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The Third Year of the New Era

IT WAS our privilege to point out in the article devoted one year ago to the purpose of commemorating the second anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic, that while the Paris Commune, the last proletarian dictatorship set up in Europe before the end of the nineteenth century, had succeeded in lasting only seventy-one days, the Soviet Government in Russia, the first proletarian dictatorship established in the twentieth century, had already endured for more than seven hundred days, or ten times as long as its Paris predecessor. Now, a year later, there are many millions living in Russia who have risen over a thousand times in the morning and retired over a thousand times at night,—all finding the same government in force at each successive rising, and entrusting their safety to its watchful care when they have gone to sleep.

Now, as then, the voices predicting a speedy and disastrous termination of the Soviet Government are loudly shouting forth their message of joy to the oppressors. The interval of life they grant to the government of the people of Soviet Russia has grown longer: there are no longer any predictions limiting its existence to a few weeks: months and even a year are the periods now commonly met with in the bourgeois press to indicate the "probable" duration of the present government of Russia. The most popular period among these croakers of evil, as we have already mentioned in these columns, is six months, and the fact that already six of these six-months periods have followed one upon the other does not give the prophets pause, and no doubt many "generations" of such six-months and one-year prophets will succeed each other before the prognosticators of the

bourgeois press begin to deal in decades rather than in years or fractions of a year.

It is our belief that the Soviet Government in Russia will last for many years—but, like those who predict a much shorter span of life for us, we are not without prejudice in the matter. Christianity, in its outward expressions at least, has lasted nearly two thousand years, and Christianity does not take its origin in social changes so profound as those which forced the people of Soviet Russia to try the Soviet form of government, after all other forms had failed. The new era may live as long as Christianity has lived, or it may live longer. We see no reason why anyone should hope that it should not last so long, unless he be one of the exploiters who is interested in preventing the exploited from freeing themselves, and of these exploiters, we regret to say, there is still a sufficient number who continue actively to support counter-revolution on the Russian border and armed intervention in Ukraine. Long life to the Russian Soviet Republic, which will dispose of all its counter-revolutionary foes!

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BUT NOW for the past. Since November 6, 1919, the Soviet Government has had a more favorable year, from the military standpoint, than either of the two preceding years of its existence. The second anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Republic came immediately after the final repulse of Yudenich in his mad dash on Petrograd, and already the retreat of the Kolchak armies in Siberia had progressed so far East as Omsk. Denikin was also being pushed back after having advanced as far north as Orel, less than two hun-

dred miles to the south of Moscow. Before the Spring of 1920, Kolchak had been finally defeated, and, before the Soviet Government had time to intervene, was executed with two of his important accomplices at Irkutsk (February 7, 1920). Denikin was soon driven off the map, reappearing in London, that former home of the disaffected of other nations, and coming out with the declaration that it was his intention to rest and absent himself from military affairs for a long time. In April and May of this year came the news of the offensive that Poland, aided and abetted by great supplies of money and munitions from the Allied powers, was launching against Soviet Russia. The wonderful and spectacular dash of a determined army of Russian proletarians, which drove its way up to the gates of Warsaw and flung its lines around the city to the North and West, was Soviet Russia's answer. The great advance was not successfully pursued, however, and a new Polish offensive, prominently aided by great bodies of colored French colonial troops, hastily withdrawn from garrison and police duty in Germany, again threatened to penetrate Soviet Russian territory. But once more Soviet Russia's Red Army is ready, and if Polish troops again venture to cross into her territory, they will encounter the strong resistance of a reorganized and well-supplied army, supported by the most determined civil population in the world. But of these matters we shall read the words of the Military Expert of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek, to whose article on the strategy of the three years of the military history of the Soviet Republic, which appears in this issue, the reader is referred.

