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Chicherin on the American Policy

IN OUR next issue we shall publish in full the reply of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Republic, to Secretary Colby's note on Russia. For the present we shall confine ourselves to a brief summary of Mr. Chicherin's reply and a few comments on the issues raised.

Mr. Chicherin first calls attention to the inconsistency of Mr. Colby's stand on the question of territorial integrity of the former Empire of the Czars. Mr. Colby concedes the claims of Poland, Finland and Armenia for independence, but denies the same privilege to Lithuania, Georgia, Esthonia, etc. Mr. Chicherin accounts for this inconsistency by Mr. Colby's ignorance of Russian history. If it is remembered that an official, whose duty it was to keep the American public informed of matters political, had an idea that Ukraina was a musical instrument (apparently confusing it with the ocarina), it is small wonder that the Secretary of State is unfamiliar with Russian history.

Reference to a textbook of Russian history would apprise the reader of the fact that at the time of the partition of Poland Lithuania was an independent dominion united with Poland by what is known in international law as a "personal union", the king of Poland being also the grand duke of Lithuania. Inasmuch as one of the results of the World War has been the nullification of the partition of Poland, the state sovereignty of Lithuania was revived with that act. On the other hand, as the Polish monarchy was not restored by the Treaty of Versailles, the "personal union" disappeared with the royal power, and Lithuania once more became an independent sovereign nation. The legal justification for Lithuania's claim to independ-

ence is precisely identical with the claim of Finland.

After the forced abdication of Czar Nicholas II, the Finnish Diet proclaimed the independence of Finland, on the ground that the Grand Duchy had been united with the Russian Empire by the Act of 1809, whereby the Finnish Diet seceded from Sweden and conferred upon the Emperor of Russia the hereditary title of Grand Duke of Finland, but the abolition of the Russian monarchy *eo ipso* severed the bonds which had united the Russian Empire and the Grand Duchy of Finland under the personal rule of the Czar. The Kerensky Government thereupon dissolved the Finnish Diet, claiming that the fate of Finland could be decided only by the Russian Constitutional Convention. The spokesmen for the Finnish people, however, regarded this act of the Kerensky Government as plain usurpation, because it had not been the Russian people, but the Russian monarch, who had been the sovereign of Finland. This controversy was terminated by the Soviet Government immediately upon its assuming power. To be sure, the Soviet Government did not go into a disquisition of the respective historical claims and counterclaims of Russia and Finland. It simply acted upon the principle of self-determination of all peoples, which had been proclaimed by the Russian Revolution, or—to express the idea in American terms—upon the right of secession. Lithuania's case stands on all fours with that of Finland.

Another example of Mr. Colby's ignorance of Russian history is his refusal to recognize the independence of Esthonia and Latvia (the provinces of Livland and Courland). Esthonia and Latvia (or Livland) were annexed by Peter the

Great as a result of his war against Sweden. The Duchy of Courland was at the close of the XVIIIth century a vassal state of Poland. After the third partition of Poland, Courland regained her sovereignty, but by a resolution of her Diet in 1795 recognized the sovereignty of the Russian Emperor. Her case is thus analogous to that of Lithuania.

Mr. Colby's stand regarding the claims of the Caucasian Republic except Armenia is likewise inconsistent. The incorporation of the Caucasus in the Russian Empire was the outcome of more than half a century of constant warfare which was terminated as late as 1864. The Soviet Government has recognized the independence of Armenia, along with that of Georgia and Azerbaijan (with the capital at Baku). It is inconceivable why Mr. Colby should discriminate against the latter two.

Up to the reign of Alexander III the Baltic provinces (Estland, Livland and Courland) had their own systems of government and their own laws, the official language of the provinces being German. The substitution of the Russian language for the German as the official language of the government under Alexander III was not accompanied by a repeal of the special laws governing those provinces. The Soviet Government, consistently with its recognition of the right of secession, did not question the right of Esthonia and Latvia to form independent sovereign states. But Mr. Colby apparently has chosen to uphold the sovereign claims of the Czar down to its annexed territories.

Still another objection of Mr. Colby's to international relations with the Soviet Government is based upon the allegation that the Soviet Government does not "rule by the will or the consent of any considerable portion of the Russian people." This is rather a novel departure in the policy of the United States toward foreign nations. The American Government did maintain international relations with the Government of the Czar, which certainly did not base its rule "upon the will or the consent of any considerable portion of the Russian people." Nor has universal suffrage been a condition precedent for recognition of foreign gov-

ernments by the government of the United States. There is no universal suffrage in France where one half of the population is disfranchised by reason of sex. Nor is there universal suffrage in the states of the South where the negroes are disfranchised in effect on the ground of race. In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, all workers by hand or brain are represented in the government, and they certainly form a majority of the Russian people. It is said that in the Soviet constitution the representation of the urban and rural workers is not equal. Nor is the representation equal in the United States Senate, the State of Delaware and the State of New York having an equal number of representatives.

Mr. Chicherin patiently explains that the vituperative epithets of Mr. Colby against "the existing regime in Russia" have no foundation in fact. The Soviet Government has faithfully adhered to all terms assumed by it even under duress. On the other hand Mr. Chicherin reminds Mr. Colby of the fact that Mr. Creel's Public Information Division was responsible for the circulation of the notorious Sisson documents which bore all the earmarks of forgery.

It is quite pertinent in this connection to bring to the knowledge of the American public a fact which has never reached it through the American press. Immediately after the publication of the Sisson documents Mr. Panov, the editor of a conservative Vladivostok daily, published a series of articles in his paper showing the Sisson documents to be a rank forgery. It appeared that he and a number of other prominent citizens of Vladivostok, including a former judge appointed by the Czar, were mentioned in these documents as German agents. Mr. Panov exposed the contradictions and absurdities contained in these charges. The Bar Association of Vladivostok held a meeting at which resolutions of protest were adopted—upholding the integrity of the judge whose name was mentioned in the Sisson documents. All these facts were brought to the attention of the American Consul at Vladivostok who promised to bring this matter to the attention of the State Department. Nothing was done, however, by the State Department in this matter.

The Whites and the Reds in the Don Basin

By V. CHUBAR

At the moment when the Don Basin was liberated from the White bands the acute fuel famine in the republic reached its climax, and the demand for coal from the Don Basin was exceedingly high from the very first moment after the occupation of this district, exceeding many times the possible supply. The slow movement of the present work of reconstruction is a direct result of the fact that the Denikin authorities did not restore the production of coal and had even aggravated the devastation of the mines. Notwithstanding the friendly relations of Denikin with eminent foreigners,

"Russia's well-wishers", this friendship left no impression on the industry of the Don Basin. During the whole period of the rule of the Whites, when the Volunteer army was the object of solicitation by all kinds of Entente visitors, technical materials and machinery, which were so greatly needed for the industries, were not sent here. Instead of humanitarian aid with mining machinery and electrical supplies, which would have shown the desire of the Entente to increase the world total of economic goods, the "humanitarian" Supreme Economic Council of the League of Na-

tions was sending Denikin tanks, shells, machine-guns, and other tools of destruction, "conducive" to the development of "civilization". This attitude of the Entente to the problems of world reconstruction serves as an eye-opener to the workers, the more so now that they can compare it with the work of the Communists, the Bolsheviks, who have been denounced by the Entente as destroyers of the world's welfare. The Soviet power, which the bourgeoisie of Europe and America is trying to vilify by every possible means, and which is denounced by all bourgeois governments as a menace to civilization and its economic achievements, is now proving by deeds, and not by words, that it alone is capable of reestablishing production, that only the Soviet power is interested in the development of the economic might of the district. Though the struggle at the front is not yet terminated, though the cannon which were furnished to the Whites by the "peace-loving" governments of the Entente are still roaring, the Soviet power is transferring from the front, men, technical materials, and means of transportation to be used in the effort to restore the coal industry. Despite the acute struggle at the fronts, which the Entente is assiduously promoting, the Soviet power is sending to the coal mines all the necessary materials from its scanty stores.

French and British instructors helped the Volunteer army to dynamite the railway bridges in the Don Basin, and taught them how best to destroy railway stations and canalization, how to damage locomotives, machines, etc. The Soviet power is sending into the Don Basin pumps, cables, electrical materials, technical men, skilled workers, building materials, and lumber, everything that may halt the further deterioration of the mines.

And now when the Polish army is packed with Entente instructors, when the Entente imperialists are again stretching their paws toward the Don Basin, it is worth while to point out once more the difference in the methods of struggle, and the difference on approaching the solution of the problem of how to overcome economic disorganization on a world scope. While the Soviet power is transferring dynamite and other explosives to the Don Basin to increase the production of fuel, salt, and other products which are necessary to combat the cold, famine, and general scarcity of goods, the peace-loving Entente is sending similar materials at increased rate to the Polish nobility to enable the latter to blow up bridges, locomotives and cars, workshops and railway stations, and to destroy whole cities. While the Soviet power is building, in the Don Basin, and in other districts, new railways and new houses, and is restoring factories and workshops, the Entente continues, through the Polish nobility, to pile up destruction on an enormous scale, inflicting new miseries upon thousands and millions of men.

The Soviet power has never pursued the methods which are used by the Whites instructed by the Entente: the retreating Red Army never destroyed tools of production, never deliberately condemned

to death any industrial enterprise. When the Red Army was forced to retreat from the Don Basin, the lumber and technical equipment which were brought there during the existence of the Soviet power, were left there; their utilization for the industries was not interfered with. Comparing our attitude toward production in the Don Basin with that of the Whites, it is necessary to point out that the conditions of capitalistic economy under the Whites destroyed the very foundations of the reconstruction work, causing the scattering of the workers, and leading inevitably to the development of speculation. The activity of the bourse manipulators who preyed on the organism of production, created an appearance of an economic revival, but in reality destroyed the healthy foundations for economic development. The Soviet power, mercilessly uprooting the influence of these manipulators on the economic life, places the work of reconstruction on the healthy rails of the proletarian road. It transfers the center of attention to the organization of production, to drawing the broad masses of the toilers into the process of production, to the creation of a firm foundation for Socialism. — *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, June 23.

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“Moscow in 1920”

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(Continued)

May 1.
THERE is no one in the offices. Everyone is engaged in Communist Saturday work, in May First work. For three hours we wait at the Nikolai Station and watch the girls engaged in cleaning up the railroad tracks and cars, smiling as they work. Some of the girls are dressed in velvet and have Russian hoods of good cloth, gloves, and well-kept finger nails. They are removing the debris from the railroad station: not very pleasant work, but it is a pleasure to them. I was watching five girls for about an hour, lovely red-cheeked girls among them. With much puffing they are pushing a car full of refuse. One of them has a red flower in her black hair and a red girdle about her velvet bodice. Another is sweeping the steps and the approach to the station. A fur-piece is thrown around her. Many thoughts came to my mind, such as, for instance, thoughts of the perfume-besprayed Kurfurstendamm in Berlin, of that street of Sodom, that filthy asphalt pavement on which these females ruin their every possibility of life.

The Communist Saturday work, and the Communist Sunday work is rather a work of education and of demonstration than a work of actual performance. But it is nevertheless a labor in common with others and not the uncouth sloth of the Kurfurstendamm of Berlin. And sometimes actual work is accomplished. When I was riding back along the same street I saw hundreds of railway cars adorned with emblems of praise. These emblems lauded the Communist work that had been performed on May First on these cars.

Everybody in Moscow worked on May First, everybody who was not an outspoken lazy dog or a convinced saboteur. Our interpreter, who had gone to town in order to look for persons who might assign us to lodgings, told us he had seen Bukharin sweeping the streets. Lenin swept one of the courts of the Kremlin on May First. I know this is simply for purposes of demonstration; I know this very well. But never before have there been demonstrations of this kind, they are new demonstrations. None of the perfume-besprayed idlers of the Kurfurstendamm in Berlin would ever take a broom in her hand or touch refuse, even with her gloves on. And yet the clean-swept, smooth, sprinkled asphalt of Berlin is a bearer of much corruption. For many hours we sat impatient on the steps of the staircase of the Nikolai Station. A factory delegation marched by, singing “The Red Flag”, the song of death for the revolution, of proletarian death, the song of proud self-sacrifice. I shall say more of this song later. Every child knows it and sings it. The delegation marched by, singing all the time, and the song was marching with the men, led by

the waving red flag. One man, at the left of the front row, was beating time with his hands. All were serious.

Autos with red stars on their radiators and red flags at the chauffeur's seat, rushed by to reach meetings. Everywhere, on the squares, on the gigantic squares of Moscow, in factory yards, in halls, meetings were being held on this day.

