Swedish papers in a few days, in which the truth on this matter is revealed.

Another hostile account is that printed in the New York *Times* of Sunday, September 12, full of details as to the savage treatment alleged to have been accorded the population of Kiev on the occasion of the recent occupation of that city by the Red Army. The source is again very illuminating: "The report is certified by the Central Committee of the Russian Red Cross." Who is the Russian Red Cross? Is it the Red Cross Organization of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, which always encounters the utmost difficulty when it attempts to get in touch with Western European authorities, or the Czarist "Russian Red Cross", to which all avenues of communication, all gates to the news services, are opened on demand? That is the only question to which an answer is required by him who seeks enlightenment as to the trustworthiness of these latest accounts of "Red Terror."

* * *

WHILE Western Europe is completely accessible to any communication the counter-revolutionary Red Cross may have to make—and we regret to say, America is also available for such purposes,—it should interest readers to reflect for a moment on the standing of this organization in Russia. Here is an organization of enemies of the Russian people and of the Soviet Government, who spread lies about Soviet Russia and the practice of justice in that country, but who are permitted to spread such lies only in countries whose governments are hostile to the government that was set up by the Russian people themselves, and has remained in power for three years, in spite of alleged drownings of commissars in the Neva at Petrograd, in spite of the "nationalization of women"—and, we may add seriously—in spite of the hardships of one of the most trying military situations in history. The American reader, when he is a reasonable man, will be moved only to greater respect for the Soviet Government, by each new fabrication its enemies place before him.

Correspondence with the American Red Cross

[The following letters exchanged between Mr. Martens and the American Red Cross are, it is hoped, the conclusion of the episode of the Petrograd Children's Colony, which sailed for Europe on September 11. Next week we shall print a resolution of the Colony expressing hope that they may go directly to Petrograd. We strongly share this hope.]

September 7, 1920.

Mr. Frederick P. Keppel,
Vice-Chairman American Red Cross,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of September 3 and note with satisfaction that the American Red Cross is considering my protest against the taking of the 780 Russian children to France. I feel sure that upon careful deliberation you will decide against an action which would be an obvious injustice to the children and their parents.

I urge you, however, as soon as possible to make a public statement that the children will not be sent to France and that they will be sent to their homes without delay. I know from reliable reports that the children are in a most unhappy state of dread lest they be sent to the unfriendly atmosphere of France, thus greatly delaying their homecoming and making them the innocent victims of international political enmity. A clear statement from you that it is not the purpose of the Red Cross to send them to France will relieve the fears of the children and make them better able to bear their impatient longings for their parents and their homes.

Yours very truly,

L. A. MARTENS,
*Representative of the Russian Socialist
Federal Soviet Republic.*

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS
National Headquarters
Washington, D. C.

September 3, 1920.

Mr. L. Martens,
110 West 40th Street,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of August 30th has been received and carefully noted.

I am taking the matter up with my associates both in this country and abroad with a view to determining just what action should be taken, and we will be glad to communicate with you when we have arrived at a decision.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) F. P. KEPPEL,
Acting Chairman.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS
Atlantic Division
44 East 23d Street
New York, N. Y.

September 9, 1920.

Mr. J. K. L. Martens,
Russian Soviet Bureau,

110 West 40th Street,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Confirming our telephone conversation I enclose herewith a copy of a statement given to the American and Russian press for tomorrow morning's issue, relative to the destination of the Petrograd Children's Colony.

Yours very truly,

H. J. ROGERS, *Manager.*

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

Atlantic Division

44 East 23d Street

New York, N. Y.

For Immediate Release

The American Red Cross yesterday authorized the following statement regarding the Russian children who are being transported to their homes under its care:

The American Red Cross announces that, in accordance with its original plan, the Petrograd Children's Colony will be taken from New York direct to a Baltic port; from there, the children will be sent to their parents in whatever part of Europe they may be residing.

When the S. S. *Yomei Maru* left Vladivostok with the children and their attendants, no other procedure was contemplated. While the boat was en route to New York from San Francisco, the conditions in Northwestern Europe forecast the possibility that such a course would result in taking the children into another war zone. Solely for the safety and comfort of the Colony, the advisability was discussed of holding the children in Western Europe in Red Cross buildings and property until actual health and political conditions could be clearly known, and preliminary arrangements were made to use an American Aviation Field in France near Bordeaux.

By the time the *Yomei Maru* had reached New York conditions had again changed, and the reasons for apprehension for the health and comfort of the children were less urgent, and no longer outweighed the convenience in debarking and forwarding them home from a Baltic port. It has therefore been decided, after cabled consultation with the Red Cross Commissioner to Europe, to adhere to the original plan. In arriving at this conclusion, the wishes of the children, their teachers and attendants, have been considered, as well as the almost unanimous opinion of our Russian residents of all shades of political belief.

The Red Cross considers its prime obligation to be the restoration of the children to their parents. The *Yomei Maru* will probably sail early Saturday morning, the 11th of September.

Kolchakists on Trial

By A. GOYKHBARG

II

What crimes of the Kolchakists were revealed at the trial? It took six days to present the evidence of the prosecution, and a complete account of the evidence would require more than one tome. Only the most important points can be briefly stated in a newspaper article.

Almost all the material of the prosecution was taken from declarations (secret and public) of the defendants themselves, or of their co-partisans, from their official secret documents, telegrams, long distance conversations and decisions of the Kolchak government. We practically refused to call our own witnesses or to present our evidence. We merely made public the secret acts of the "regenerators". And the result of this was such a vile chain of treachery, betrayal, spoliation, petty, grand and colossal larceny, destruction, cruelty and murder, that many of the defendants were constrained to declare at the trial (perhaps, hypocritically): had we known all this, we would have refused to have any connection with that government.