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WHEN SOVIET RUSSIA celebrated the second anniversary of its birth, one year ago, it was still uncertain whether any nations would go so far, in view of the savage prejudices of the governing classes against any government established anywhere by the workers and peasants, as to enter into commercial or diplomatic relations with the new nation. Soviet representatives had been expelled from several countries (England, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Austria), and their successors, appointed to replace the unwelcome harbingers of the new system, were in several cases put into jail (Karl Radek in Germany, Peter Simonov in Australia). But during the past year Soviet Russia's military successes, coupled with the misery induced in the Russian border-states by the Entente policy of forcing those states into warfare against Soviet Russia, has resulted in a more general readiness to consider proposals made by Soviet Russia, and the consequence has been a rather impressive series of agreements and treaties signed between Soviet Russia and a succession of foreign governments, compacts which have for the most part been either carried out, or seem to be still in course of satisfactory accomplishment.

The second of these agreements was the paper signed, after months of negotiations at Copen-

hagen, between Litvinov, for the Soviet Government, and O'Grady, for Great Britain, on the subject of the mutual exchange of prisoners between the two countries. This treaty, which was reprinted in full in SOVIET RUSSIA, with a facsimile cut of its title page (Vol. II, No. 16), was signed February 12, 1920, and represented a tremendous step in advance, in the formal diplomatic sense, for it is an agreement in which, at least by implication, the two contracting parties recognize the existence of each other. It has been impossible since then for the British Government, however unfriendly its attitude toward the Soviet Government may be, to pretend that the Soviet Government does not exist, or that the British Government has never openly carried on negotiations with the Soviet Government. A few days earlier there had been signed the complete treaty of peace between Soviet Russia and Esthonia (Dorpat, Esthonia, February 2, 1920; see SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. II, No. 16), a document absolutely recognizing the sovereignty of each of the two governments, and providing for mutual repatriation of their respective nationals, for a definite boundary-line between the two countries, for a payment of gold by Soviet Russia to Esthonia, and for the later consummation of an agreement concerning the carrying out of foreign trade between the two countries. The relations with Esthonia, growing out of this treaty, or, more correctly, of which this treaty was the official promise and first realization, have been mutually profitable. They made it possible for Russia once more to draw certain advantages from the existence in Esthonia of the port of Reval, which had been of some value to Russia under Czarism. For it is at Reval that the Centrosyuz has established an important purchasing agency, under the able control of Mr. I. Gukovsky, which forwards rather considerable quantities of manufactured products over the Esthonian railways into Soviet Russia. This has been of value to Russia chiefly because of the facilities thus afforded in the trade with Sweden, but the ultimate advantages of this open route will be far exceeded when the new British train-ferry to Sweden (landing in that country at Gothenburg) is completed and linked up with the proposed new train-ferry from Stockholm, Sweden, to Abo, Finland, both routes together providing a means for direct shipment of loaded railway-cars from points in England and Scotland to Petrograd. But of course, the attitude of the British Government will have to pass through very essential changes before the possibilities of complete commercial exchanges between the two countries will be fully made use of. To Esthonia also the advantages of open relations with Soviet Russia, together with commercial exchanges, have been very great, and have involved, aside from the large payment of gold by the Soviet Government—which has been already referred to—a considerable rehabilitation of the Esthonian railway lines, made necessary by the new traffic with Soviet Russia, and aided by important gifts of locomotives and other rolling stock by the Soviet

Government. It is to be hoped that during the period of under-supply through which Soviet Russia is now passing, Esthonia may be able to provide, out of her own stores, large quantities of potatoes. In the Baltic region generally, Esthonia is frequently spoken of as the "potato republic", because of her extensive production in this staple.