The city was flooded with red. Red flags, red bands around white garbed arms, red flags on the walls. Nothing but red. We were rushed in a flying motor-truck to one of the Soviet houses. Troops of children pass by singing, but otherwise the city is silent. For everyone is engaged in the holiday work. The festivities are not to begin till the late afternoon. In the afternoon we paid a visit to the German Council. The German Council is the center for the German prisoners of war; at present it is occupied chiefly in arranging for the home transportation of these prisoners of war. We received an invitation to the May festival of the German Council, to be held in the building of the Third Internationale.

The hall (in which Count Mirbach was murdered) is crowded to the doors. Prisoners of war, together with their wives and guests, brought from remote parts of Russia, and the employes of the German Council, are waiting for the opening of the exercises, the speech of Balabanova, Secretary of the Third Internationale.

A little woman dressed in black, of pleasing figure. Gray strands in her hair, a cane in her hand. She began to speak at once, still breathless from her swift auto trip. Rather empty eyes, directed inward, somewhat faint enthusiasm; she is not a thunderbolt, not a bomb, not a piercing sword. Everything about this woman is heart. She explains the significance of the holiday work, and sings a paean, a song of songs, on socialistic humanity. In the Third Internationale she represents the Italian Party. She loudly praises the readiness of the Italian comrades to aid suffering Austria. The Italian comrades, she says, snatch the Austrian children, neglected wretches, bloodless worms, broken down with hunger, from their misery into the citron warmth of the south. They snatch them to their homes—so ready to aid are they.

There follow dances and symbolic performances. Two “living pictures” represent, one of them, proletarians under the domination of the bourgeoisie, and the second, the same workers after their liberation, with the bourgeoisie lying on the floor in chains.

I saw a dancer of the Grand Ballet, with shoes on her feet, but with bare legs. She was dancing beautifully, and yet it was not a leg-show as in

Tauntzienstrasse, in Berlin. It was a dance of bare legs, but not a leg show.

Of the proletkult movement, I observed very little there. Art in Russia is still essentially a means of propaganda. I shall report about it later.

About two o'clock at night, after vehement conversations, we dropped asleep in our beds, overwhelmed with the fatigue of too many impressions.

The Soviet Hotel

Hotels in the European sense of the word do not exist either in Petrograd or in Moscow. To be sure there are porters and cabbies, but no hotel coaches, no hotel commissaires, with the names of the hotels on their caps. If you have been announced from Reval, and if your luck is good, a guest automobile of the Foreign Office or of the Third Internationale may be waiting for you. I had been announced but my luck was bad, for it was May First and on May First nobody pays any attention to us. More important things are under way.

There are guests of the Soviet who have to be treated according to a certain program, with the necessary official apparatus. Others apply to the Foreign Office, whose representatives are very amiable. Of course, it is a Russian amiability; in Russia much is promised and not everything kept. This is due partly to difficulty of organization; at any rate, it never does any harm to keep reminding people, to knock at their doors frequently. If I say to Karakhan, in spite of the fact that I have been assigned to a hotel by the Foreign Office, that people have sometimes been kept waiting for several days in Moscow without any legal domicile and food, he will not be angry, he will simply smile. Every hotel (*Soviet house*) is under a Commandant. The Commandant has complete control of the hotel, within the outlines of his jurisdiction. He regulates his acts in accordance with the instructions of the Foreign Office, or of the Third Internationale, which also has a fine hotel for its guests. As long as the Commandant has no instructions to entertain a newcomer in the hotel in question, he will do nothing, and it is immaterial to him how the guest may get along. But once he has received his instructions, the guest need have no further care. He sleeps, eats, and drinks in the Soviet house; his laundry is taken care of. For these services the guest pays either nothing or a Lilliputian fee. For reasons of formality I had to pay 200 Soviet rubles a day. At the time of my stay in Moscow this meant two or three marks of German money.*

But instructions alone are not sufficient. Every stranger must have a pass, a *propusk*—otherwise he cannot even enter the hotel. The pass is issued by the Foreign Office and is valid for the entire city. For Russia is at war and it would not pay to have people running around unregistered in

*The author probably means marks gold; paper marks are quoted at about 1½ rubles, while gold marks are worth about 100 paper rubles.—Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.

the country. Even one who only pays a visit to the guest of a hotel must have a pass, for not even Soviet hotels are free from spies. Therefore every visitor, be he a native or a foreigner, must have credentials. He must show these credentials to a guard, who is armed, and who would surely not hesitate to arrest an interloper who would come without credentials. The most spacious Soviet houses of Moscow are the Metropole, the National, and the Savoy. They are not called hotels, but the *First Soviet House*, the *Second Soviet House*, etc. The lobby of such a "house" is still the old hotel lobby, but it has nothing else about it that would remind you of a great metropolitan lobby. The padded arm chairs, on which women in rustling silks and smugly-groomed officers reclined by the side of provincial merchants, tourists, etc., have disappeared. The mirrors are covered or at least dimmed. One big stair-case mirror in the Metropole still shows a bullet-hole as a vestige of the struggle for power. The bustling porter, with his staff of flunkies, is gone; the stands for the sale of trinkets, chocolates, and newspapers, are but a memory, and no grand duke calls to rent a suite of rooms. Everything proceeds in a sober and businesslike way. To compensate for this you are not fleeced. You pay no tips. Your room is clean; your food is scanty but good (much kasha, a few potatoes and little meat, much tea, sufficient bread, a little butter).

Of course, the rooms of the Soviet houses are still provided with all their past splendors. These splendors may be somewhat dimmed; the Empire sofas, the plush chairs, the rococo tables, are losing their brightness, even as are the bourgeoisie. There has been no time for repairs, nor have they been needed. The guest must content himself. And he may well do so: The Commandants, the chambermaids, the waiters (all Government employes) are pleasant and efficient.

Some hotels have telephones in almost all rooms. Central will connect you quickly. As every guest has important business, as hardly anyone is loafing in Moscow, the telephone girls at the centrals are more than busy. The service is not worse than in Berlin.

Most animation centers about the Metropole, in which many of the higher Soviet officials live. As the Foreign Office is housed in an annex of the Metropole, most of the Foreign Office officials live in this Soviet house. Often their wives and children live with them and their entire domestic life is passed in this building. Before the Revolution, the Metropole was the most aristocratic hotel in Moscow, and grand dukes celebrated their orgies here. There are still Trimalchian recollections, orgiastic reverberations; but most of the things are being devoted to better purposes now. I am told, for instance, that in one palace of pious pleasure, profiteers are now being confined in jail for their offenses.

The red leather alcoves of the Metropole, which form a rotunda about the former concert hall, with little projecting balconies and secretive doors, are

today occupied by Soviet officials. The concert hall is the meeting place of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic. Speakers speak from the platform of the concert hall, on which the managers of the meetings are sitting. In place of a gypsy violinist, Kalinin now holds the baton. He is the chairman of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. He directs the proceedings, faced by a picture of Karl Marx, whose gnarled bust has been placed in a niche of this hall.

Meals are, to be sure, equitably rationed in the hotels, but the foods are not prepared uniformly.

Cuisine is still an important feature. If guests arrive who must be placated, who are to be treated *realpolitically*, guests whose idiosyncrasies must be observed, there is a marked improvement in their rations. For instance, there was a ruler of a semi-Asiatic state that had attached itself to Soviet Russia. At Moscow he was surrounded not with hotel splendors, but certainly with all hotel comforts, such as were not offered to other guests. There was a hum of energetic activity around him. The English Mission, which was in Moscow in May, 1920, was very well entertained and served. They had salmon, ham, much meat, splendid autos, attaches, and the like. We observe the following law: those who are comrades in thought and action are treated as if they were really inhabitants of Russia, as real Russians; people whose ideals are not completely reliable are treated with kid gloves. For instance, if Scheidemann should come to Moscow, he would probably be received as was that semi-Asiatic prince. Of course the truth would not be withheld from him. Lenin told the English trade union leaders a number of things that were far from pleasing to them. But Scheidemann might eat at Moscow as well as with Sklarz* in Berlin. Therefore, Philip, on to Moscow, and take Fritz with you! He will not get thinner there.**

The head of our delegation was assigned, together with myself and others, to a splendid villa. To a villa that had been the residence of a Consul before the Revolution, and contained large rooms and halls, white tiled bathrooms, dreadful paintings, a billiard room, a terrace and syringa grounds, of an unspeakable spring sweetness. There was gathered here an international company of journalists; Japanese, Chinese, English, Americans, Frenchmen, Italians, not to mention representatives of Korea, Bokhara (they ran off at the appearance of pork), Tatars, a veritable Babel. Miss Harrison also was there. I cannot omit this fact, for everybody knows her and she knows everybody else. She said to me: I know Theodore Wolff. Miss Harrison is a courageous woman. She travels through all the editorial offices and revolutions for her news syndicate and she knows even Theodore Wolff.

* Sklarz.

** Fritz probably means Friedrich Ebert, President of the German Republic.

Streets and Squares

Moscow is in need of repairs. Every European capital, now that the war is over, is in need of repairs. But Russia is still in the midst of the war, is still obliged to wage war; for no peace is given to Russia.

The railway stations are in need of repairs; so is the pavement, so are the facades of the houses; everything needs repair. The pavements of Moscow are said to have been no delight to the gentle spirit even before the war. There is little asphalt and no lack of cobblestones. Cobblestones lacking symmetry, cobblestones lacking a sense of order, cobblestones possessed with curiosity, sticking out their heads higher than the rest. There are hills and dales in the pavement. Therefore everyone who makes a pilgrimage to Moscow must take with him at least two pairs of well-soled boots. The trolley cars (200 of them were in operation at the time of my visit) are overcrowded; most of the automobiles are at the front, and there are not too many cabs. So you have to walk, and you walk not only on the splendid smooth boulevards, on the asphalt of the show streets, but also on the block pavement. Former ministers of the German Republic, who have the intention to visit Moscow, and who are accustomed to living on a splendid scale, should perhaps take three pairs of well-soled shoes with them, as they will always step on several cobblestones at the same time. But they may leave their tuxedos at home. Tuxedos are not needed at Moscow. You can pay a visit even to Lenin in an ordinary business suit. Your trousers may be torn, provided your soul be clean. It is necessary to impart this information concerning clothing, for I was asked immediately on my return as to wardrobe needs, and I herewith give the information for the benefit of everyone who may read my book. I may even go so far as to betray the fact that several "high" Soviet officials and revolutionary leaders are walking about with torn pants. For instance Bukharin is no Petrovius, God knows, and Klinger, Secretary of the Third Internationale, wears clothes that are more threadbare than the platforms of the parties in the German Reichstag. He was not at all *comme il faut* when I spoke to him. But the streets of Moscow are clean. They are often a little friable, like those of Petrograd, and people with an instinct for *niveau* might wish they were more uniform, but they are clean nevertheless. Last winter the sewerage system was frozen up and things were pretty bad. But when I was there the water supply was functioning well, the gutters had been washed clean, and there was no odor of garbage.

Of course the streets are not splendid metropolitan streets with bourgeois decorations. Most of the shops, as in Petrograd, are closed or even boarded up. The little stores, in which goods are still being sold, offer for sale trinkets, gewgaws, little mechanical devices, particularly electric, soda water in bottles, soaps, and things of the sort. Occasionally you catch sight of Soviet shops, or even Soviet stores, in which products are sold that

have been rationed by the authorities (the Provisioning Commissariat) and may not be sold above maximum prices. There you will find shirts, socks, hats, also utensils at very low prices. To obtain even these objects is still difficult as industrial production in Russia is almost at a standstill. It will not be possible to carry out the rationing system until a sufficient supply of commodities is on hand.

Many houses in Moscow are weather-beaten, and many are empty, and yet there is an acute shortage of dwellings; but this also will be changed for the better before long. A country waging war cannot work as does one at peace. Particularly the big cities suffer from the war. They are the chief stumbling blocks in all economic and human crises.

The streets of Moscow, particularly the main streets, are animated. At certain times of the day, for instance, about ten in the morning and about 4.30 in the afternoon they are very animated. For these are the hours for beginning and ending work. The streets at these hours are alive with people, there is a general pushing and shoving, a general rush, an extraordinary bustle in the streets. But at other hours also, and in the evening after the closing of the theatres, the streets are also active. The boulevards are then more than filled.

Moscow too is a city of workers. Externally not quite so much so as Petrograd. But the proletariat rules the city. You have this impression as soon as you enter Moscow. There is still much elegance in Moscow and yet the proletariat rules. This is essentially the stamp of the Moscow street. Every possible social layer may crawl about on this street, and yet the proletariat is dominant. It dominates the street with its police, it dominates the street with its labor regulations. The street of luxury, of amusement, of bazaars exists no more; it is now a labor street and a street of relaxation. There is not much work being done yet; there is by no means enough work done in Moscow; and yet Moscow is already a city of workers.