We will begin with the right socialist parties. Theoretically, we are convinced that the right socialist parties participating in the government act only as the servants of the bourgeoisie, as its valets, that the bourgeoisie and the military use them as a democratic fig leaf, covering their ugly nakedness from the eyes of the toiling masses. This theoretical conviction of ours was dramatically corroborated at the trial by the amusing and horrible picture of the bourgeoisie and military removing this fig-leaf.

At the beginning the reaction was impotent. Hence the democratic and socialist fig-leaf was prominently put forward. Hence the cabinet of the Socialist-Revolutionist Derber, who, testifying at the trial, admitted that at a secret conference he had been elected as the first premier for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet power. His comrades composed the council of ministers at Omsk. His friends, L. Mikhailov and Markov, signed the first "laws" abolishing Soviets, annulling the nationalizations, abolishing the whole Soviet system. They appointed "efficient" men, from the circles connected with industry. But the "efficient" business men were not serving the socialists. On the contrary, they merely tolerated the socialists as long as these served their cause.

But it became necessary to create the eastern front to "aid" the Allies, and it was not certain that the Socialist Revolutionary "ministers" would consent to this. Then the most accomodating Socialist Revolutionary minister, Vologodsky, speaks on the long distance from Vladivostok to Omsk: the Socialist Revolutionary ministers, Krutovsky and Shatilov, should be removed, and the Derber minister Novosselov should be given to understand, through the proper people, that his

appearance at Omsk would be out of place. Two days later, Novosselov was arrested and killed by officer Semenchenko, who went unpunished. While Krutovsky and Shatilov were arrested by order of the Chief of the Omsk garrison, Volkov, were taken to the home of certain officers, and, with guns aimed at them, were forced to sign an illiterate statement of their resignation. The "efficient" men accepted these resignations of the "ministers", falsely recording in the minutes that the resignations were considered in the presence of Krutovsky and Shatilov. Then these "efficient" officials asked Gratzianov, a friend of the arrested ministers, to convey to the latter their sympathy, and after this Judas kiss, the "ex-ministers" were forced to sign their consent to leave Omsk within twenty-four hours.

But trouble came from the Czechs. They threatened to leave the front if too right a course should be taken, and the "efficient" men perforce agreed to turn over the power once again to the Socialist Revolutionary (somewhat more right) Directory, with Avksentyev and Zenzinov, and removed them to Krassilnikov's camp. "In view of the absence of any governing power," the ministers led by the Socialist-Revolutionist Vologodsky elected Kolchak as dictator. After which they sent the Minister of Justice, Starynkevich, a member of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party, to express their sympathy to Avksentyev and Zenzinov. He took them to the city, where he put them under guard, alleging afterwards that he did this at their own request, and then they were forced to sign a statement declaring that they would leave for abroad within twenty-four hours, and promising to abstain from any agitation against Kolchak.

The culmination of these events was the horrible drama of the thirty-one men, enacted in January, 1920. In December, 1919, during the insurrection against Kolchak at Irkutsk, the Kolchakists seized at a secret meeting thirty-one men, including the creators of Kolchakism, L. Mikhailov and Markov. These thirty-one men were turned over, through General Sychev, and not without the assistance of the ministers who were originally called into the service by Mikhailov and Markov, to Colonel Sypailov, the aide of Attaman Semionov, who boasted that he personally, with his own hand, had "got rid" of 3,000 persons. "By hand and stick" the thirty-one were forced to sign a statement that they were leaving for abroad. After this they were brought up to the side, murdered by a mallet blow on the head, and all of them, including P. Mikhailov and Markov, were thrown under the propeller of the steamer, which cut out a layer of ice six inches thick.

Thus history completed her circle.

III

It was shown at the trial that the Socialist-Revolutionists and the Mensheviks, who organized their

governments at Samara, Ufa and in Siberia, instigated the insurrection of the Czecho-Slovak troops, and that they executed workmen in Samara and Ufa. Their favorite hero and "liberator", the Czech General Gaida, devastated the Russian city of Perm, for which, incidentally, he received a telegram expressing appreciation, from the chairman of the eastern section of the "Cadet" party, Mr. Klafton, who "loved his fatherland with the ardor of a true Russian." This same Gaida issued orders to shoot every tenth striker.

Despite all this, the Kolchakists soon began to take summary measures not against alleged Bolsheviks (the term "Bolsheviki"—Kolchak stated in his testimony—was very indefinite), but also against Socialist Revolutionists and Mensheviki. Thus, Kolchak ordered the arrest of many Socialist-Revolutionists, members of the Constituent Assembly. Together with these, many other Socialist-Revolutionists were seized. And when it was ascertained that the arrest of the latter was a misunderstanding, and when Kolchak asked the Minister of Justice, Starynkevich, a Socialist-Revolutionist, what should be done with them, he replied: "Let them stay in prison for a while." By order of the council of ministers, passed with the consent of "former" Social Democrats, including Shumilovsky, the Social-Democrat Kirienko was imprisoned, as was also the Social-Democratic editor, E. Mayevsky.

On December 21, 1918, an unsuccessful insurrection of workers occurred in Omsk. The insurgents first of all went to the jail and liberated not only the Bolsheviks, but also all the other political prisoners. One cannot read without a feeling of repugnance the testimony given by the Socialist-Revolutionists of the Constituent Assembly, to the Kolchak Commission of Inquiry, in which they stated that they left the jail because they feared punishment at the hands of the "perpetrators of violence, the Bolsheviks," but that on the next day they voluntarily returned to the jail of the freedom-loving democrat Kolchak.