Other Baltic states have since made peace with Soviet Russia, and the impelling motives for concluding peace have been in each case the same as with Esthonia. Our readers will recall how the Allied agent Yudenich recruited all the man-power of that little country, even boys of fifteen and younger, how he made of it a mere supply-base for cannon-fodder to be used against Soviet Russia. And of course, he could not have done this but for the able and active assistance of the British Government, whose navy blockaded the Baltic in his favor, whose finances paid for his supplies and munitions, whose printers at Stockholm were turning out from their speeding presses millions of rubles in notes—it was even rumored that their parity was guaranteed by Great Britain—of the new "Northwestern Russian Government." In spite of the pecuniary advantage involved for certain classes in Esthonia in this relation with Great Britain, the Esthonian people soon grew tired of furnishing flesh and bone to be ground up in the hopeless war against the people of Soviet Russia, who were determined to fight to the death in the defense of the accomplishments of their revolution. Great Britain got little assistance from Esthonia after the failure of the last Yudenich enterprise (the dash on Petrograd) in October, 1919. So, while there was money and death to be earned in the service of the Allies against Soviet Russia, the Esthonian people finally succeeded in forcing their government to live at peace with their Russian neighbors.

It is needless to repeat these details with regard to the very parallel cases of Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland. Latvia made peace with Soviet Russia on June 13, and our readers were supplied with a translated text of the treaty two weeks ago (*SOVIET RUSSIA*, Vol. III, No. 17). Lithuania followed a month later (the treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia was signed at Moscow, July 13); we shall present our readers with a translation of the treaty with Lithuania as soon as we have revised it (from the *Official Gazette* of that country). Finland, with whose government negotiations had been in progress for many months, interrupted by frequent disagreement between the delegations of the two countries, signed peace less than two months ago. We expect soon to receive a copy of this treaty. Other treaties, concerning which we are less fully informed, have been concluded with the Republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, practically making those countries allies of Soviet Russia. Representatives of Soviet Russia have been assigned to a number of countries with whom treaties of peace have not yet been concluded, and are still living in those countries, representing the interests of Soviet Russia and protecting Soviet Rus-

sian citizens abroad. These countries with commercial missions or representations of Soviet Russia now are: Australia, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, Norway, and the United States of America.

The case of Lithuania is at this moment particularly interesting. Lithuania suffered terribly under the German occupation, and has been the theatre of extensive military operations since then. Its population has been driven by Allied misuse of the country for purposes of aggression against Soviet Russia into a condition of receptivity for the doctrine of proletarian dictatorship, and, while confirmation is still lacking, it is not impossible that last week's news of a Bolshevik uprising in Kovno, with the establishment of a Soviet form of government, may be a fact. Certainly the attitude of Poland's "insurgent" troops under General Zeligowski, who have seized the Lithuanian city of Vilna and refused to relinquish it, has not had the effect of estranging the Lithuanian population from Soviet Russia.

* * *

POLAND has been the source of greatest trouble to Russia during the past year, or rather, not Poland, but the Entente powers, notably France, who were egging Poland on in her imperialistic invasion of Russian territory. Whether we now are really at peace with Poland or not, it is at present difficult to say. Poland has signed a preliminary peace agreement with Soviet Russia, but it is by no means certain that she will not be again driven by her masters to the West, into an invasion of Soviet Russia. Whatever may be the outcome of the relations with Poland, it should not be forgotten that Soviet Russia has made every effort to remain at peace with Poland. On May 29, *SOVIET RUSSIA* printed a collection of diplomatic passages between the two governments, which was far less complete, however, than an earlier official compilation made at Moscow. Half a year ago, the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs issued an extensive pamphlet in French (and possibly also in other languages), containing a full collection of notes passing between various organs of the Soviet Government and that of Poland. Some readers may recall that *The Nation* (New York) recently published some of this correspondence in its *International Relations Section*. We shall in early issues of our weekly take up the Polish question in full. Lt.-Colonel Bek, our military expert, also devotes some attention to the Polish question in his review of the military week, which appears in this issue.