Splendid are the squares of Moscow. The finest square of Moscow is that of the Kremlin. It is half a drill ground, half a market place, or half a parade ground and half an amusement place, or half a business market and half a place for show. The high Kremlin wall on one side, with its towers and its still preserved miracles, the former gigantic bazaars* a modern Asia, at present the Commissariat of Labor, on the other side. At its entrance, the wonderful image of the Iberian Madonna, which is still entreated for miracles, and at its exit the finest architectural splendor of the world, the Church of St. Basil. Along the Kremlin wall there are the graves in which the heroes of the Revolution rest, covered with red ribbon wreaths. The Kremlin wall is covered with shining revolutionary plastic art, from which great tracts of red issue forth and spread in all directions. It is a

* The *Targovye Ryady*, an arcade consisting of small shops formerly selling luxuries, souvenirs and other objects.

splendid square. It is broad—broad as the Russian soul. So broad that the giant map of the Polish front which has been set up there, looks like a little white speck. It is a splendid square for red parades, for troop reviews, for militia drills, for burning addresses, for reminiscences of struggle. While helmeted warriors are seen climbing the Kremlin walls with carved swords between their clenched teeth, the marks of machine-gun bullets still bear witness of the struggle of the proletariat against capital.

Red troops march around the square at the Kitaisky Wall (the Chinese Wall), singing as they go, red flags attached to their guns. Their knees not rigidly straight, their attitude a proud insolence, they sing the song of the *Red Flag* as they pass under this mighty wall, on which armies might defend themselves; they pass this product of an infinite brick-like patience, built by ants. Thus the walls were built that the Jews once had to erect in Egypt. And much sweat has been cemented in this wall.

Splendid is the Theatre Square, the square in front of the Great Theatre. Here the official life and the pleasure life of Moscow center. It is the stone rosette of Moscow, enameled with verdure, and flowers, and always with many people sitting on the benches. Across this square automobiles are constantly dashing, while cabs pick their zig-zag course and troops are marching, troops of children, of scholars, or soldiers. I have spent hours on this square, the broad artery of Moscow, the compass-rose of Moscow, with its rays directed towards all the sections of the city. Here I watched the sellers of mineral water, the flying tradesmen, beggars, arguing citizens, elegant ladies. There is nothing finer in the world than the broad squares of Moscow. It is a very ancient city, with its squares. The squares have seen storms and have been in complacent repose, and such is their repose now, after the storm of the November Revolution.

Splendid are the squares of Moscow. Red rimmed, green rimmed, flooded with broad daylight, dotted with leafy shade, with all the animation of the city. By the squares of Moscow you can see that the city is still living, that it cannot die. A great city cannot die in three years. Rome is eternal and Moscow is immortal.

The Boulevards

Is there still a terroristic dictatorship in Moscow? No there is not a terroristic dictatorship in Moscow. If there were a terroristic dictatorship in Moscow, there would be no May boulevard with the merry spring life of May, 1920. A green recreation thoroughfare, interrupted by squares and intersections, the Moscow Boulevard encircles the entire inner city. It was once better groomed than now; you might say it was combed and washed. But its streets are still there and the brown road still runs round the inner city, the benches remain, the music-stands, and the refreshment-booths. The little lakes still twinkle and

if there are few incandescent lights, in order that the electric current may be saved, the life on the boulevards is still incandescent. About 10 o'clock at night (Moscow time) life becomes active in this region, but not as active as before the Revolution. There is not the hectic animation, the flashing bustle, the blinding brilliance, the carnival gaiety, the Cossack officers ready to pounce on their booty, the shining dowagers in their rolling chairs, the pearl-covered corruption of before the Revolution. There is still enough of the bourgeois, enough of vulgarity, enough of profiteering and speculation, and other vermin. But, as the Moscow street is already a labor street, so the Moscow Boulevard has become the recreation thoroughfare of the proletariat. Often you see no proletariat on this recreation street, and yet the street is a promenade for the proletariat, for the proletariat now tolerates the jobbers, speculators, the ear-pendants. Formerly the ear-pendants, the jobbers and speculators, tolerated the proletariat.

Along this Boulevard, this long, gently-winding recreation thoroughfare, no bomb explodes, no gun is fired, no dictatorial glance is seen to flash. Everything is very peaceful. Couples are out walking, red soldiers ambling along, people coming from work across the promenade. There is joking, problems are illuminated, secret deals are whispered, and women are loved. The citizen of Moscow walks, sits and promenades, a free man, along this brown and green girdle, singly and in pairs, serious or glad, full of care or with breast held high.

There is no horse play. In no city of the world have I seen so much dignified pleasure displayed along the promenades. In no city of the world (and I have seen many cities) have I seen women so modest (romantically speaking). There are no professional prostitutes in Russia any longer. Before the Revolution statistics show (statistics were particularly unreliable in Russia) 160,000 prostitutes in the streets of Moscow. If one is still found, she is put into a labor battalion. The elimination of professional prostitutes, in fact their *immediate* elimination, assigning them to a place in working society, is a self-evident demand of Socialism. It is a human demand, an anti-capitalistic demand, even a sanitary demand. Venereal diseases (read the program of the Bolsheviks) are among the social diseases, together with tuberculosis and alcoholism. The program of the Communist Party of Russia adopted at the Eighth Party Congress, under the caption "Protection of Public Health", demands that social diseases (tuberculosis, venereal diseases, alcoholism), be combated.

Love has not ceased to live in Russia. It is eternal as is also folly. But the communization of women by means of prostitution has ceased. Of course this does not mean that "venal love" has given up the ghost. Things do not move as fast as that. Love is still bought and sold in Russia and in Moscow, but the process of buying and selling love is being wiped out. The process is already moribund and will shortly die. Habitual

prostitutes have already been eliminated; secret prostitutes, such as those that are married cannot be eliminated within three years. There is still much distress in Moscow and distress breaks the pride of women, and therefore there is still a social plague of love. Women complained to me in Moscow about this. They loudly and warmly praised the great elimination that had been accomplished by the Soviet Government and they wished a swift alleviation of the distress of life so that the social plague of love might be done away with.

If there still exists a communization of women as was formerly the case you would notice it on the boulevards, for it was on the Theatre Square and on the boulevards that the communized women sold themselves, but this is a thing of the past. Even one who would love to condemn and hate every act of the Soviet Government must laud this act, even though he be a merely liberal humanity whiner. Of course this act will ruin his case, but it is an act that is on his own program. The trade in women has ceased, the slavery of lust has died out, the pride of women is rising. I shall only say what I actually saw, no more and no less. I must repeat that this is my intention, for otherwise you may think that I am merely a propagandist.

The refreshment booth with the garden tables and garden chairs in front of them still have little buffets inside. People told me about the buffets during peace and war times. They had been wonderful buffets of delicacies with Moscow candies, cordials in a hundred colors, and an elegant crowd seated round them. Of course this is all past. Very courageous speculators, who do not fear the combat of the Extraordinary Commission against smuggling, openly sell mocca and delicate cream tarts. Their customers are bespangled remnants of the bourgeoisie, women with pearl ornaments, fabulous footwear and flashing rings on their manicured fingers. They sit there with their cavaliers (there are cavaliers still in Moscow) and sip, (elegant ladies as is well known, do not drink, as proletarians do, they sip) mocca and perhaps an ice. It may cost a few thousand rubles, but there is more where that came from. *Nichevo!* They sell a few things to a jobber, escape work, and sip!

I should like to give a hint to those who are seeking pleasure. If one of my readers should arrive at Moscow during the summer, the hot Moscow summer, far from the sea, the asphalt dissolving summer, the perspiring summer, let him carry a thermos bottle of cold tea with him, but in the evening let him eat or drink the thick milk, ice-cold thick milk, which he can get in the buffets of the boulevard's booths. It is delicious. The price is only 125 rubles per glass. But he will have to hurry. He must reach Moscow before the end of the summer for otherwise the price will be much higher. It will be double, triple, even much higher. Of course that will make no difference, but it will shock the quantity idiots. The boulevard does not become empty until about one

o'clock at night (Moscow summer time). But every night unless there is a storm, it is filled with a dignified, jovial humanity, not without a few

centers of decay and with some who are infected, but nevertheless a street of the future, leading to a more honest civilization.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

THE RED NAVY

IN MY book, "Panama de la Marine Russe", published in 1908*, I foretold the approach of the Social Revolution in Russia. Disclosing the mischievous deeds of the officers of the imperial Russian navy. I described the true conditions of the Russian seamen whose lot was not better than that of the convicts serving sentences at hard labor. It was the first public disclosure of conditions in the Russian imperial marine, described from within, and it produced a great scandal in higher circles at Petrograd. Naturally, the circulation of this book in Russia was strictly forbidden. Dealing with the life of the Russian bluejackets I stated positively that these sailors would accomplish the most important part in the approaching struggle for liberty and that they would be uncompromising revolutionists because they had endured real slavery and knew better than anybody else in Russia what the rule of the bourgeois class meant.

As I foresaw twelve years ago, so it happened. The conditions under which the Red Navy acted during the Revolution, from a purely strategical point of view, required great secrecy; therefore for a certain period there was almost no information about it. Nevertheless, the part played by the Red Navy during the Revolution, during the armed intervention of the Allies, and during the civil war, was of great importance. It must not be forgotten that the victory of the Revolution in February and in March, 1917, was due chiefly to the activity, firmness, and self-sacrifice of the members of the Baltic Fleet. The revolutionary sailors remained inflexible even at the moment of compromises when the eloquent Kerensky tried to persuade the Russian people to act together with the capitalistic coalition. The famous Kronstadt Republic, which remained faithful to the principles of the Soviets, made a desperate fight against reaction and became a real terror to the bourgeoisie. The working class of Russia looked on the sailors as their most faithful brothers. Finally the Baltic and the Black Sea Navies became the backbone of the young Soviet Republic.

As far back as the winter of 1917 the Baltic Fleet, in spite of all the existing disorder in the naval structure of Russia, succeeded in steaming from Reval to Helsingfors, thus saving the Russian warships from the German invaders, while

the Black Sea Navy, being menaced by the enemy, preferred to sink their best ships rather than surrender them to the Germans. In both cases, however, the enemy met a most fierce resistance from the Red Navy of Soviet Russia.

The Naval Commissariat of the Republic even in the early days of its existence showed great activity. In order to arrest the movement of the invaders a rather powerful flotilla was created on Lake Chudskoie, while a great part of the sailors, on several inner fronts, were engaged in fighting the invaders and counter-revolutionists together with the Red Guards, and covered themselves with glory.

Allied intervention forced the Soviet Government to reorganize the Red Navy on new lines suitable to the new regime. The volunteer system introduced in the naval organization was found to be weak and unpromising. The Red Navy had to be a strong and stable organization. Therefore the revolutionary committees which were in existence on every warship were dissolved, and the Soviet of the Commissars of the Baltic Fleet was replaced by the Revolutionary Military Soviet, which in the beginning of 1918, appointed to every warship a naval commissar who worked with the naval commanders in the same way that the commissars worked in the army.

The result of this reorganization was excellent. In the autumn of 1918, the warships *Oleg* and *Andrei II* successfully supported the operation of the Red Army along the Baltic shores. During the famous Anglo-Yudenich dash on Petrograd in 1919, these warships successfully repulsed all attacks of the British torpedo boats directed on Kronstadt, with heavy losses for the aggressors, three of seven English torpedoboats being sunk by the Russians. It was the Baltic Fleet which recaptured Krasnaya Gor'ka, treacherously surrendered to the enemy by its commandant Nekludov, an officer of the Czar's army who had succeeded in winning the confidence of the Soviets. This was at the most critical moment of the struggle for Petrograd.

In spite of all alleged weakness and all existing difficulties, the Red Baltic Fleet inflicted upon the British navy blockading Russia considerable damage, sinking a large British destroyer of the latest type, the *Victoria*, as well as one submarine. There were also some losses in the navy of our enemy, which remained unknown to the public. The Red torpedo-boat *Gavriil* heroically beat off an attack of four enemy torpedo-boats, while the Baltic Navy, during all the battles near Tsarskoye Selo and Peterhof, bombarded the siege batteries of the

* Roustam Bek. "Panama de la Marine Russe". Nice, France, 1908. Librairie Rozanoff, 3, Rue Longchamps. This book was printed in the Russian language and was suppressed in Russia. A year later Captain Semenov's book, "Rasplata", appeared in Russia describing the cause of the failure of the Russian navy during the Russo-Japanese War. The information in this article has been taken mostly from official publications of the Soviet Government which have recently arrived from Moscow.—B. R. B.

enemy, in spite of the presence of the 15-inch guns of the British navy, and protected the coast line of the Finnish Gulf as far as Yamburg.