On the evening of the following day the Kolchakists began to remove from jail for execution, not only the Bolsheviks, who had been seized by force, but also the Socialist-Revolutionists and Mensheviki, who had returned voluntarily. Officer Cherchenko came with a personal order of Kolchak to remove for execution the Social Democrat Kirienko, the Socialist-Revolutionist Devitov, and the Internationalist Popov. Kirienko and Devitov were shot in the street. Popov was sick with spotted typhus. They therefore tried to lower him into the sewer, but were prevented by "technical conditions"—the passage was too narrow. Officer Bartyshevsky, of Krasynnikov's force, took fifteen prisoners for execution, among them the Socialist Revolutionary member of the Constituent Assembly, Bruderer, and E. Mayevsky. All the "removals" were managed by the head of the school for non-commissioned officers, Rubtzov, by whose order forty-four "Bolsheviki" were shot *at three o'clock in the morning*. And after this the following entry

was made in the minutes of the military court under the chairmanship of General Ivanov: *at six o'clock in the morning*, forty-four defendants (they had already been shot at three a. m.) were informed of their sentence, as well as of the *time allowed for an appeal*. And who is this Rubtzov? Not long before, on June 8, 1918, *at a meeting of the Right Socialist parties*, directed by the Socialists Revolutionists, he was elected chief of the *revolutionary* staff which was organized for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet power in the city of Tare, and was at the same time promoted by them to the rank of a captain. For shooting the "Bolsheviki" and Socialist-Revolutionists, he was promoted by Kolchak to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, dating from December 22, 1918. The other executioners were sent by Kolchak to the detachment of Attaman Annenkov, to avoid the formality of a trial, although before they were sent away, the work of these executors was characterized as "beyond all praise" by all the ministers, including the members of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party and the former members of the Social Democratic Party.

The cossacks of Annenkov's detachment were distinguished by the skull and crossed bones worn on their sleeves, and this signified the fate that awaited any one who fell into their hands. They had "death-cars", which they used for summary executions. According to Kolchak's own testimony, Kalmykov's men were seizing people on the roads, robbing and murdering them; and if these acts were discovered, they claimed that their victims were Bolsheviks. Attaman Semionov's lieutenants killed by their own hand as many as 3,000 persons each. And not only did these braves go unpunished, but they were even rewarded for this brutality.

Particularly at the end of the Kolchak regime, it became a common practice to take prisoners from the jails and shoot them. This was the fate of thousands. On a motion made by the "former" Social-Democrat, the Minister of Agriculture Petrov, the council of ministers adopted a resolution "to prevent the captured Bolsheviks from settling on the territory of Siberia." And in Omsk alone we buried so many people who were tortured to death, that their coffins formed a line over half a mile long. There was not a city or town where these horrors were not enacted.

The number of persons killed by the Kolchakists, not in the course of battles, is enormous. The Kolchakists were active in sixteen provinces. And in the province of Yekaterinburg alone, according to the underestimates of the official data, at least 25,000 persons were tortured to death, shot, or buried alive.

Besides murders, the Kolchakists used mass floggings, chiefly with rods. They flogged young and old, men, women and children. In the province of Yekaterinburg, not less than ten per cent of the two million population were subjected to floggings.

Kolchak and General Rozanov issued order to

raze to the ground whole villages,—not for military-strategical reasons, but solely through brutality. This was confirmed at the trial by Colonel Syromyatnikov, former chief of General Rozanov's staff. In only a few of the Siberian provinces, over 20,000 farms were destroyed, and over 10,000 peasant houses were burned down. The same General Rozanov issued orders to shoot ten hostages for every Czech or officer killed. The Kolchakists destroyed over a hundred large bridges. They blew up almost all water stations. On the morning after the entry of the Soviet troops into Omsk, the Kolchak General Rymisky-Korsakov was arrested *while he was on the way to his office*, and in his portfolio was found an order to blow up the Omsk powder stores, which would have meant the destruction of the whole city, except perhaps the outlying districts.

There was hardly any foreign government, not excepting the German, which the Kolchakists did not beg for military aid, whose military forces they did not call up to aid them against their "ardently beloved fatherland." In payment for this aid they sold "their country", as much as it was in their power, to foreign governments. "The matter of concessions to the Japanese"—Vologodsky wrote in a secret communication to Rozanov,—"has been arranged on a broad plan, and it may be hoped that it will develop." All the Siberian railroad lines were placed under the unrestricted control of foreigners, that is, of the Inter-Allied Commission. But this was not all. They protested against workers' control, but they agreed to the unrestricted control of foreign generals. In a note addressed to the chairman of the council of ministers, and dated December 26, 1919, General Janin wrote: "The agreement signed on January 14 by Admiral Kolchak, General Stefanik, General Knox and myself, stipulates that I, as commander-in-chief of the Allied armed forces and as representative of France, *shall have general control both at the front and in the rear.*"

They turned over to foreigners about 10,000 poods of gold—one-third of the gold reserve stolen for them by the Socialists-Revolutionists and Mensheviki—amounting at the pre-war valuation to 240 million rubles. They tried also to turn over the remaining 20,000 poods of gold, as "all-Russian property,"—to "all the Allies."

To secure some sympathy abroad for their cause they needed a corrupt and libelous press, and they spent tens of millions for this purpose. Their agents in foreign countries were energetic,—they worked on a salary and did piece work in addition. Alexinsky and Savinkov were paid for piece work. In the second half of 1919 they sent a half million francs to Burtzev at Paris, 33,000 dollars to the "Liberation Committee" (Milyukov and Struve) at London, and similar sums to Mitarevsky at Tokio and to Sack at New York. The supreme governing board of the Church, financed by the government, sent to the Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to other, "reliable" reports to the effect that the Bolsheviki had nation-

alized the women, and the "socialists" of the Omsk government sent the same "reliable" reports to the ex-pope of Marxism, Kautsky. And yet, in one of Kolchak's pockets, when he was captured, was found a copy of the lampoon regarding the nationalization of women—the "Decree of the Free Anarchist Association of Saratov." This, however, did not hinder the Kolchakists from trying to seduce two popes by this plain falsehood.