* * *

BESSARABIA, as we go to press, has been generously handed by the Allies to Rumania, since the Allied Governments very well know that Soviet Russia had already come to an understanding with Rumania on the subject, under which Rumania is to have sovereignty over Bessarabia. Only for this reason has the reactionary Rumanian Government refrained from taking part jointly with Poland in the counter-revolutionary attacks

on Soviet Russia. This makes it very easy for the Allies to detach from Soviet Russia what has been already detached. But what of the professions that Russia will be consulted? Not even the Russia that the Allies desire to see formed would have much to say on the matter, if the *New York Times* Special Press cable of October 28 is correct:

"The high contracting powers will invite Russia to adhere to the present treaty as soon as there will exist a Russian Government recognized by them. They reserve the right to submit to the arbitrage of the Council of the League of Nations all questions which may be raised by Russia concerning details of the treaty." At the same time it is specifically stated that the frontiers settled and the sovereignty of Rumania will not be put in question.

Russia, it appears, is not to have any word in giving away her own territory even after a government is formed which is recognized by the high contracting powers.

* * *

RELATIONS of the Soviet Government with the United States have unfortunately not yet entered the stage of direct negotiations, although the recently reported granting of concessions by Moscow to an American syndicate headed by Mr. Washington D. Vanderlip, of Hollywood, California, seems to offer promise at least of commercial exchanges. The past year has, we regret to say, offered little other indication of an encouraging nature in this regard, and the repeated suggestions in the press to the effect that the United States Government would not recognize any separate governments set up in territories once comprising a portion of the area of the former Empire of the Czars has seemed to indicate a determination not to deal with any government in Russia that would not undertake to weld into an unwilling aggregate the numerous populations of various races who have lately begun to avail themselves of the recently proclaimed "right of self-determination." Aside from personal discomforts of individuals, however, the chances for friendly relations with the United States seem better than they have been for some time—certainly much better than they were a trifle less than a year ago, when Comrade Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, wrote the following paragraph as a portion of his report on his activities during the second year of the Soviet Republic, a report submitted by him to the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets* (December, 1919):

Relations With America

On June 20 we sent a protest to the American Government on account of the arrest of Comrade Martens, the Russian representative in America, threatening reprisals on American citizens in Russia. The American Government replied that Comrade Martens had not been arrested. It appeared from supplementary information that he had only been detained in custody for a few hours, while a search was being carried on at the offices of our mission at New York. This search was the turning point in the attitude of the American Government towards our representative.** Up till then it

* This is not the report recently sold as one of the SOVIET RUSSIA PAMPHLETS, although the materials of the documents are similar.—*Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.*

** But this search was not conducted by authorities of the United States Government.—*Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.*

had not interfered with his work, and he was actively engaged in negotiating with the American commercial world for an exchange of goods the moment the blockade was lifted. The search inflicted a heavy blow upon this strictly business-like work of Comrade Martens; the American Government added a warning that it would lend no protection to the transactions between American citizens and Soviet Russia. Our representative, however, in spite of the more difficult conditions, continued his work in America, assisting at same time those political workers who were agitating against intervention in Russia.*** But as time proceeded, the reaction in the United States raged more and more wildly, and on November 20, on the strength of the British wireless messages announcing the arrest of Comrade Martens, the People's Commissar again sent a protest to the American Government, threatening reprisals and demanding the immediate release of Comrade Martens and a suitable indemnity, and the cessation of all persecutions of Russian citizens loyal to the Soviet regime, and suitable indemnities for those who had actually suffered through those persecutions.

It is hard to say, for us who live in America, what is the present information of Mr. Chicherin on the United States Government, but we hope that he is not being misinformed by the British wireless in the manner that called forth the protest contained in the last sentence of the paragraph above quoted. Needless to say, this protest was the result of such false information. It is unfortunate that there should be agencies at work in Europe with the purpose of sowing discord between the Soviet Government and that of the United States of America, but such seems to be the case in view of Comrade Chicherin's experiences with the British wireless.