The famous Krasnaya Gorka, key to Kronstadt, after it was recaptured from the White Guards in one day by naval contingents supported by the bombardment of the Red Navy, was henceforth defended by Red seamen, and it was they who so stoically repelled all attacks of the enemy directed on this strategical point from land and sea. Neither Yudenich nor the Allies were able to break down the heroism of the Red sailors in spite of all the superior technical means at their command. Meanwhile on the Lakes Ladoga and Onega newly created Red flotillas were active and distinguished themselves as the watchful guardians of these waters, gradually clearing them from the enemy.

The Kolchak offensive in Siberia also forced the Soviet Government to create naval forces on several rivers and the Volga was the first where the Red Flag of the revolutionary navy was hoisted. Here the Red sailors cooperated with the Red Army in perfect harmony, repulsing the attacks of the Kolchak hordes along the river.

The military operations in Russia, gradually increasing, required the assistance of naval forces in the other regions of the Republic. So in 1919 Red naval units were established in the Caspian Sea and it was no easy task to transport destroyers and submarines from the Baltic Sea to Astrakhan, particularly through the water system and partially by the rails.

The iron ring of the Allied blockade forced the strategy of the Soviets to counter-balance it by a similar ring formed of a series of flotillas established on several lakes and rivers throughout the territory of the Republic. Great was the surprise of the Allies and of the reactionary generals when they met along the whole system of the water communication of Soviet Russia the most stubborn resistance of the newly created Red naval force. Thanks to the superhuman energy of its members, the Red naval administration succeeded in establishing flotillas on the Lower Dnieper and Dnieper, on Chudskoie Lake, on the Northern Dvina and on the Western Dvina, on the Don, and later on the Pripet, Berezina, as well as on the other rivers, according to military circumstances and demands of the army command. And everywhere the enemy was met successively and in many cases suffered tremendous losses.

All this was accomplished in spite of disorganized industry and without the necessary number of experienced specialists. Besides these difficulties, there was another obstacle, perhaps the most important of all for a naval organization. There was a general shortage of coal in Russia. Denikin became the master of the Donets industrial region and practically left the Russian Navy without fuel. The difficulties which the Red Naval administration had to overcome can be imagined if we will take into consideration that the active part of the Baltic Fleet alone required more than 300,000 tons of coal annually without considering the necessi-

ties of the numerous lake and river flotillas. Only the revolutionary spirit of the Red Navy could have kept its guns constantly active and brought the Red ships where their help was required.

After the October Revolution the whole naval apparatus of the imperial ministry of marine was taken over by the Soviets and a great majority of the existing employes submitted themselves to the new regime. This to a certain extent helped the Soviet naval administration in their work of reorganization.

Comrade Dybenko was appointed Commissar for Naval Affairs, replacing the former Marine Minister, and a board was formed under his control with one specialist, M. Ivanov, and three political representatives: Raskolnikov,* Saks and Kovalsky. Also a special board was established under the name "Centrobalt", which took the supreme command of the Baltic Fleet.

At the end of January, 1918, the imperial navy was completely liquidated and replaced by the "Workers' and Peasants' Red Navy". In the spring of 1918, Trotsky was appointed Commissar for the Military and Marine Affairs of the Republic.

When the Soviet Government established its headquarters in Moscow the center of the naval administration with the Naval Commissariat, the Marine General Staff, and all the technical and other administrative and supply branches of the naval management left Petrograd, where only one member of the Naval Commissariat remained as representative.

The former Admiral V. M. Altvater was appointed by the Soviets the member of the Supreme Naval Board. The appointment of one of the most famous admirals of the old regime produced a great impression on the reactionary elements of the Russian Navy. Altvater was known not only as a foremost expert, but as a man of high character and as a man of honor. It is said that when Kolchak learned that Altvater had joined the Soviets he was much upset and said: "If Altvater is with the Bolsheviki it is a very bad sign."

Admiral Altvater succeeded in attracting to the Red Navy many important experts, who henceforth became devoted and industrious elements in the organization for the support of the cause of the Russian workers.

Anticipating an attack from both land and sea by a numerous enemy, in the autumn of 1918 the Soviet Government undertook a general reorganization of the defense forces of Soviet Russia. The Red Navy with all its administrative machinery was submitted to the control of the Revolutionary Military Soviet. Altvater and Raskolnikov became members of this Soviet and formed its Naval section. Strategically Altvater was the head of all naval forces of the Republic. The Chief of the Red Naval General Staff was also an expert, a former officer of the imperial navy, E. A. Barena, a man of great ability, who is at present the Com-

* Comrade Raskolnikov was later captured by the English during a raid undertaken by the Baltic Fleet on Riga in October, 1918, when the Red Navy lost two torpedo-boats *Astril* and *Sparta*.

mander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces of Soviet Russia, having succeeded Altvater, who remains on the board of Supreme Revolutionary Military Soviet.

Comrade Barens has at his disposal a special staff and is delegated with purely strategical and executive power, practically as an assistant of the Commander-in-Chief of all military forces of the Republic, who is, as we know, Comrade Trotsky. The administrative and supply departments are centralized under a Commissariat of Naval Affairs under N. I. Ignatiev, subordinate to the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic.

Thus it is clear that the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic is the supreme authority of the military and naval organization of Soviet Russia. To this institution the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy is subordinate. By this organization was secured the coordination and cooperation of the land army and the marine, which is so important for Russian strategy.

The organization of the command of the Baltic Fleet is similar to the organization of the military command in the army. The chief commander of the naval forces is assisted by two political commissars, while in the flotillas one commissar is attached to each commander. This organization is considered as the most suitable to the existing regime.

The Naval General Staff, besides its purely strategical and scientific purposes, is also an advisory institution to the Revolutionary Military Soviet and under its control the general and special naval education is conducted.

The most important branch of the Naval Commissariat is certainly its technical department. The supply of the Red Navy with all kinds of the material, as well as the work in the shipyards is of the foremost importance. The task is a most difficult one in the presence of the economic conditions in which the country finds itself at the present critical moment. The Technical Department of the Naval Commissariat is divided in eight sections: shipbuilding, mechanical, ordnance, mining (torpedoes), submarine, radio-telegraphy, naval aviation, and fortifications. This institution, during the period of the civil war, had built and equipped on the rivers Volga, Kama, North Dvina, Dnieper, and Don as well as on the lakes Ladoga, Onega, and Chudskoie, more than ten ports, up to 1920, and had supervised the reconstruction and armament of more than one thousand commercial ships. Such a gigantic work could not have been accomplished without the most efficient organization for the distribution of material.

On its front page the *New York Times* published a cable from Warsaw in which the summary of Pilsudski's victory over the Red Army is given in such a way that an average reader might believe that the Russian Red Army in the West is completely routed and no longer exists. According to this dispatch, "sixteen Red divisions are routed by the Poles; 42,000 prisoners and

166 guns captured." "The staff of the 3rd and 4th Bolshevik armies," the message says, "are captured and the staff of the 21st, 41st, 55th and 57th Divisions and of several brigades and regiments also have been taken prisoners." "The Poles," it is said, "have taken from the Russians 166 guns, and in addition to 90 machine guns, 1,180 armored cars, 7 armored trains, 3 airoplanes, 21 locomotives, 2,500 wagons, 10 motor-cars and great stores of ammunition and other material which the Bolsheviks had assembled for a Fall drive against the Poles, have been taken."

There cannot be any doubt that these figures are much exaggerated, though they are still lower than those which appeared in the American Press after the Russian attack on Warsaw had been beaten off. In any case, the number of prisoners now claimed by the enemy, in comparison with the number of divisions engaged, namely, sixteen, is far from showing that the Russian army on the Western front was "routed".

In the Red Army a complete division represents about 25,200 men, formed of three brigades, each of three regiments of three battalions. There is no army corps in the Red Army and therefore the infantry divisions are completed proportionally with cavalry, artillery, engineers, aerial squadrons, ambulances and with other auxiliary units. Finally the "routed" sixteen divisions roughly represented a force of about 450,000. The Poles are claiming that they have succeeded in capturing 42,000 men, during the Russian retreat, when the Russians certainly were unable to collect their wounded and sick comrades. Therefore it is plain that most of these prisoners are founded and sick as well as a great number of surgeons, nurses, and orderlies of the medical staff of the Red forces.

At the present moment the Revolutionary Red Field Staff concentrates all its attention upon the South Russian Front where the Wrangel forces have become more and more active. There is no doubt that the Poles, after a long and costly campaign, have been brought by the Russian arms to such a state that they cannot and certainly will not repeat the invasion of Russia. Physically it is an impossibility. On the other hand, Soviet Russia never had any intention of annexing even the smallest part of the Polish territory and once its army succeeded in clearing Soviet Russia from the invaders, strategy had accomplished its task in case the Poles would move sincerely towards peace.

Now the bulk of all the reserves of the Red Army is directed against Wrangel in order to prevent the capture of the Donets industrial region and to put an end to his adventure. This new Russian movement has forced the French strategists to feel very uneasy and, according to the *New York Herald* of October 2, the French military authorities are expressing great doubts as to Wrangel's future success.

The French Government has already started to excuse itself for being forced to cease further military support of Wrangel's army and suggests that America might continue it alone.

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.

IT IS well to know how things stand. According to the Polish Minister of Finance, the total of American support to Polish chauvinism amounts to \$169,000,000, this being the sum of Polish indebtedness to the American Government and various American corporations for war materials and other supplies essential to the campaign against Soviet Russia. M. Grabski was quite frank. Unless the United States has this sum to throw away, he told a correspondent of the *New York Sun and Herald*, "she will have to continue patiently lending financial and economic assistance, and perhaps even military aid—until the Red menace is entirely crushed." M. Grabski must have imagined that the American people have forgotten the old adage about the questionable practice of throwing away good money after bad. Whether they have or not we do not know. At any rate, M. Grabski continued, "for the present there is no possibility of an early repayment of the huge sums we owe the United States." Moreover, he said, "we have nothing to offer the United States, as she does not need the small export surplus which we are directing elsewhere." Economically, said the Finance Minister, Poland is where it was upon armistice day. Only he neglected to reckon into the account the vast accumulation of debts to the United States and to the other Allies and the untold suffering and wastage of human life which have accrued as a result of Polish imperialism since that day.

According to M. Grabski, the largest items of indebtedness to the United States are distributed as follows: to the Baldwin Locomotive Works approximately one million dollars; to the United States Shipping Board nearly fifteen million dollars; to the United States Grain Corporation and the United States Relief Administration nearly one hundred million dollars; to the United States Liquidation Commission and the United States Army, items designated with significant vagueness as "several millions".

An American correspondent, recently turned propagandist for Polish imperialism, cites the generosity of the Baldwin Locomotive Works as an example to other American industrial concerns

whose duty it is to help "build up a strong Poland" which might successfully perform its mission of standing as a "bulwark". The securities which the Polish Government has given for its purchases in the United States, said the correspondent, "really amounted only to the word of honor of the Polish Government."

IT IS reported that the Chinese Government has at last decided to discontinue the payment of the Boxer indemnity to the Russian Czarist Legation in Peking. Accordingly, says the dispatch, it is expected that the Russian representatives will shortly withdraw from China. Thus is a rich source of subsidy to the counter-revolution cut off. Representatives of Russian reaction in China and elsewhere have made good use of these indemnity payments which China some time ago proposed to discontinue and was only prevented from doing by strong coercion from some quarter. The Soviet Government, of course, long since renounced any claim to the indemnity, and the continued forced payment to reactionary intriguers representing no government anywhere in the world was the sheerest swindling of the Chinese treasury. We must expect now to hear more talk of "Bolshevist propaganda" in China. Under this convenient phrase the imperialists attempt to disguise the fact that one of the early acts of the Soviet Government was to announce that it intended to treat the Chinese people as equal members of the human race and not as vassals of the West. For in renouncing the Boxer indemnity—that pitiless tribute which the European nations wrung annually from a people too weak to protest—the Soviet Government also renounced those other forms and symbols of western domination over China. The Soviet Government proclaimed the abrogation of the old treaties of the Russian Czar which were so unfavorable to China, and renounced also the principle of extra-territoriality and the system of maintaining "legation guards" on Chinese soil and other forms of oppression. The news of these features of the eastern policy of the Soviet Government has spread slowly but no less effectively.