In addition to the foreign "financial policy", they had an internal one: steal as much as you can. Every day they granted subsidies to enterprises, amounting to over a billion. They gave to the "Cadet" military-industrial committee many millions, all of which went into the pockets of the latter, as was admitted in the report of Kolchak's inter-departmental commission to the council of ministers. They established an "emigrant" bank and appropriated for this purpose hundreds of millions in gold currency, to be used in loans to various establishments and individuals, to enable them to buy shares of this bank. They purchased for the government at double the price (sixty million rubles) the Cheremkhov mines, which had been nationalized by the Soviet power and was "denationalized" by them.

In comparison with all this the individual thefts (with or without permission) of individual ministers seem insignificant. Three days after it had been decided to evacuate Omsk, the council of ministers resolved to give to Kolchak an appropriation of three million rubles for the moving of the offices and for the maintenance of the garage (at Omsk!) and its guard, and 75,000 rubles to purchase furniture for the dining-room of the Supreme Ruler. Pissarev was given an appropriation of 100,000 rubles for "patriotic agitation"; of these he spent 20,000 for the moving of an echelon, 20,000 he gave as a subsidy to the refugee popes, 5,000 he sent to his wife. Larionov transferred many millions to his personal account. On the eve of their fall, about the end of December, they gave an appropriation of 100,000 rubles to the charge d'affaires of the council of ministers, for the needs of the library. At the same time, they gave 100,000 rubles to the ministry of foreign affairs (which had only one official and one typist) to purchase wood for the office of the ministry. "To relieve the situation" of the ministers and their assistants, the council of ministers decided to supply them with Japanese yens at a special exchange rate—ten rubles for a yen, that is, to give them fifty rubles in exchange for one. The ministers Zefirov, Mikhailov, von Goyer and Sukin simply stole, and did not even trouble to cover up their traces. Their thefts were discovered, but they were not brought to trial, because the judges themselves had their hands in the pie. And then, was not the whole rebellion against the rule of the workers and peasants organized with the aim of securing the possibility to speculate, to loot and steal, *on the basis of private property?*

Nastya Terentyeva

A Pen-Picture: A Proletarian Type

By DR. BOHUMIR SMERAL

Nastya Terentyeva, twenty-two years old, charming, pretty, an exceptionally intelligent comrade. A factory hand, seamstress,—today a propagandist and organizer in that trade. About a week ago Olbracht and Vajtauer escorted her home from the theatre—her home lies in an obscure city suburb. She considered this to be a bourgeois habit and was offended. "Why, I travel alone all over Russia, why couldn't I walk alone in Moscow?" She did not show herself for a week. They met her yesterday and brought her to Gani for tea. Here I met her personally. Her first glance, the pressure of her hand, confident and friendly, like that of an affectionate sister. At Olbracht's suggestion, I offered her a box of bon-bons I had brought for myself from Reval, a rarity, and, because of shortage of sugar, almost a necessity. She looks at me with a proud, childlike reproach. She will have none. When pressed, she puts them down on the table before her and during the entire evening does not take any. Then, perhaps, during the whole evening she did not look at me directly even once, and when she left, the box of sweets remained behind. Such is the proud disdain that the proletarian has of our Western European customs, which apparently make upon them a bourgeois impression. And how she speaks! She is still a child, but when she discusses the revolution or the most technical details of the trade movement, she speaks with such accurate knowledge, with such logic, with such fervor and tense interest, that Olbracht dropped a remark that not even his wife at home nor Marka Mejerova could measure up to this twenty-two year-old girl. I say: In fact, in thoroughness, depth and understanding of her sphere, not even Hampl. Quietly, and in an even voice, with sincerity and earnestness, she explains the history of the factory in which she works. Factory committees in the first phase of the Revolution during Kerensky, the sudden springing up of trade organizations, the conflict between the two, the passing of factory control into the hands of the workers, dissent between the officials and the workmen about this control, sabotage of the capitalist, and the realization that he could no longer hold the factory, his flight with money into the ranks of the counter-revolutionists and to Denikin; the workers run the factory, put through its municipalization, the nationalization of industry and its subordination to the Supreme Council of National Economy. Today, the factory is managed, under the supervision of the state, by three members. One member is elected by the factory workers, one is appointed by the Soviet Government. Wages were formerly paid by the piece, during the revolution the minimum wage was placed at 250 a month. Later it was raised to 300;—now it is according to the tariff. And she explains the general application of the tariff in her trade. Out

of the thirty-five scales of the tariff, twelve are in actual operation. The others apply to officials and state employes. Regular wages of workers range between 1,200 and 2,100 rubles per month. In placing the workers in these grades, the nature of the work is considered: dangerous, harmful, the length of learning the trade, experience after learning it, dampness, mental exertion, physical exertion, heat, etc. Each of these conditions is supplied with a numerical value, the total of these values is divided by the number of grades and the result is the tariff classification. Our comrade draws a system of squares, on which these numbers are marked, so that the result is immediately seen, as well as the method of derivation. Each worker receives such a diagram, showing his tariff classification, which is made by a commission of his co-workers. Should he have any objections, he can appeal to the tariff commission of the trade organization. To this regular wage are added: premiums for higher production, job-work, overtime, etc.