* * *

OFTEN during the past year we have printed accounts from official Soviet Russian sources, as well as by outsiders who had traveled in Soviet Russia, describing internal conditions in that country. An article of this kind appears in the current issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, dealing with the railroads in an exhaustive and authoritative manner. Transportation has much improved in Russia in the third year of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but still leaves much to be desired. The recapture of Baku from the British, with the taking of Enzeli and the consequent restoration of the Caspian Sea as a Russian lake, has made possible the shipment of millions of poods of oil up the Volga and over the contiguous waterways to every part of the country, and has thus supplied the entire South Russian railway system with oil; the locomotive furnaces had already long previously been reconstructed for the use of oil-fuel, and all the locomotives in the southern part of Russia are now operating with oil. We single out the transportation conditions as worthy of special mention for the reason that the problem of internal industrial reconstruction in Russia has been and still remains a problem of transportation. All Russia's industry is ready to move; the wheels will turn as soon as raw materials are furnished for machines and tools to work on, together with food

*** As a matter of fact, Comrade Martens only secured legal counsel for such Russian citizens as were being prosecuted and were unable to provide it for themselves.—*Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.*

enough to keep the workers in a condition of health and strength to work. There is no way of supplying these things to the industries and to their workers except by means of an efficient railway or motor-truck service, and to restore the former even to its pre-war efficiency requires the importation of many locomotives from foreign countries, together with numerous duplicate parts and machine-tools necessary for effecting repairs of run-down and damaged locomotives. Professor Lomonosov, now a prominent member of the Commissariat for Means of Communication (he was formerly head of the Railway Department of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York City), recently visited a number of European countries in order to make purchases of locomotives for Russia's railroads. He succeeded in purchasing one hundred locomotives in Sweden, which by this time have probably been delivered to Soviet Russia, and reported two months ago that much larger purchases of locomotives in Germany were being delayed only by the exorbitant prices asked by the German manufacturers. It is possible that these negotiations by this time have been terminated and that the Soviet Government is now the owner of several hundred German-built locomotives. Of course, the Soviet Government is very anxious also to obtain American engines of this type, but finds it impossible to get them, owing to the fact that commercial intercourse between the United States and Soviet Russia is not yet a fact. The resources of Russia otherwise are the richest in the world: permit Soviet Russia to build up her transportation and carry food to the workers, and she will soon be the best-organized and industrially the most productive country in the world.

BUT UNTIL the problem of feeding the population, and the even more basic problem of transportation has been solved, it will be impossible for Russia to resume a normal course of life. Professor Lomonosov, for instance, in a recent interview, in which he discusses the Russian railway problem, declares that while it would be possible for Russia, with the assistance given her by unimpeded commercial intercourse with foreign countries, to reconstruct her railway system (to the point of efficiency reached before 1914) by the year 1925, this would not be possible before 1935 if commercial relations with foreign countries should remain interrupted. In other words, there would appear to be a problem more basic even than that of transportation, and that is the problem of *the Blockade*. The capitalist nations of the world, in their determination that the Republic of the Workers and Peasants shall die, will not even sell their wares to the workers and peasants for heavy gold. And this Blockade condemns millions to a half-fed and uncomfortable life, in which the greatest exertions any generation of men and women has ever been called upon to put forth are supported by the poorest rations any nation of modern times can supply to its population. The Blockade also means that Russian workers and soldiers,

when sick or wounded, perish for lack of the necessary medical supplies, must suffer operations without anesthetics or antiseptics, and must permit the progress of disease in their bodies to proceed unresisted, with full knowledge that only a fortunate chance will save them from death should they have acquired any infection. John Reed died of typhus in Moscow two weeks ago, a disease which (according to a report of the People's Commissar of Health, printed recently in *SOVIET RUSSIA*) had almost been overcome in Soviet Russia, in spite of the tremendous obstacles in the path of any sanitary improvements. It is the Blockade which must be broken if men and women are to live and work in Russia, and in many European countries the populations have long been insisting on a lifting of the Blockade against Russia.