TWO English journalists, returning from sojourn in Soviet Russia, were strangely moved by such a commonplace sight as the railway restaurant at Narva, the first station over the Esthonian border. The return to this "outpost of Burgerdom," relates Mr. George Young in the London *Daily Herald*, produced an extraordinary exhilaration in his traveling companions. They joked and laughed over their coffee and buns, "like children home from school."

"But I felt suddenly very old—very old and dead. I was not coming home from school, but back from the next world—the world we shall all come to some day. A world where at first sight there is nothing to see but death and its terrors, because life there is lived in a different plane and at a higher power than here. A world where at first sight there is no beauty and no happiness; but where before I left I began to see a new beauty of social structure and a new happiness

in devotion and discipline. A world that has something of hell and something of heaven, but nothing of the happy home of the middle class limbo . . .

" . . . I felt curiously unsubstantial and unassimilated in the world of Burgerdom—a thin, melancholy spook haunting the old familiar railway restaurant of thirty years of foreign travel. That restaurant so expressive of Burgerdom—property, propriety, and pretension. I felt like hovering ominously between my reveling companions and their third go of coffee and buns—waving a warning of impending doom and vanishing back into the fourth dimension of Bolodom.—And some day I shall."

Mr. Charles Roden Buxton described the same scene in the London *Nation*:

"Here was the first refreshment room I had seen for two months! Nice cold filets of fish, and slices of ham, and delicious clean brown bowls of sour milk—lovely hot veal cutlets of gigantic size. The whole of my bourgeois instincts rose up in rejoicing. Here was the normal type of civilized life.

"And now that I am at Reval, I find that all the rest is of a piece with it. The shops are full of bewildering variety of wares. All is as it should be. The men drink alcohol; the women wear stays; the horses wear bearing reins. It is the old familiar thing again.

"But is it the right thing? How many share in it? . . . What of the countless ones to whom the refreshment room is as remote and inaccessible as it is to the dweller in Soviet Russia—to whom the brilliant shops of capitalist cities are merely a show, and not a thing that they ever expect to enter upon and enjoy? What of the innumerable submerged, packed away out of sight behind the glaring main streets?

"Here in Reval yesterday, poking about the back streets, I met a woman, a widow, who earns twenty-three marks a day in a factory. She pays twelve marks of this for bread, and eight for milk, each day. Does *she* ever go into the Wiru Ulitsa to buy in the shops there? Certainly not . . . If the Wiru and all its shops were to disappear tomorrow it would make no difference whatever to her. She has nothing to do with it . . .

"Some of us have said that a social transformation was possible. Did we really mean it? The Russian Communists have taken it literally, and engaged in the effort at a moment of history which, by its confusion and collapse, gave them the opportunity, but which at the same time was the worst possible moment for the experiment from the point of view of production. If they have not exalted those of low degree in the sense of giving them more to eat than before, they have certainly put down the mighty from their seat. And this was enough to make the world outside fall upon them with horse, foot, and artillery. . . ."

This leads Mr. Buxton into certain reflections upon the subject of "investigations", official and otherwise:

"There is something almost impudent about a minute investigation . . . When I think of the colossal effort that is being made, the tragic conditions of the experiment, the feverish atmosphere of excitement, of elation, of depression, now one and now the other, I feel I cannot isolate the machinery of the Revolution from the human elements that play round it and make, mar, or modify it . . . I cannot examine this people as if they were beetles or butterflies . . . And there is another side to the matter. Why do we not investigate and criticize *ourselves*? Here is Esthonia, for instance . . . Three days ago took place the trial of some twenty or thirty Communists . . . Two were sentenced to death; eleven to imprisonment . . . The offense may have been great, the trial fair; I have not been able to check the facts. All I know is that I have heard horrifying tales of persecution. But why does nobody investigate the matter? . . . The *Morning*

Post representative in Reval sends full accounts of what he thinks is going on in Moscow. Why does it never occur to him to ask what is going on in the next street in Reval? . . . My point is simply that if any capitalist state were to be subjected to the minute examination which Soviet Russia is now undergoing at the hands of numerous delegations, it would certainly be found far from perfect. But it is not thought necessary to examine it at all."

* * *

NAPROZOD, a Polish Socialist daily appearing in Cracow and for years the mouthpiece of Ignace Daszynski, the Polish Socialist leader and at present the Vice-Premier of Poland, contains in its issue of September 8 the following notice:

Vice-Premier Daszynski had also in that matter (controversy with Lithuania) a conversation with the papal nuncio, Monsignore Ratti, to whom he said that the Vatican must not be indifferent if catholic Lithuania concluded a union with Russia.

If we remember that Daszynski is a Socialist, who, by his creed, ought not to foster religious differences and animosities, that he is a member of the Polish Socialist Party which by its program is bound to recognize the separation of church and state, and that, furthermore, as an adherent of "western democracy" he should be expected to live up to the commonplace doctrine of liberalism which is antagonistic to any interference of the Vatican in state political affairs, this matter of asking the intervention of the Vatican may be seen in its true light. And then we may also apprehend the fathomless depth into which the Socialist *Gotterdammerung* has brought its unprincipled riders. What a calm and firm superiority over these men breathes from, let us say, the order of Trotsky, printed in the last issue of **SOVIET RUSSIA**, and calling to order some chauvinistic elements in the Soviet Russian military bodies. Is it not that the "reevaluation of values" by the variety of Socialists who, like Daszynski of Poland, are condemning the "autocracy" of the Bolsheviks, leads somehow not to democracy, but to the camp of black reaction?

PEACE WITH FINLAND

The Moscow wireless states that, according to Kerzhentsev, a member of the Russo-Finnish Peace Conference, the fundamental work of the peace negotiations is practically finished.

At present an agreement has been reached by which Russia concedes Finland part of the Pechenga region, thus affording Finland access to the Arctic Ocean. Finland is, however, receiving less territory than was offered to her in 1918. Russia retains the right of free transit through Pechenga. In this way communication with Norway is maintained. Finland is evacuating the two cantons of Eastern Karelia, which she occupied, and these pass to the Eastern Karelian Labor Commune. In the Finnish Gulf, all the islands, including Hogland, are neutralized.

With regard to economic questions, an agreement has been reached by which all past relations are liquidated on the basis of the *status quo*.

The Finnish Delegation considers that the Treaty will be signed in the near future.—London *Daily Herald*, September 15, 1920.

Profiteering a Hindrance to Trade with Russia

By PROFESSOR GEORGE LOMONOSOV

THE conviction is becoming more and more widespread that the economic system of Europe may be much strengthened by the aid of Russia's raw material. But such a consummation is prevented not only by the military resistance of capitalism, but also by its lust for profit, as is shown by the negotiations which are now being carried on by the Russian Government and the German locomotive industry, on the subject of the delivery of locomotives. The following remarks are taken from the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* on this subject:

The head of the Russian transportation, Professor Lomonosov,* who is at present in Berlin negotiating with the German locomotive factories, gave a long interview to our Berlin correspondent, Comrade Walter Oehme, and stated among other things, the following:

"The negotiations to conclude which I came to Germany developed as far as the technical side was concerned with a rapidity that I have not witnessed in any other country, and I may say, that during the war I was making purchases both in France and Sweden. We were able to arrive at an agreement very swiftly concerning all technical questions. But the negotiations concerning price have been extremely unsatisfactory. In fact, I now have hardly any hope that this extremely important contract may be concluded, unless the German locomotive manufacturers make serious concessions to us. The negotiations concerning price have now been in progress for a month. We have succeeded in lowering the first offer, which was several hundred thousand marks higher per locomotive than the one preceding it, by consenting to technical simplifications and easier constructions. The negotiations were originally carried on in Berlin. Somewhat later the German manufacturers tried to transfer the seat of negotiations to Stockholm. But I am of the opinion that it is best to negotiate with the English in England, with the Swedes in Sweden, and with the Germans in Germany.

"The German locomotive industry has established a firmly constructed combine, which is negotiating with us. They are attempting thus to shield themselves against underbidding by competing firms. I explain the demands of too high a price by the fact that the capitalists fear new wage demands, and that they wish to secure as much of a capitalistic profit as possible, under any eventuality. But I am convinced that this problem, so important for both peoples, cannot be solved if it is attacked from this standpoint alone. The whole German people, and particularly the Ger-

man workers, are profoundly interested in having this contract concluded.

"Russian foodstuffs and raw materials can only be exported if it is possible to reconstruct the transportation system, which has been much disorganized as a consequence of war. In southern Russia, in the Kuban district, and in Siberia, there are quantities of grain, but in consequence of the poor traffic conditions, it is not even possible to transport it to Moscow, far less to export it to Western Europe. Even though we have succeeded in improving somewhat, with our own efforts, transportation conditions, so that at this date there are two accommodation trains and one express train daily between Moscow and Petrograd, and although we already have 3,600 kilometers of new railway construction, we, nevertheless, by no means are in a position to cover our need of locomotives with the products of our own labor. We need about 5,000 locomotives. The annual production of the whole world is about 10,000. America can construct 5,000 locomotives a year, Germany about 2,500. Germany therefore occupies second place in its capacity in this field. This will give you some idea of the immensity of the prospect of profit in reopening economic relations with Russia. As far as I am informed the negotiations that were conducted in Canada have not yet led to conclusions, but are at present being continued in London. In the interest of both peoples, the German as well as the Russian, it would be very regrettable if our negotiations are a failure because of this matter of price, and we should be forced to depend entirely upon American production. Of course the question of exchange value of money has played no part at all in the negotiations, for all our calculations have been undertaken on a gold basis. It is self-evident also that we are in a position to furnish complete guarantees for the payments we are to make. But the question of price remains the *alpha* and the *omega* of the whole business. It seems necessary to me that the German public be informed that this contract for deliveries of locomotives is not only the beginning of the economic relations between Germany and Russia, but actually the basis and the preliminary condition for such negotiations. I have by no means any doubt that the German workers and the entire German people will recognize this significance of the contracts, or that they are unwilling to permit the great work of a common German-Russian labor in economic reconstruction to be frustrated by differences as to the question of price. The amiable reception and support which I have recently been given at the hands of the German Government, permit me to hope that (since you ask me about this) I may expect from a possible intermediation of the Government or perhaps from the negotiations which the Govern-

* Professor Lomonosov is not the head of the Russian transportation system; he has the powers of a Commissar for purchases in Western Europe for the Russian railway system, but is not the People's Commissar for Means of Communication. The Acting Commissar for Means of Communication is now Trotzky, replacing Krassin, now at London.

ment is carrying on for all the German economic interests, a favorable influence on the negotiations which are still in progress. And my hope of this is all the greater since I have learned with pleasure that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Simons, has expressed his appreciation of our vast plans and labors of reconstruction. I cannot, however, close the conversation, without repeatedly emphasizing that the question of transportation is

at present the most decisive and significant one, the one on which all other economic relations are based, and that it therefore would be a great disaster to both peoples if difficulties regarding price to be paid on delivery of locomotives should cause the extremely important negotiations with the German locomotive industry to fail.—From *Die Rote Fahne*, August 24, 1920.

The Managements of Petrograd Industries

THE question which form of management, collegium or individual, is the better, has been eagerly discussed in those circles interested in the reconstruction of industry in Russia, since the last Congress of the Economic Councils. The Statistical Bureau of the city of Petrograd together with the Statistical Subsection of the Petrograd Labor Committee has sent out a questionnaire with the object of determining how far these two forms of management are represented in the factories of Petrograd, and also to determine the membership of the collegiums directing the factories on March 1, 1920. From this questionnaire we take the following data:

Two hundred and sixty enterprises were investigated with a total working personnel of 81,069. As Petrograd, according to statistical reports had, at the time of investigation, 205 enterprises (each having over 50 workers on January 1, 1919), which employed altogether 87,578 workers, the investigation consequently covered enterprises embracing at present more than 90 per cent of all Petrograd workers.