Never before have I heard anyone speak about these technicalities of the movement with such fervor and love as the twenty-two year-old Nastya Terentyeva. Her pretty cheeks are aglow, her eyes would like to impart to you all she herself feels. What God and love are to others—the working class is to her. When she speaks of her youth and tells how her father beat her, it seems but trivial to her. In telling that her brother ran away from home because he was in danger of moral corruption, she says simply: "He learned the tailoring trade. Tailors were, in the capitalistic past, one of the most exploited trades, class-consciousness was small, and they had no representation anywhere, and they drowned their sorrow in alcohol. Brother fell into such company." Socialism and revolutionary ideals took hold of her brother upon the very edge of the chasm, and to socialistic and revolutionary ideals she too fled from the home, which could be no home, when she was eighteen years old. Today she has behind her four years of activity, and what the last four years have been in Russia is well known. But she is not tired. Her sweet face is quietly cheerful. The results are giving her satisfaction and joy. I almost think that she has a longing to be a martyr to the cause. Here the hardest work has been done. She tells you frankly that she would like to come to us in Bohemia, to work among those strange people who do not know that every communist is good, people who have all sorts of ideals which to her seem trivial, where the working classes do not really know what the class struggle means, where the name of Lenin is an insult; who are so benighted that they do not know that there is such a thing as class-consciousness, and that there is no higher ideal, no higher hope than the

working class, communism, revolution. And how she sings in a low voice the Russian revolutionary songs. Olbracht says: "Sweet." But I see before me a saint of early Christianity. Czecho-Slovaks, you who were deceived and who fought in Siberia—it would never have come to this tragic conflict, had you but for one brief hour seen this Russian child, felt the pulse of her heart, listened to her

talk, calm, ardent, humble, yet ringing with the joy of victory. Yesterday Nastya expressed herself to the effect that she would like to go and work in Bohemia. I thought it was but a fleeting thought. Today when she appeared at Gani, she had with her a Czech grammar and was learning to spell the Latin alphabet.

Wireless and Other News

FROM THE REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF THE JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE, MR. MAX PINE AND JUDGE H. FISHER

[Mr. Max Pine and Judge H. Fisher spent several months in Central and Eastern Europe, whither they were sent by the Joint Distribution Committee to investigate the situation of the Jews and to organize the relief to the Jewish war and pogrom victims. The following is a short citation from their official report to the Joint Distribution Committee, which was published in the Jewish newspapers on August 24.]

"It will take months before we shall be able to arrange all the materials which we have collected and to submit a detailed report on the pogroms. But from the materials on hand it is obvious that the leaders of a people who could perpetrate such acts as had taken place in Ukraine have not the slightest desire to establish law and order. The worst criminals would be ashamed to be known as the leaders of such a country as the present Ukraine. And yet the leaders of the Ukrainian bands have been trusted by the civilized countries, and have received from them material as well as moral support. Regardless of whether we are or are not in sympathy with the present form of government in Russia, it would be an ignominious cowardice on our part were we not to state openly that Soviet Russia is the only power in Eastern Europe that has honestly, earnestly and energetically combatted and used all her moral and physical power to suppress the monster of anti-semitism, which thoroughly contaminated the White armies. Every counter-revolutionary group in Russia bathed in innocent Jewish blood. Every counter-revolutionary movement showed its first sign of life by pogrom agitation in proclamations, leaflets and newspaper articles . . .

"In its attitude toward the formerly oppressed peoples the Soviet Government has shown such a free and humanitarian spirit, that nothing like it can be found in any of the countries of Central or Eastern Europe. And sad as it may be, the fact remains that the Allies supported its enemies, who were just as brutal and inhuman as the Soviet Government was sincere and sympathetic. The position of the Soviet Government in this respect is brought into even greater relief if on considers its attitude to the Jews. Despite the fact that the Jewish masses were anti-Bolshevik and opposed

to the Soviet Government, the latter gave billions of rubles and immeasurable humanitarian aid to the Jewish pogrom victims . . ."

GERMAN - AUSTRIAN BOURGEOISIE IN FAVOR OF COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

Only some months ago the actual restoration of commercial relations between Russia and German-Austria would have been a revolutionary act. At that time the Social Democrats hindered it in every way, and in that respect they have kept with the bourgeoisie, which was still hoping for the overthrow of the Soviet Government. Today it is all done with this hope, even the capitalists favor the resumption of economic relations between German-Austria and Russia. Hence the following report:

At a meeting of the Russian division of the Chamber of Commerce, presided over by the Vice-president of the Chamber, Councillor Etsinger, which took place a few days ago, it was pointed out by many who were present that notwithstanding the numerous peace treaties the beginning of commercial relations with Russia, so important for our industries and the whole economic life of Austria, is still impossible; that the restoration of our ruined commerce and industry is unthinkable without renewing our connections with the Russian markets, disrupted by the war, and utilizing again, to the advantage of Austrian industries and commerce, the numerous Austrian funds which at present lie buried in Russia. It was expressed as a certainty that other states would try all means of entering into commercial relations with Russia, and that we should once more come too late, unless we should succeed in concluding as soon as possible economic peace with Russia. On a motion made by the head of the Zisarsky firm, the wishes of the meeting were summed up in the following resolution: "The industrial and commercial circles of German Austria, represented in the Austro-Russian division of the Chamber of Commerce, consider the speedy official resumption of commercial relations with Russia an absolute necessity, inasmuch as the economic reconstruction of Austria is urgently in need of the Russian market, and, according to reliable reports, other states are already beginning, if only unofficially, to seek the Russian market, in so far as it is within reach at present. The government is urged to take, as soon as possible, any steps that will lead to an

eventual economic peace with Russia. The questions as to in what way and under what guarantees commerce with Russia may be begun, what the owners of Russian securities may expect, what position the Soviet Government takes with regard to the pre-war Austrian creditors and what has happened, and is to happen, to liquidated Austrian property in Russia,—these questions are extremely urgent and in need of speedy solution. The admission of an official commercial commission for the purpose of studying the economic conditions in Soviet Russia should be striven for by all means." The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Thus the Social-Democrats have happily lived to see the day when a demand of the revolutionary proletariat has changed to a demand from the profit-greedy bourgeoisie. Now the Social-Democrats in the government will be able to approach with untroubled conscience the establishment of economic relations with Russia.—From *Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna.