* * *

MEDICALLY SPEAKING, the Blockade is in a sense being lifted. A number of public-spirited physicians and laymen in this country (similar movements are active in other countries also, particularly in Scandinavia and Central Europe) organized a "Committee for Medical Relief to Soviet Russia", which has collected money from many available sources, for the purchase of medicaments and surgical instruments and supplies, to be forwarded to Soviet Russia for the purpose of ameliorating the lot of the diseased or wounded in that country. This splendid work, although it has been proceeding for only a few months, has already resulted in the collection of about \$35,000, which has been expended for medical supplies that have been or are to be forwarded to Soviet Russia. Should it be possible for this work to expand, and to forward still greater quantities of medical necessities to Russia, it is very probable that American visitors to Russia will no longer be under the painful necessity of reporting to their fellow-countrymen, when they return home, the dreadful sight of a diseased limb being amputated with a carpenter's saw, while the victim cries out in pain which is unalleviated by anesthetics, or the discharge of a patient from a hospital after his infected eye had been gouged out by a rusty razor-blade, because there were no suitable surgical instruments to be had for these operations. We greet with pleasure the many men and women in this country who are generously giving money for this work of humanity, and wish them every success in the prosecution and expansion of their labors.

A number of interesting articles, including biographies of those prominent in Soviet Russia today, were omitted from this issue due to lack of space. Biographies, accompanied by pictures, will be published weekly, beginning in the next issue with Litvinov.

Military Review

THREE YEARS OF THE RED ARMY

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

THREE years of glorious fighting for the Revolution have passed. Three years of super-human sacrifice on the part of the Russian working class have just terminated, and still Soviet Russia is ready to enter upon a new epoch of struggle, high-spirited and fully equipped with decisive determination to defend all the gains which the Revolution won during the three sanguinary years.

The victory of the Revolution was gained by the Red Army only because, by its structure, its morale, and its methods of warfare it is absolutely different from all other armies.

The secret of the extraordinary successes of the Soviet Government can be explained by the fact that the Red Army never was a so-called "people's army", or a "national army". It was and is an army of the working-class, fighting for the reconstruction of the whole social system. Class criteria were introduced in the Red Army, and in spite of the cooperation of the former officers of the Czar, it remained an army of the workers and peasants, and can not give way to any reactionary transformation. The experiences of the past three years have proved that absolutely.

Soviet Russia has a regular army,—her enemies also possess regular armies. Soviet Russia, in order to create her army, mobilized the masses, so did her enemies. The Red Army is chiefly composed of peasants, while the armies of the Allies and the Russian reactionary generals are also composed of peasants. Thus it appears that the armies of both sides are made up of similar elements. Then wherein lies the difference between the Red Army and the armies of its enemies which gave the victory to the former?

The Red Army of the workers and peasants is led by workers, by the most class-conscious revolutionary Communists, and there is a close connection between the men and their comrade-commanders. Quite the contrary can be said of our enemies. Their armies are led by officers who are most conscious representatives of bourgeois interests. Therefore, the progress of the struggle unites and tempers the Red Army, while in the capitalistic armies it results in disorganization and collapse, a truth revealed during three years of armed intervention and civil war in Russia.

Three years passed for Soviet Russia in uninterrupted fighting on several fronts. At one time during 1919, there were in Soviet Russia thirteen battle-fronts which I described in Vol. I, No. 13 of this weekly (August 30, 1919). As in a kaleidoscope, one after another, the enemies of the Russian proletariat appeared and vanished before the Red Army. Kornilov, Krasnov, Dutov, the Czecho-Slovaks, the "people's army" of the supporters of the Constituent Assembly, Kolchak, Yudenich, Denikin, and the Allied invaders, all were defeated. The Poles were weakened and

in exhaustion were forced to enter into peace negotiations with Moscow. The bourgeoisie of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Rumania lost faith in their capitalistic supporters, and preferred peace with the Soviets to the useless sanguinary struggle against the Russian proletariat. The former thirteen fronts are now reduced to one, the Crimean front, where the last act of the bloody drama is drawing to a close.

In this review I can give only an outline of each front separately, basing my information mostly on official documents which have at last reached here from Moscow. In many cases they confirm statements previously made by me in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, with regard to the civil war in Russia; but since the receipt of these important data from Moscow, with real military maps, and long and detailed descriptions of battles, I can now see clearly what I could only guess at in the past.