Number of Enterprises

Size of the Enterprises	Individual management		Collegium management		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
50 workers or less.....	35	64.8	19	35.2	54	100
From 51 to 200 workers 73		60.3	48	39.7	121	100
Over 200 workers.....	26	30.6	59	69.4	85	100
Total	134	51.5	126	48.5	260	100

Individual management is the rule, for the most part, in the small enterprises, of which 64.8 per cent are managed by one person. Among the medium-sized enterprises, we find individual management in 60.8 per cent of the enterprises, among the large enterprises, in 30.6 per cent. It is also mostly in the small enterprises that we find the former possessor acting as manager or retaining charge of the business. Of considerably greater interest are the large enterprises. The following table shows in what form and for how long the one or the other form of management has been introduced into these enterprises:

Distribution of Enterprises According to the Time When the Present Form of Management Was Introduced (in per cent)

Size of the Enterprises	The present form of management was introduced:								
	Before the November Revolution			In the period from November 1, 1917, to January 1, 1919			After January 1, 1919		
	Individual management	Collegium management	Total	Individual management	Collegium management	Total	Individual management	Collegium management	Total
50 workers or less.....	53.3	46.7	100.0	66.7	33.3	100.0	57.9	42.1	100.0
From 51 to 200 workers	67.4	32.6	100.0	55.6	44.4	100.0	64.4	35.6	100.0
Over 200 workers.....	33.3	66.7	100.0	16.0	84.0	100.0	31.0	69.0	100.0
Total	55.2	44.8	100.0	39.0	61.0	100.0	52.7	47.3	100.0

Of these 260 enterprises, 134, that is 51.5 per cent, with 27,639, that is 34.1 per cent of the workers, are managed according to the principle of individual management. Some of the enterprises have retained their former proprietors who, together with the factory committees, manage the enterprises. The form of management in these enterprises, therefore, has not been altered since the pre-revolutionary period.

Of those enterprises which have not altered their form of management since the first date mentioned above, the largest number (55.2 per cent) have been managed on the principle of individual management, while the principle of collegium management has held in the minority (44.8 per cent). After the November Revolution the expropriation of enterprises naturally reached its highest point; on this account it can easily be understood that

of those enterprises which have retained the same form since that time, in the larger number (61 per cent) collegium management is to be found. But lately, a reaction has taken place; most of the enterprises that have changed their form of management since January 1, 1919, have gone over to individual management; 52 per cent of all enterprises whose form of management has been altered in the course of the last 14 months, have decided on individual management.

This rapid change, which has taken place since the Revolution, is particularly interesting in connection with the size of the enterprises.

In the small and medium-sized enterprises the picture is exceedingly clear: they have retained their form of management only when the form was that of individual management. In reference to the small enterprises, individual management has been the rule since the first period in 53.3 per cent of the enterprises; since the second period in 66.7 per cent; since the third period in 57.9 per cent of the enterprises. The case is the same in the medium-sized enterprises: individual management has been the rule in 67.4 per cent of all enterprises since the first period; in 55.6 per cent since the second period; and in 64.4 per cent since the third period. The large enterprises, on the other hand, present a different picture. The transition from collegium management to individual management is accomplished much more slowly in these enterprises. Nevertheless, the number of cases in which individual management is introduced has increased from 16 per cent in the second period to 31 per cent in the last period.

As we see, a definite tendency in favor of the gradual transition to individual management is making itself felt. Collegium management has not demonstrated its ability to exist in the smaller enterprises alone, but also in the large enterprises, and as time goes on, is being more and more discarded for individual management.

which is now 312.8 workers, was at the beginning of the Revolution 920.6 men. The difference, therefore, is very great. But which enterprises suffered more, those with collegium management or those with individual management? Let us turn to the numerical data:

Enterprises With Collegium Management

Average number of workers to each enterprise:

Size of the Enterprises	On March 1, 1920	Before the Revolution	Ratio of prerevolution figure to 1920 figure
50 workers or less.....	41.4	119.7	2.9
From 50 to 200 workers	117.0	342.7	2.9
Over 200 workers.....	797.6	2,451.4	3.1
Total average.....	345.2	1,313.8	3.8

Enterprises With Individual Management

Average number of workers to each enterprise:

Size of the Enterprises	On March 1, 1920	Before the Revolution	Ratio of prerevolution figure to 1920 figure
50 workers or less.....	29.0	86.7	2.9
From 50 to 200 workers	103.7	396.5	3.8
Over 200 workers.....	734.1	1,691.0	2.3
Total average.....	206.8	573.3	2.8

The decrease in the number of workers is very significant in both groups of enterprises. But there is no doubt that those enterprises which have the collegium form of management have suffered more. As a consequence of the disorganization of industry, they have been compelled to decrease their working force to one-fourth (3.8 times), while the enterprises with single management have decreased their forces only 3 times. If we view the single groups according to their size, we become convinced that of the enterprises with collegium management, just those have been affected the most that have resisted most obstinately the introduction of the system of individual management, namely, the large enterprises.

But what is the social position and what are the callings of the members of the managements, of what persons are they composed?

COLLEGIUM MANAGEMENT

Number of Members

Size of the Enterprises	Total number of workers		Total number of clerks		Total
	In per cent	In per cent	In per cent	In per cent	
50 workers or less.....	26	44.8	32	55.2	58
From 51 to 200 workers	82	53.2	72	46.8	154
Over 200 workers.....	105	46.6	120	53.4	225
Total	213	48.7	224	51.3	437

INDIVIDUAL MANAGEMENT

Number of Managers

In per cent	Total number of workers		Total number of clerks		Total number of engineers and technicians		Total	In per cent
	In per cent	In per cent	In per cent	In per cent	In per cent			
100.0	11	31.4	15	42.9	9	25.7	35	100.0
100.0	20	27.8	28	38.9	24	33.3	72	100.0
100.0	7	26.9	9	34.6	10	38.5	26	100.0
100.0	38	28.6	52	39.1	43	32.3	133	100.0

Since the beginning of the Revolution, the enterprises have not only made alterations in their form of management; but also, of course, in the method of production and in the extension of the enterprises, great changes have taken place. In the greater part of the enterprises, the number of workers has decreased greatly; instead of 239,356 workers at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution, the enterprises investigated show that they now employ only 81,069 workers. The average number of workers to each enterprise,

The majority of the directors, in single management as well as collective management, are not workingmen. The percentage of workingmen among the collegiums, which amounts in enterprises with collegium management to 48.7 per cent, falls in enterprises with single management to 28.6 per cent. In the collegium management groups, this percentage fluctuates without showing any definite tendency. But in the single management the demands on the directors result slowly, but the larger the enterprise the more definitely,

in the appointment of specialists, technicians, and in fact, of the employes and former managers, to direct the enterprises. We see also, that the number of experts, technicians and in fact the office employes among the managers is not only larger in the enterprises with individual management than in the enterprises with collegium management (71.4 per cent against 51.3), but that it rises with the size of the enterprise, in enterprises with individual management.

The members of the managing groups belong to the most varied specialties. Unfortunately, in this respect, we have reports only from those members of the managing groups who were in Petrograd when the questionnaire was sent out (altogether 372 persons). Among the metal workers, the lathe workers (6) and the locksmiths (27) are particularly numerous; among the food stuff workers, the bakers (13); among the printers, the typesetters (16); among the needle trades, the tailors (10), etc. Among the officials the group of engineers (73), technicians (20), mechanics (12), bookkeepers (13), office employes (11), etc., is particularly noticeable. However, we find here also persons who, according to their former occupations have no relation to industry whatever, such as a lawyer, a literary man, a former officer, two teachers, two merchants, etc. It is hard to say how these persons came to be placed at the head of Petrograd enterprises.

The number of female members of managing groups is very small: there are altogether 34 women among 570 directors. The percentage of women is somewhat larger in the enterprises with collective management (7.1 per cent of all members of managing groups) and much smaller in the enterprises with single management (altogether 3.3 per cent).

Of interest also is the position taken by the Communist collectives in the enterprises towards the one or other form of management, for to the collectives fall the leading role in the organization of production in the enterprises. If we place the single groups of enterprises with individual and with collegium management in juxtaposition, we obtain the following picture:

Size of the Enterprises	Form of Management	Percentage of enterprises with Communist collectives	Average number of members to each collective
50 workers or less.....	Individual	17.1	7.3
	Collegium	22.2	13.3
From 50 to 200 workers	Individual	65.8	10.9
	Collegium	54.3	10.1
Over 200 workers.....	Individual	88.0	37.4
	Collegium	98.3	39.0
Total	Individual	57.1	18.3
	Collegium	70.4	29.5

We see, consequently, that the number of Communist organizations in the enterprises depends on the size of the enterprises. The percentage of the enterprises with collectives increases with the size of the enterprise; in regard to enterprises with individual management it is 17.1 per cent (for enterprises of 50 workers or less), 65.8 per cent (for enterprises of from 50 to 200 workers), and

88 per cent (for enterprises with over 200 workers); and in enterprises with collective management it is 22.2 per cent, 54.3 per cent, and 98.3 per cent respectively. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the mass of workers in the large factories and works are always better organized than the workers scattered about in small enterprises. In the same manner, the power of the collective, the number of its members increases with the size of the enterprise. The single exceptions in this respect are the medium-sized enterprises with collegium management. Extremely significant, however, is the distribution and the influence of the party collectives in connection with the form of management. While of those enterprises with single management only 57.1 per cent have collectives, the percentage of enterprises with collegium management in which collectives are to be found reached 70.4 per cent. The number of members of collectives is smaller in enterprises with single management (18.3 members as against 29.5).

The degree to which the Party collectives contribute to the organization of production, can be seen by comparing the extent of voluntary work (worker's Saturdays and Sundays) in the enterprises with collegium management with that in the enterprises with individual management.

Size of the Enterprises	Individual Management		Collegium Management	
	Per cent of the enterprises which organized voluntary labor in 1919	Per cent of the enterprises with party collectives	Per cent of the enterprises which organized voluntary labor in 1919	Per cent of the enterprises with party collectives
50 workers or less.....	21.4	17.1	18.2	22.2
From 50 to 200 workers..	10.7	65.8	34.1	54.3
Over 200 workers.....	37.5	88.0	46.0	98.3
Total	23.7	57.1	38.2	70.4

The Saturday and Sunday work is the more intense the larger the enterprise (with one single exception) and corresponds in this respect to the number of collectives in the enterprises. The significance of the collectives in this connection stands forth most clearly in the fact that the number of organized Saturdays and Sundays in the enterprises with single management, that is, in the group which possesses the smallest number of collectives, is strikingly smaller than in the enterprises with collegium management (23.7 per cent against 38.2 per cent).

INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION

The *Izvestia* reports that in the Shaitan works (in the Urals) a new production entirely for Russia of seamless tubing has been arranged for. The test of the tubes gave splendid results. The work on the installation of the pipes is taken care of by the plant.

In connection with the foreign goods exchange experimental work was started in the Ural emerald mines; preparatory work was also started on the exploitation of asbestos mines and putting asbestos factories into operation. This summer a few pounds of thorium has been already washed.

The Lafont Affair

[The following interesting documents speak of a meeting between Ernest Lafont, a French Socialist, and the Polish "Socialist" Daszynski, with resulting revelations concerning the aggressive policy of the present Polish Government, and also concerning Lafont's subsequent expulsion from Russia.]

Order from the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic
Moscow, July 31, 1920. No. 232.

The French citizen, Ernest Lafont, together with his wife, Zinaida Lafont, arrived in Soviet Russia via Poland. When he was in Warsaw he visited the French military mission, which is the center of all hostilities of the imperialist counter-revolution against the Socialist Republic. Having arrived in Russia, Deputy Lafont did not, on his own initiative, give any explanations to the government of the Soviet Republic, and did not take any immediate steps to aid the Soviet Government in the war against the bourgeois counter-revolution. In a private talk which he delivered in the presence of Comrade Jaques Sadoul, Deputy Lafont made a number of extremely interesting statements based on his visit to Warsaw. In the opinion of Jaques Sadoul, whose judgment and integrity are above suspicion, the import of these statements was perfectly definite, which he related in a letter appended herewith. The import of Deputy Lafont's speech, as related by Comrade Sadoul, shows that the social-chauvinist Daszynski, who is one of the persons most responsible for the Polish offensive, and who is now a member of the Polish Government, considers an armistice with Russia a respite to secure the concentration of military forces for a new attack on Soviet Russia.

When questioned by me, Deputy Lafont, while not disavowing this view of the "peace" steps of the Polish Government, emphatically denied the above stated sense of his conversation with Daszynski, who, as is well known, is looked upon as a Socialist by Lafont's party. Regardless of what may be the cause of Lafont's statement, the indubitable fact remains that at a time when the Socialist Republic is at war with a bourgeois republic, which besides is but a tool in the hands of the imperialists of the country in whose parliament Deputy Lafont has a seat, this Deputy, who considers himself a French Socialist, travels in the capacity of a neutral observer from Paris to Warsaw and from Warsaw to Moscow, exchanges "comradely" opinions with Daszynski, with the members of the French military mission, and with other organizers of the base and dishonest offensive against the Soviet Republic, and consciously refuses to stigmatize publicly the worst enemies of the Polish, French, and Russian proletariat. In view of citizen Lafont's refusal to unmask the perfidious, treacherous scheme of the enemies of Soviet Russia, there are no guarantees that his friendly relations with the former may not lead to consequences which make dangerous his presence within the boundaries of Soviet Russia.