RUSO-LETTISH PEACE

Moscow, August 16 (by wireless).—*Vestnik* reports in a communication according to which peace was concluded with Latvia, that Latvia had demanded that Soviet Russia cede to it the eventual German indemnities awarded to it in the Treaty of Versailles. Since the Soviet Government does not recognize the Treaty of Versailles, and since, therefore, this treaty does not exist for Soviet Russia, the Lettish demand was rejected and the peace treaty signed without reference to the Versailles Treaty.

THE RUSSO-FINNISH ARMISTICE

Moscow, August 16 (by wireless).—The armistice agreement with Finland, which originally had been concluded for thirty-one days, was extended indefinitely. The present front between the Red troops and the Finns will probably be the future frontiers.

AMERICA AND RUSSIA

Moscow, August 7 (by wireless).—People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has informed the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, through Frithjof Nansen as intermediary, that the Russian Government is ready at any time to grant American citizens on Russian soil all rights and liberties, but that the United States must change their treatment of Russian citizens. Chicherin finally calls attention to the inconsistency in the fact that Russian citizens, on account of their protest against the military activity of the United States against Russia, that is to say, against a country with which the United States was not and is not at all at war, have been sentenced to twenty years in prison. All those who have been thus sentenced would have to be set free, in which case the Russian Government would adjust the matter suggested by Nansen in a friendly spirit.

BELA KUN IN MOSCOW

Moscow, August 16 (by wireless).—Bela Kun has arrived in Moscow. He was greeted at the station by representatives of the Communist Party, the President of the Soviet, the trades unions and the Red Army. Polidorov, of the Central Committee, recalled in his address Bela Kun's assistance in the battles of the November Revolution in Moscow, when he was in that city.

IN THE LAND OF WRANGEL

STOCKHOLM, August 15 (Rosta, Vienna).—From Kherson has been received the following report: Refugees from towns occupied by Wrangel relate that half of Wrangel's army is composed of mobilized peasants, who are continually deserting. Officers and soldiers frequently clash, there is marked disintegration in the army, and a slackening of discipline is to be expected. The arbitrariness of the military toward the population shows no sign of abating.

CIVILIZED FRANCE AND BARBAROUS RUSSIA

Moscow, August 7 (by wireless).—On the French ships bringing the Russian prisoners of war to Odessa were discovered twenty-eight fully equipped hydro-planes, destined for General Wrangel. The hydro-planes were declared contraband and will not be permitted to leave the harbor. The fact that the conveying home of prisoners of war under the protection of the Red Cross is being used by the French Government as a means of delivering implements of war to counter-revolutionaries has created the greatest bitterness.

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Lomonossov on the Russian Railways

[Professor George Lomonossov, who came to the United States in 1917 as a member of Kerensky's Railway Mission, and who was forced out of that mission in 1918 by counter-revolutionary influences, was appointed head of the Railway Department of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York in April, 1919, when the Bureau was opened. He was called to occupy a post in the Commissariat for Means of Communication, in Soviet Russia, in May, 1919, and left New York for Stockholm, Sweden, whence after many adventures he finally reached Russia. He is now again in Stockholm, on official business, and has given the following interesting interview to "Folkets Dagblad Politiken," a Stockholm daily, which was printed in a recent number of that periodical.]

PROFESSOR LOMONOSSOV first of all pointed out that the reports contained in Swedish newspapers (such as *Dagens Nyheter* and others), that he had been appointed head of the Soviet Commercial Delegation at Stockholm are "absolutely misleading".

"I am a member of the collegium in the Commissariat for Means of Communication," said Professor Lomonossov. "At present I am commissioned to assume the chief management of Soviet Russia's railway purchases abroad, for which purpose I discharge the functions of a People's Commissar. But I am constantly acting in close touch with Mr. Krassin," added Lomonossov.

"As for the general situation of the Russian railroads, I must point out that the figures given in *Dagens Nyheter*, in its interview with me, are unfortunately somewhat incorrect. The deliveries of anthracite coal, for instance, are a thousand times as high as that newspaper says.

"Before the war the Donets Basin furnished 5,000,000 poods of anthracite per day (*Dagens Nyheter* says only 5,000 poods); now they deliver 500,000 poods per day (according to *Dagens Nyheter*, only 500; one pood is equal to 16.38 kilograms, or 36.7 pounds).

"The railroads in southern and southwestern Russia as well as in Siberia, burn anthracite, in southwestern Russia naphtha, and north of Moscow wood. The circumstance that Soviet Russia came into possession of 500,000,000 poods of naphtha after crushing Denikin made it possible to rebuild a number of locomotives for naphtha fuel instead of wood, which means that the populations of Moscow and Petrograd will get more wood for warming their houses during the coming winter."

Passing on to the question of the actual functioning of railroads and transportation in Russia, Professor Lomonossov said:

"People abroad have no conception of the damage that has been done by the Whites. These bandits have thrown hundreds of locomotives into the rivers and destroyed countless railroad bridges. They have not only burnt down entire railroad stations, but even systematically wrecked all brick structures on the station grounds. Thus, for example, on the railway line from Borisoglebsk to Tsaritsyn (over 350 kilometers in length) all station structures have been destroyed. The tracks have been torn up and special machines have been used for the purpose of twisting them so as to make them completely worthless. The Whites blew up

all electric power stations; under every machine that they could not take with them they placed dynamite cartridges. They also blew up all water works, so that for instance Tsaritsyn not only lost all its railway connections, but also its water supply, and the whole population was deprived of water.

"When they lay in path over which the Asiatic hordes of Tamerlane passed, these regions could hardly have been in a worse condition than they are now. Nor could I refrain from pointing out the horrible cruelties that were perpetrated by Denikin's robber hordes on his retreat,—"this honorable defender of the German nobility and of private property." With the officers at their head, these bandits destroyed the dwellings of the prosperous and violated women in the streets. They suspended communists by the feet, with their heads hanging downward. A conception of the number of such executions may be gained by considering the following example: In the little watering place of Kislovodsk, 156 persons were hanged publicly in the market place. The shamelessness of these 'heroes' went so far that General May-Mayevsky, sat in an armchair and kicked the dying victims in the head (they were hanging with their heads downward).