The Northern Front

The Northern front deserves special attention. There the reactionary forces, though a small part was of Russian origin, were predominantly of a purely foreign character.

This front grew out of British intervention in Russian domestic affairs. It was Anglo-French strategy which organized and mobilized the fighting forces on this front by sending Allied troops there. It was after fruitless attempts to force Russia to continue the war with Germany for the benefit of the capitalistic coalition of the West that the northern front attained its great political importance. The representatives of the Great Powers moved from Moscow to Vologda, and started a diplomatic campaign against the Soviet Government. After Comrade Radek's mission to Vologda the significance of the northern front became grave from a strategical viewpoint also. The representatives of the Allies left their headquarters and moved to Archangel where they began, openly, their hostile policy against the Soviets.

The strategical plan of the Allies was as follows: An uprising of the Czecho-Slovaks was to begin along the Volga aiming its attack at the political centers of Russia; while in the east a permanent front had to be created, gradually moving its right flank towards the northern front in order to come into contact with Anglo-French forces, which had already landed in Alexandrovsk on the Murmansk peninsula in the spring of 1918, and had started their movement southward. The general situation in Russia favored this plan of campaign. In some provinces which separate the northern part of Russia from the central part, the agents of the capitalistic coalition succeeded in raising against the Soviet Government a considerable part of the population, thus making it easy for the invaders to accomplish their swift march upon Moscow with the principal aim of overthrow-

ing the Soviet Government. At first, the Allies were very weak. There were no more than 8,000 men landed in Alexandrovsk and Archangel, but after their troops had appeared at these points, the reactionary element of the Russian people started to group themselves around the invaders, thus increasing their fighting strength. About August 1, the Allied Navy destroyed the battery of Mudink Island, which protected the entrance to the Northern Dvina, and approached Archangel, landing an army corps from transports. The Red Guards did all they could to arrest the penetration of the invaders. The stations nearest to the town, Isako-Gorka and Tundra, several times passed from one side to the other, but finally the Reds, outnumbered by the enemy, were forced to retire.

A number of ships, captured by the invaders in the Bay of Archangel, were quickly armed and directed along the North Dvina. But in the middle of August, 1918, the enemy suffered a considerable defeat, and was unable to continue his movement further south until relief arrived, fresh American contingents, with whose help the town of Shenkursk was captured. The cold weather of the north Russian autumn was very unfavorable to the invaders, and they could only move their troops about one-quarter of the way between the mouth of the River Vaga and Kotlas. In the direction of Onega,* the enemy concentrated his forces south of the village of Sumskoje.

In November, the frost and deep snow almost entirely paralyzed the activity of the enemy. The initiative gradually drifted from the Allies, and the Reds began to attack the invaders at several points. In the middle of winter, the Soviet forces concentrated to the south of Shenkursk, and by means of a sudden and most vigorous attack, this town was captured, and the rich reserves of ammunition, arms, and food supplies brought here by the Allies in the hope of establishing a base for further operations in Shenkursk, fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks.

Only in spring did the enemy begin an offensive again, between Lakes Vygo and Sego, when they succeeded in capturing the town of Povenetz.

This movement was provoked by the Finns, whose bands raided Olonetz, and the British command intended to support the raiders. But as usual the Allies came to the aid of the Finns too late. The latter were completely defeated near Birviza and the movement of the Allies became useless. Unable to reach Petrozavovsk, they became almost passive, and undertook some maneuvers in the region of Lake Onega and along the Murmansk railway. In the summer of 1919, the Reds won an important victory at Onega, and undertook a successful offensive up along the North Dvina—above the mouth of the Vega.

It became quite clear that the campaign of the Allies was lost. The Russian "volunteers" deserted in great numbers to the Bolsheviks, and

* Not Lake Onega, but the town of Onega on the White Sea.

there was neither unity among the Allied forces nor belief in their leaders. Some mutinies took place, and disorganization of the Allied contingent began, the best sign of the approaching end of this adventure.