In view of the above, and in order to protect

the Russian Socialist Republic from "socialists" who try to appear simultaneously as friends both of bourgeois Poland and Socialist Russia, which are at deadly grips with each other, I hereby order that: Deputy Ernest Lafont and his wife, who is bound to him by political solidarity, shall be expelled from the boundaries of the Soviet Republic, and the reasons for this extreme measure shall be widely announced in Russia and throughout the world for the information of the working masses.

The execution of this order of expulsion is entrusted to the special department of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission.

Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic,
L. TROTSKY.

Jaques Sadoul on Lafont's Statements Regarding the Polish Plans

Ernest Lafont, a French Socialist Deputy, arrived in Moscow. This is not his first visit to Russia. He came from France during the Kerensky regime, to urge the Russian soldiers to continue the imperialistic war.

Lafont had just spent a week at Warsaw, where he met a number of political leaders. Speaking of the situation in Poland, he related as follows:

"I met Daszynski. Like most of the Poles, he declared that he did not consider as hopeless the situation created by the defeats inflicted upon Poland by the Red Army. In his opinion Poland was not defeated and, consequently, the war was not ended. The armistice, which Poland wants, is necessary for the reorganization of the army. The army has not been annihilated. It was forced to retreat owing to the lack of ammunition. Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, and Danzig are blockading Poland and hinder the arrival of ammunition. He stated further, "but we are negotiating with the neighboring countries, particularly with Germany. Through Entente pressure Poland will receive from Germany, for certain concessions in Silesia, a part of the arms and ammunition which Germany had to turn over to the Allies in fulfillment of the Versailles Treaty. When these arms and supplies are delivered our army will be rapidly reestablished by means of volunteers, for the approach of the Soviet troops has aroused great patriotic zeal in Poland. Thus, all that we need now, is to gain time."

We do not need to emphasize the importance of the statements made to Lafont by M. Daszynski, who is now the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs. At the very moment when the Polish Government is solemnly declaring to the whole world that it sincerely desires peace, one of the eminent cynically admits that his government de-

sires an armistice and enters into negotiations, solely with a view to gain time in order to be able to reorganize its military forces and to begin the war anew.

Under a Socialist Mask

By N. MESCHERIAKOV

The French "socialist" Lafont, who came a short time ago, was expelled from Soviet Russia. The circumstances which led to his expulsion reveal a very interesting view of conditions in the old socialist parties of Western Europe, and of the disintegration and decay which is now taking place in these parties.

In the midst of a bitter war between the workmen's and peasants' Socialist Russia and landlord's Poland, with the French workers unreservedly in sympathy with Soviet Russia, a member of the French Socialist Party, Lafont, travels to Poland, listens there to French generals and Polish ministers who confess that under cover of an armistice they want to prepare for a new war, a new attack on Soviet Russia; that they want to use once more the Polish workers and peasants as cannon fodder in the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. The French "socialist" listens to all this, and does not protest, does not expose these base, perfidious plans to his party and to the proletariat of the whole world.

When he came to Russia he spoke of these plans only among acquaintances. And when he was asked to make a public statement he cowardly refused to do so. Trying to cover up the vile perfidy of Daszynski, his friend through the Second Internationale, Lafont himself becomes a traitor to the proletariat of Russia and Poland, to the proletariat of the whole world.

It is obvious that such a "socialist" could not be tolerated in Soviet Russia. His expulsion from Soviet Russia was a necessary reply to his base complicity and betrayal . . .

SOVIET MEDICAL SERVICE

(At the Congress of Physicians)

By U. BOVIN

Close cooperation of the toiling intelligentsia with the working masses was always in the interest of both groups. The Soviet power has always urged such cooperation. Especially important is cooperation with the workers on the part of the medical profession.

This path has now been chosen by the physicians, who recently joined a common trade union with all medical workers. To be sure, the physicians have always lived up to the highest conception of their professional duty, have always unselfishly fulfilled their obligations. But, heretofore, a certain lack of sympathy with some measures of the Soviet power in general, and with those in the domain of medicine in particular, was apparent in their work.

The First Congress of the Physicians of the Petrograd province which is now taking place has shown that the physicians have found a common language with the Soviet power, that highly esteeming their professional duty, they firmly accepted a command basis of cooperation with the Soviet power.

A good deal of discussion was around at yesterday's session of the congress by the reports of Comrade Pervukhin and Dr. Gran on the question of Soviet and local medical service.

After elucidating the chief principles of Soviet medical service (popular or free service, etc.), Comrade Pervukhin pointed out that the Soviet power is striving to consolidate medical effort, and to put into effect a number of measures which will tend to bring order into medical work. The Department of Health and the working masses welcome all physicians who are willing to work in this field.

Dr. Gran, in his report, took issue with the opinion that the Soviet medical service is based on new principles. Its slogans, he contended, are the slogans of Russian social and labor medical service, and the Soviet power merely energetically brought them into life.

Yesterday's discussions centered around these questions. Most of the speakers held that it did not matter how the organization of medical effort would be called, whether it be called Soviet, social or labor medical service, but that the important thing was to carry these slogans into life without convulsion.

On the whole the speeches of the physicians showed willingness and readiness to work in favor of the new medical service, for the Soviet power has created all the possibilities of attaining this end, much more so than the bourgeois-capitalist order.

In his closing speech Comrade Pervukhin urged the physicians to cooperate. As to the criticism that there is bureaucratism in the Department of Health, he replied that this evil, which the Soviet power is now energetically combatting, is an outcome of the difficult time when the Soviet power could not obtain the necessary forces from among the broad masses of the medical workers and was forced to engage the old officials who brought with them their bureaucratic spirit.

Replying to other questions which were brought up at the congress, Comrade Pervukhin pointed out that many plans in the interests of medical reconstruction cannot be realized, and that a good deal of the work done is not at all what might be desired, principally because we are now using all our energy for the struggle with the external enemy, because many physicians and other essential medical workers have been taken away for work at the front; but after the victorious termination of the war we will be able to devote ourselves, with renewed energy, to the realization of the outlined measures.—*Krasnaya Gazeta*, July 1, 1920.

Documents

Mr. Chicherin has sent, through Mr. Kamenev, the following reply to Mr. Balfour's Note:

Mr. Balfour having acknowledged the receipt of our last dispatch with a few words of comment, we on our part cannot let these pass without making some remarks. After the British Government has recognized that the Russian Government was entitled to demand from the Polish Government guaranties against the recurrence of its wanton attack, Mr. Balfour now says that the British Government does not consider the limitation of the Polish army a just condition, but one which only does not involve British active intervention.

Taking note of this change in the British Government's attitude, we cannot help suspecting that the British Government is once more a victim of what has so often, unfortunately, influenced its Russian policy, namely, misinformation.

It seems as if Mr. Balfour labors under the illusion that a radical change has occurred in the military situation as between Russia and Poland. What has in reality occurred is the unsuccessful result of one particular operation, which, at most, means a delay in the attainment of the object of the campaign.

Mr. Balfour has been completely misinformed if he ascribes more than this to the military events which have taken place before Warsaw. Our relative strength with regard to Poland is the same as before; it has even altered to our advantage, owing to the reinforcements sent to the front. If, therefore, members of the British Government recognized three weeks ago that Russia was entitled to apply the rights of victor, the situation in this respect remains unchanged.

We, for our part, still adhere to the attitude which we adopted from the beginning: namely, that not one of our terms has the character of an ultimatum, and that each one of them can be discussed and examined during our negotiations with Poland.

Having a lasting peace as its object, the Russian Government's principal means of attaining this is the moral support and sympathy of the great working masses of other countries. In view of the constant action of the Polish workers for the cause of peace with Russia, the Russian Government, without endangering the cause of peace, felt itself justified in supplementing the Polish army by an armed militia consisting of workers; while any other composition of this militia would nullify the limitation of the Polish army.

Mr. Balfour once more repeats the insulting accusations contained in the unfortunate British communique of August 24 against the Russian Government's action in this matter. The original summary of the Russian terms consisting only of a few lines, and the final peace conditions having to be a lengthy document, the abundant material which the latter must contain, but which naturally

was not in the former, is open to the same objection of having been concealed from the British when the initial summary was communicated to the latter.

The Russian Government, therefore, cannot help seeing in this objection an outcome of the same delusion under which Mr. Balfour was laboring concerning an imaginary radical change in Russian policy, which, he appears to consider, justifies the new attitude towards Russia, as expressed in the above communique.

Nor can we help doubting whether the British Government would have come out with the same violent opposition had the proposal been to form the civic militia from members of the propertied classes. In fact, the British Government has given sufficient proof of its sympathies with victors imposing upon a vanquished people the strengthening of the power of the propertied classes. Great Britain was, for example, one of those Powers which put forward, as a condition of peace for the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the removal of its Proletarian Government; and the whole Russian policy of the British Government during the last two years has exclusively been an expression of the same tendency.

Mr. Balfour is therefore hardly justified in invoking an alleged principle of the British Government in this matter: and if he thinks that the creation of an armed workers' militia would upset civil order it is clear that he regards civil order as the crushing of the great working community under the domination of the propertied classes by sheer brute force.

Mr. Balfour's final observation as to the supposed failure of Russia's workers' and peasants' government to procure more well-being for the poor is in no greater measure a proof of impartiality. The Government which, for two years, carried on the so-called "economic encirclement" of Russia for a long time deprived the Russian people even of coal and oil, and cut it off from the richest grain-producing provinces, is hardly in a position to express astonishment that the Russian Government has not been able to secure to the Russian people more well-being than is now the fact.

The complete confidence which was so many times expressed by members of the British Government, or by their mouthpiece in the press, as to the effectiveness of the blockade in crushing the resistance of the Soviet Government, must lead to the conclusion that it is not the lack of well-being in Russia which should be an object of astonishment: on the contrary, no other form of Government given similar conditions could have called forth such a power of resistance in the Russian

people, or could have preserved it during the unprecedented trials to which it was subjected by the action of the Allied powers.

Under no other form of government would it have been possible for the Russian people to hold out without fuel, without the southern grain, without agricultural implements, and without the other machinery which Russia has always imported from abroad.

Mr. Balfour is once more completely misinformed if he thinks that the riches of the upper class in Russia have simply been destroyed and have not become the patrimony of the whole community; the marvels of art which formerly adorned the palaces of princes or great financiers are now available to the whole nation, and have become a source of delight to the great masses, who formerly were cut off from the highest joys of life.

These palaces are now palaces of the people and the home of great popular institutions, in which the life of the nation centers. The luxurious dwellings of the aristocracy have been converted into great popular clubs, in which the working community enjoys life, listens to music, sees good plays, participates in political discussions, attends scientific lectures, or simply spends its free time in friendly intercourse. Popular theatres, popular concerts, popular scientific institutions are multiplying daily in the suburbs of the great cities, as well as in remote villages.

Special institutes of proletarian culture are initiating the great working masses into all the mysteries of art and science, and every human talent finds generous encouragement, enabling it to develop its highest possibilities. The houses of the rich have been given to the poor, and those who formerly rotted in slums now enjoy the benefits of good housing. Technical inventions are now utilized to promote the welfare of the great masses, and electricity appears in villages where primitive conditions hitherto prevailed. Popular soup kitchens and communal feeding bring relief, in the painful conditions created by the blockade, to the great masses, which under any other system would have been a complete impossibility.

The great working community of Russia has taken its fate into its own hands, in the form of the Soviet system. Peace alone is needed in order to enable it to develop its incalculable possibilities. Peace is therefore our fundamental aim, and Russia's war with Poland is only an episode in her struggle for peace.

SITUATION OF THE NAPHTHA INDUSTRY IN THE BAKU DISTRICT

The *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* contains the following data on the situation of the naphtha industry in the Baku district:

In 1919 the production of naphtha in the six sections of the Baku district (Balakhny, Sabunchi, Romany, Bibi-Eibat, Surakhany and Vinagady) amounted to 225 million poods, against 192 million poods in 1918. But in comparison with 1913, when the production in the same sections amounted

to 443 million poods, the production of last year is almost 50 per cent less.

In the current year the production of naphtha in the Baku district continues to remain on the level of 1919. In the first third of the present year the production of naphtha in the six sections was 55.9 million poods; in January 18.7 million poods, in February 17.9 million poods, and in March 19.3 million poods.