"It is of course clear that under these circumstances, to which must be added a lack of building materials, the question of reconstructing the railways is not one to be solved in days or weeks, but rather in years. I conjecture that, assuming all our orders placed abroad to have been filled, the Russian railroads may be restored to the condition of before the war, by the first of January, 1925. Of course, no such task could be accomplished at once as by a miracle, but will be solved gradually by hard systematic work. To form a proper conception of the present condition in Russia it is important to consider not only the present state of the railroads as such—that is very bad to be sure—but also the certainty that this condition is being improved daily: We have already restored passenger traffic; we are restoring the operation of our railway machine shops; we have succeeded brilliantly in transporting our troops to the Polish front, etc. Already the fact that the condition of the railways has been perceptibly improved without any external help gives me a right to maintain categorically that even if political conditions should take such a turn as to prevent us from buying locomotives either in Sweden, Germany or America, this would not mean the de-

struction of the Russian railway lines—for we have already learnt to adapt ourselves to any circumstances that may arise—but under such circumstances the Russian railways could not be repaired by the year 1925, but would require until 1935. The chief sufferers—as has been the case also under the blockade—would not be the Bolsheviks, who are hated so by the European bourgeoisie, but principally the so-called peaceable population, chiefly consisting of women, the aged, and children, thousands of whom have perished as a result of hunger and cold, the consequences of the disorganization of the railways.”—From *Politiken*, July 27, 1920.

THE RAILWAY SITUATION

Economic Life prints the following data regarding the situation of the railway transport of the Soviet Republic in June, 1920.

The average daily loading for a hundred versts in June was eighteen cars as against nineteen in May. This small decrease in the daily loading in June, as compared with May, is not due to the deterioration of the work on the railways, but solely to the weaker delivery of the freight departments.

The average daily run of the locomotives and cars in June was 74.7 and 41.4 versts respectively, as compared with 72.8 and 39.1 versts in May. Of healthy locomotives for every 100 versts of exploitation length, there were 11.2 in June against 11.0 in May. The number of healthy cars in June had also increased in comparison with May. In June there were 773 healthy cars for every 100 versts of exploitation length as compared with 548 in May.

Thus, despite the extremely grave situation of our railways, a slow, though as yet inconsiderable, improvement is to be recorded.

SWEDISH DELIVERIES OF LOCOMOTIVES TO RUSSIA

The director of the Russian railways, Prof. Lomonosov, who is at present staying in Stockholm, has brought to final conclusion the negotiations with the Nydquist machine works in Holms, Trollhattan, which have been in progress until now. The factory pledges itself to deliver one thousand locomotives to Russia in the course of six years. The first consignment is to be ready in from eight to nine months. Within a year and a half 100 machines are to be ready for delivery. The prices are not fixed, but are made variable in accordance with the fluctuations in the value of money. According to information obtained by the *Goeteborgs Stadsblad*, the amount of the entire contract is from 300 to 400 million crowns. The filling of the order will probably require a considerable addition to the works. Other arrangements with other companies are in prospect.

RECONSTRUCTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Russian representation in Berlin, at the head of which is Comrade Victor Kopp, has put at the disposal of the German press, in connection with the sensational declarations of Simons, some statistical data from which we take the following examples, illustrative of the energy with which the work of reconstruction is being conducted in Soviet Russia. The figures for the output in the Moscow coal-district, which supplies Moscow with electrical power, are as follows:

	Thousands of poods (1 pood—16.38 kgrs)	
	1916	1920
January	2,226	2,245
February	2,537	2,861
March	2,669	3,515
April	1,640	1,989

Total 9,072 10,610

The output has thus already exceeded the pre-revolutionary figures.

The number of locomotives available for use, for each 100 versts of the railway system, is, in 1920:

January	8 locomotives
February	7 “
March	8 “
April	9.6 “
May	11 “

TRADE WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Import

The border line with Esthonia is so far the chief artery through which trade is carried on between Soviet Russia and the outside world.

To watch the export and import of goods, three control custom stations were established near the Esthonian border—at Yamburg, Gdov, and Pskov. However, the last two stations are not yet in operation.

Almost all merchandise that comes from abroad passes through the Yamburg control station. This station opened on April 5, but at that time trade relations with Esthonia and other countries were just beginning. Therefore there was hardly any activity at the control station during the first two weeks.

The first shipment of merchandise (thirteen cars of garden seeds) passed through Yamburg only on April 18. This day really marks the beginning of actual trading. After April 18 the work of the Yamburg control station began gradually to develop. Between April 18 and June 1 the total imports into Russia consisted of 976 cars of various products, the total weight of which was 859,000 poods.

The largest part of the import consisted of seed potatoes—785 cars, whose weight was about 780,000 poods. Of garden seeds up to June 1 were imported sixty-two cars, weighing about 40,000 poods.

The import of paper amounted to 16,231 poods, paper began to arrive only about the end of May. Likewise, only on May 30 the first shipment

of agricultural implements passed through Yamburg, fifty cars arriving in the two days before June 1.

Export

Flax is one of the chief products of our export. The shipment of flax abroad has already commenced. Between April 1 and June 7, 54,950 poods of flax (127 cars) were exported from Russia.—*Krasnaya Gazeta*, June 16.

THE FIRST EXPERIMENTAL ELECTRIC STATION

On July 25, in the Shaturusk peat district, province of Ryazan, about 110 versts from Moscow, occurred the opening of the first experimental electric power station of 3,000 kilowatts per hour, which will supply electric power to Moscow. This is the first experiment of an economic organization of vast importance, carried out exclusively by the effort of the working class.