The export of naphtha products from the Baku district, which was isolated during the whole of 1919 from its chief markets, was expressed by the insignificant figure of 40.5 million poods, of which 20.7 million poods were sent to Batum.

Under such conditions the reserves of naphtha products, which in the beginning of 1919 amounted to 126 million poods, mounted on January 1, 1920, to 275 million poods, on June 12 to 292 million poods, which is three times that of the reserves in peace time (9 million poods on June 1, 1913). They continued to increase in the early months of the current year, since the export remained as before, considerably behind the production. Only the export of naphtha products to Astrakhan, which began after the establishment of a Soviet regime in Baku, stopped the further increase of the naphtha stock and the overcrowding of the warehouses, which threatened to paralyze the production of naphtha.

The reserves at hand of the naphtha products in the Grozny region, as of June 16, 1920, are 33.5 million poods.

Work will begin in the nearest future on the construction of the naphtha pipe line Emba-Ural-Saratov. The construction provides for two shifts: the first, from the naphtha wells to the right bank of the Ural, in a period of four to five months, on a length of 200-250 versts; the second shift is from the Ural to Saratov, 500 versts in length. In Saratov will be built a plant for the production of naphtha products.

A POLISH COMMISSION IN BUDAPEST

BRUNN, September 3, 1920 (Report from *Rosta*, Vienna).—*Der Tagesbote aus Mähren und Schlesien* of September 2, reports as follows: According to information we received from political sources in Budapest several days ago, a Polish Commission arrived in Budapest. Its main object is to draft into the Polish army citizens of Poland residing in Hungary. Its second object is to recruit soldiers for the Polish army from among the Hungarian people; this will be done with the consent of the Hungarian Government. In short, the Commission was given to understand that they might recruit all Hungarian citizens who volunteer for the Polish army.

DIRECT ALLIED THREAT

PARIS, Friday.—The Conference of Ambassadors has decided to send Germany a note protesting against the stoppage of vessels bound for Danzig in the Kiel Canal.

Wireless and Other News

CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

New Library in Archangel

Moscow, August 27, 1920 (Report from *Rosta*, Vienna).—The building of a colossal library has been undertaken in Archangel. This library is to be the central point for the entire northern district.

New Polytechnic Institute

Moscow, August 27.—The newly erected Polytechnic Institute of Kamyschlev began its sessions during the month of July.

Music for the Blind

In Eiskla there has been organized a department for the musical guidance of the blind. The orchestra consists solely of blind people.

Courses in Science

Moscow, August 27, 1920.—In the district of Gomel, active steps are being taken to instruct those ignorant of science. The courses are under the guidance of professional organizations.

Petrograd Schools

Moscow, August 31, 1920.—The registration of Petrograd children for the new school year took place on August 22 and 25. From the 25th of August to the 1st of September, the entrance examinations will take place. A commission composed of five members determines the classes for which the children are fitted. Instruction will be carried on in buildings especially constructed for the purpose. In the schools, there are specially constructed rooms for musical and artistic studies.

HYGIENE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

CHRISTIANIA, September 3, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—The following report from Moscow has reached us, dated September 2: Under the auspices of the Congress of Bacteriologists and Students of Epidemic Diseases, which is now in progress in Moscow, a National Institute of Hygiene was opened on the 30th of August. Diatropotov and other famous professors gave enthusiastic speeches on the subject. Moscow is making considerable headway in city hygiene through the appointment of hygiene instructors. The inhabitants of every house elect a delegate, who, after receiving special instruction in sanitation and hygiene, becomes the inspector of hygiene of his special group of public and private dwellings.

RED ARMY HOSPITALS

Moscow, August 20, 1920 (Report from *Rosta*, Vienna).—The great vigilance which the Workmen's and Peasants' Committees exercised in the nursing of the sick and wounded Red soldiers has already borne fruit. Sanitary conditions have improved noticeably within a comparatively short

time. We, in Moscow, can proudly and joyfully set to the credit of the Sanitary Army a number of successful undertakings. The daily order of Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russian Committee of the Soviets, points to the exemplary conditions existing in the war hospitals, in regard to the cleanliness of the wards, as well as to the treatment of the soldiers lying there for treatment in the hospitals. In regard to the technical question, the ruling powers there are carrying on a very obvious struggle against all defects of the past.

LABOR INSPECTION

Report from *Rosta*, Vienna.—On the 27th of August, *Pravda* wrote as follows, with regard to the question of superintendence of labor: While there were only 212 labor inspectors on August first a year ago, the number has increased to 535. Nevertheless, the number is still too small, and provision will have to be made for labor inspection to include not only the immediate laboring population, but the country as well.

PRIESTS IN FAVOR OF SOVIET RULE

Report from *Rosta*, Vienna.—*Izvestia* reports from Minsk: In several villages in the vicinity of Minsk, priests addressed public meetings, declared themselves followers of the Soviet Government, and called upon the peasants to turn over their stores of grain to the Red Army, and to help destroy the Polish advance by joining the Red armies.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN TRADE

CHRISTIANIA, September 2, 1920 (Report from *Rosta*, Vienna).—Moscow, September 1. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade was created in connection with the important tasks with which Soviet Russia was confronted at the time when she resumed her trade relations with foreign countries. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade is the only technical and executive body which concerns itself with export and import trade in all its aspects.

LUMBER INDUSTRY

Moscow, August 30, 1920 (From *Rosta*, Vienna).—The All-Russian Congress of Lumber Committees adopted a resolution in which its report of successful activity during the past year was accepted with satisfaction, and the formation of a Central Committee approved. The Congress also declared itself in favor of a mobilization of labor in the lumber industry.

IMPORTS TO RUSSIA

CHRISTIANIA, September 2, 1920 (Report from *Rosta*, Vienna).—On September first, the following report came to us from Moscow: The *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* writes as follows: Statistical reports of Russian foreign trade demonstrate clearly the fact that importation is on the increase. Thus we see, for instance, in June, 1920, only 66,000 poods of paper were imported, while in July the quantity had increased to 190,000 poods. Electrical appliances, parts of farm-implements, instruments of various kinds, and other articles are being imported in large quantities. At present, Soviet Russia is dependent upon the good offices of Esthonia, but the conclusion of peace with Latvia will doubtless greatly influence Russian trade, and afford Soviet Russia wider scope for the transportation of her goods.

THE RETURN OF RUSSIAN PRISONERS FROM BULGARIA

CHRISTIANIA, September 3 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—A report from Moscow, September 2, reads as follows: A transport of 350 Russian war-prisoners reached Odessa on August 31. These had languished in Bulgarian prisons for years. The prisoners relate what ill-luck the generals of Denikin and Wrangel had when they tried to force Russian soldiers into the White armies.

ATROCITIES OF POLISH OFFICERS

ODESSA, August 11.—The Polish newspapers publish reports of the trial in the field court-martial of Lieutenant Malinovsky of the Polish army, who, acting as commandant of a camp for war prisoners, personally shot soldiers of the Red Army, without any trial. He buried one live soldier up to his neck and then cut his head off with a sabre.

Even the Polish court felt it necessary to sentence Malinovsky to imprisonment for four years.—*Krasnaya Gazeta*, August 14.

FORMER WHITE OFFICERS AGAINST WRANGEL

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—On the 30th of August the following report reached us from Moscow: Fifteen hundred officers of the one-time Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich armies assembled in a concentration camp on the Caspian Sea, and issued a proclamation to the Cossacks and all other soldiers fighting under the white banner. In this proclamation, they call upon these White Guards to desert their generals and join the Soviet Army, where, for the first time, they will be allowed to enjoy rights as free citizens of their fatherland.

Another group of two hundred officers, serving as instructors in the Soviet Army, have issued a similar proclamation to the officers of Wrangel's army.

MARINES OF WRANGEL MUTINY

ODESSA, August 11.—A mutiny of the marines occurred on the volunteer fleet dreadnought *Volya*, which took part in the bombardment of Ochakov. After the suppression of the mutiny over a hundred marines were executed.

On August 7 the dreadnought *Volya* sailed out to sea, despite orders from Wrangel that on that day it should bombard the Dnieper-Bug firth. The local populace is extremely hostile to the Wrangelists. The repeated treacherous bombardments of Ochakov only intensified the hatred toward the Wrangel authorities.—*Krasnaya Gazeta*, August 14.

THE LOSSES OF THE POLES

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta Wien*).—The following report reached us from Moscow on August 31: The radio stations of the Entente and Poland are vying with each other in spreading imaginary descriptions of reports of Polish victories, of the defeat of the Red troops, and are inventing tremendous numbers of losses on the part of the Russians, both in men and horses. The Poles seem to forget that in their steady retreat from the Beresina to the Vistula, across a distance of 500 kilometers, they, too, lost no less than one hundred thousand men, taken prisoners, and more than 200 cannons. Our army was compelled to withdraw for a short time, to a certain distance, but its war-power has by no means been broken, and with the addition of the inexhaustible reserves, and new fighting strength, it will soon be marching to new victories. Let not the Poles forget the example of their predecessors, the armies of Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenich; let them remember that those, too, were victorious up to the time of their defeat.

INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION

In Petrograd, preparatory work has begun on the electrification of the soil in Petrograd and in the province of the northern region. It is planned to start, in autumn of the current year, the cultivation of the soil by electricity on an area of 300,000 dessiatins.

According to *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* there was mined in the nationalized mines of the Donetz Basin during May, 1920, 10,516,000 poods of coal of which 6,805,000 poods was consumed on the spot (that is 58 per cent of the total produced). The total production in the blast mines amounted to 4,755,000 poods, the consumption for own needs aggregating 2,322,000 poods, that is 48.6 per cent of the production.

Since the opening of the Volga navigation lines up to July 1 503,203 passengers were transported, besides 33,97924,0 poods of commercial freight, 34,647,206 poods of timber materials, and 22,041,134 poods of various naphtha products.

A MASS-MEETING IN SERAJEVO

SERAJEVO, August 10 (*Rosta*).—The labor leaders Zivota Milokovic and Sroten Jaksic protested at a mass-meeting against the enslavement of the Jugo-Slavic people by the Entente, against the attempt of the Jugo-Slavic bourgeoisie to decide the conflict with Italy by means of war, and above all against instigation of a war against Soviet Russia by the Entente. The Entente representatives had requested that the government of Jugo-Slavia send five divisions to the Bessarabian front. The speakers declared that although the Jugo-Slavic bourgeoisie proclaimed through its newspapers that it had no intention of playing the part of an agent in the war against Soviet Russia, one could not but be suspicious. Ninety-nine per cent of the Jugo-Slav people are, however, utterly opposed to a war adventure. They desire nothing but peace and friendship with the Russian Soviet Republic. The passing of a resolution and the appeal of the leaders at the meeting to sacrifice even life for the realization of these demands called forth long-continued shouts of "Yes, we will! If our blood must flow for foreign interests, then it can also flow for our own." The *Glas Sloboda* of Belgrade writes as follows concerning this matter: "Our government, as a vassal organ of the Entente, is ready to engage in an adventure, but fortunately it is prevented from doing so by united public opinion."

RAKOVSKY ON THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE

The Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars, Rakovsky, made a report at the all-city communist conference in Kharkov on the situation in Soviet Ukraine, the main points of which were as follows:

"The chief aim of the party—to give as great forces as possible for the front—has been brilliantly accomplished. In the provinces of Kharkov, Poltava, and Yekaterinoslav mobilization was completed ninety per cent. Though the mobilization in Ukraine was carried out under difficult circumstances, it succeeded none the less.

"The carrying out of the mobilization proves the strengthening of our influence all over Ukraine. Petlura's mobilization in Ukraine was a failure. This proves our popularity.

"Our provisioning organs," continued Rakovsky, "have given us 14,500,000 poods of bread up to the end of July.

"The exploitation of coal in the Donetz Basin shows a tendency to a twenty-five per cent monthly increase.

"Notable results have been obtained in the work on the improvement of transport. At present the haul of the military echelons reached 400 versts a day.

"We are progressing also in other fields of economic and industrial life."

THE NEXT ISSUE

of

SOVIET RUSSIA

Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:

1. ON THE CASPIAN AND IN PERSIA. *An interview with Raskolnikov, Commander of the Soviet Fleet during the period described in the interview, and since then appointed Commander of the Baltic Fleet.*
2. THE CONDITION OF WORKING WOMEN IN SOVIET RUSSIA.
3. THE AGRARIAN POLICY IN UKRAINE, *by A. Manuilsky.*
4. THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN RELATIONS, *by A. D.*
5. THE PEACE TREATY WITH LATVIA.
6. REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, *by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.*

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