Until the October revolution the Shaturusk district, which has the richest peat deposits, was hardly exploited at all. From the very first days of its existence the Soviet power directed its attention to this district. An area of about a thousand dessyatins (2,700 acres) was cleared, common roads were laid along fifty versts and a railway line built—broad-gauge, two and a half versts long, and a narrow-gauge forty versts long; a telephone system, twenty-eight peat machines were mounted, shops and several settlements were built as homes for workmen, whose number at the Shaturusk works has at present reached over 3,500. These settlements have schools, a hospital and an emergency medical station, a People's House, a hotel, lunchrooms and so on. In two years over 5 million poods of peat was obtained in these peat bogs, and also over 630,000 cubic feet of lumber. At present this erstwhile uninhabited district has become a broadly laid-out labor town, where one sees at every turn amazing results of the persistent efforts of the emancipated proletarian toil. It should not be overlooked that the immense work which the Shaturusk workmen have accomplished in two years was carried on under the conditions of our food crisis and our economic disorganization. If the obstacles due to these conditions have been overcome by the Shaturusk workmen, if they have attained in their work eighty per cent of the productivity of the pre-war days, it was accomplished solely through their exceptional proletarian energy and discipline.

At the Shaturusk electric power-station a special system of steam boilers, which were removed from submarines, was used for the first time. This experiment is of great importance for the industry of Soviet Russia, since it is still extremely difficult to get steam boilers from abroad.

The Shaturusk electric power station is the first of a set of similar stations which are planned for the largest industrial districts.

Work has now been started on the construction of a more powerful electric station, of fifty thousand horsepower.

OFFICIAL RADIOS ON THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH POLAND

August 18.

Yesterday, at first sitting at Minsk conference, Russo-Ukrainian delegation had insisted that second sitting should take place today, eighteenth, and should not be delayed until the nineteenth as the Polish delegation desired. Nevertheless, through the fault of the Polish delegation today, the eighteenth, the sitting did not take place. The Russo-Ukrainian delegation sent through its secretary an official protest to the Polish delegation.

Today the second session of the Minsk conference was held. A resume of the Russian conditions was handed to the Poles. These conditions are in the main those that had already been published by the Russian delegation in London.

August 22.

Yesterday, August twenty-first, Danishevsky sent to Dombosky, Chairman of the Polish Delegation, the following letter:

"I earnestly request to give as soon as possible opportunity of fixing day of following sitting. A new delay in negotiations contradicts your declaration of August nineteenth, to the effect that Polish Delegation wishes as soon as possible to terminate work of conference. Responsibility for further protraction is laid by Russo-Ukrainian Delegation fully upon Polish Delegation.

DANISHEVSKY."

August 24.

Yesterday, August twenty-third, Polish Delegation gave answer to Russian proposals. It was simply a complete refusal, a declaration "non possumus". Eastern frontier fixed on December third by Supreme Council, and confirmed in Curzon's note, December eleventh, is described by Polish Delegation as line of Poland's third partition, as arbitrary, and as based upon nothing Polish. Delegation added: Numerous Polish elements live outside this line, and must be considered. Poles flatly refuse limitation of army, and delivery of war material. They described workers' militia as impossible to discuss. Poles declared Russo-Ukrainian Delegation must first take back principal points, whereas Danishevsky demands to go over to discussion in detail of points. If Poles remain by their demand of immediate withdrawal of principal Russian points, it would mean immediate rupture of negotiations.

August 24.

Polish and French wireless spread false news about Polish victories. In reality, Russian forces are intact. Some number of prisoners inevitable, but this time not considerable. Russian army had executed rush to Warsaw, with swiftness unexampled in history. During this, a rapid movement of the Poles compelled the army to retreat, their retreat being executed in full order. The Russo-Ukrainian army is ready for a new advance, when moment will be considered favorable. Polish

radios about great victory belong to the domain of fable.

August 24.

Fundamental trait in Polish answer to Russo-Ukrainian proposition is that it contains only criticism, and nothing resembling positive proposals of their own. The Poles only criticise, only demand withdrawal, but themselves they give no basis of peace, no programme, nothing business-like; they reject flatly frontier fixed by Supreme Council, but they oppose this frontier only by vague generalities about the existence of a Polish element that must be taken into consideration, and about the self-determination of White Russia, Lithuania, Galicia, Ukraine, all these being countries which the Poles themselves had subjected to military occupation, and frightful oppression; they only reject Curzon's line. Polish Delegation avoids businesslike declarations; avoids all that refers to real substance of question; they generalize, they criticise, that is all.

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN POLAND

VIENNA, August 14 (Special report from Cra-cow to Rosta, Vienna).—General Latinik, the former commander of the Austrian Regiment No. 100, is today Governor-General and dictator in

Warsaw. As such, he immediately proclaimed a state of siege in the Warsaw radius. The severe regulations of the military dictatorship are directed almost exclusively against the workers, a revolt of whom is feared. Numerous arrests were made recently, chiefly among representatives of trades-unions, regardless of whether they were communists or socialists. Thousands of workers are in prison because of political offences. Particularly brutal is the treatment which the military regime accords to Jews. All newspapers printed in Jewish, socialistic and bourgeois, have been suspended by the censor. The population is openly incited to pogroms by the official organs. The temper of the Jews in Warsaw is much aroused. Daszynsky therefore expressed his anxiety in a speech, for there are in Warsaw 400,000 Jews who are still in possession of arms for their own protection against pogroms. This armed body of Jews is now feared by the Polish Government.

In Poland today all free discussion is suppressed, even that of the liberal bourgeoisie. Accordingly, the editor of the bourgeois satirical periodical, *Dyabel Warszawski*, Witold Koszutsky, was sentenced to three months in prison, because he had written, in an article, that the friendship of the Entente had brought Poland the loss of Vilna, and hunger, misery and typhus.—From *Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna, August 17, 1920.

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