In spite of the lack of good roads and the very severe climate of this part of Russia, the Red detachments, with the aid of the local Russian population, overpowered all obstacles, and established contact with one another in order to act in full harmony. We must not neglect the fact that this campaign was carried through during the first part of 1919, when the Military Commissariat was busy organizing the first body of the Red Army, and therefore proper support could not be given to the army engaged with the invaders on the northern front.

The Americans were the first who realized the uselessness of the expedition, and, tiring of the frivolous policy of the British command to which they had submitted, they left the battle front as early as June, and were sent back to their country. Finally, the British Government decided to evacuate Archangel, thus leaving the fragments of the White Russian troops and Northern Russian Government to their own fate.

The beginning of 1920 found the northern front completely liquidated, and Archangel, as well as the Murmansk peninsula, was gradually reoccupied by the Red Army without any serious resistance by counter-revolutionary forces.

It must be mentioned that the Red flotilla played a great part during this campaign, and the British naval forces suffered badly, thanks to the activity of the improvised Red Navy during the navigable periods. The task of the Northern Red Army was clear and simple,—to clear our North, and it was brilliantly accomplished in spite of all efforts of the Allies to prevent it.

The Eastern Front

"The Eastern front represented a very important, and, at certain periods, one of the most decisive fronts of the Soviet Republic," declared Comrade Trotsky in his report read at the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow. By means of the Eastern front the Russian counter-revolutionary army, later led by Kolchak, was to cut off the Soviet Republic from fertile and wealthy Siberia, from the industrial districts of the Urals, and from Turkestan cotton supplies. Here, as in South Russia, the economic conditions were of such great importance for the Soviet Republic that strategy considered its main problem the immediate reconquest of the trans-Volga region, the Urals, and all of Siberia. After a long and annoying struggle with the Czecho-Slovaks and unorganized bands of counter-revolutionaries united with them, the Red Command started to concentrate its forces in order to begin a serious campaign for the liberation of Siberia from foreign invaders. In the beginning of November, 1918, the Eastern front extended beyond the Volga along the line from Nizhni-Turinsk, Kungur, Sarapul, Bugulma, Buguruslan, Buzuluk, and Novyi-Uzen. The Red

Army began its offensive in three directions with Orenburg, Ufa, and Sarapul as its objectives. Throughout the winter military operations were in full swing, and at the end of April, 1919, the line of the Red Eastern front extended about sixty versts east of Ufa and seventy-five versts east of Orenburg, Uralsk, Alexandrovgai, and Guriev.

At the beginning of March, 1919, reinforced by fresh reserves, Kolchak directed his counter-offensive on Kazan, Simbirsk, and Samara, and in the middle of April his army attained the zenith of its success.

The situation of the Red Army became very serious. In the Southern part of Russia, Denikin inspired great anxiety, and the operations against the southern invader, though successfully carried out, were not yet really decisive in character, and forced the Red Command to be in full readiness to meet a coming serious offensive on the Southern front. Nevertheless it was first necessary to finish with Kolchak, while remaining temporarily on the defensive in South Russia. Therefore, almost all reserves were ordered to the East.

At first, the Kolchak army resisted with an extraordinary stubbornness, but when its *demarcation* line was seriously menaced, it was forced to fall back to Bugulma and Buzuluk, after which all the Kolchak forces began their retreat eastward. During May, 1919, the Reds had to fight for the possession of the outskirts of the Ural Mountains, finally forced the Ural passes and entered the plain of Siberia. Simultaneously, the workers and peasants of Siberia started their "partizan" campaign in the rear of the Kolchak forces, which, as we know, ended so disastrously for the latter. At the end of August the Soviet forces crossed the Tobol and pressed the enemy towards Ishim, but early the next month the counter-offensive of Kolchak forced the Reds to fall back as far west as Tobolsk. The counter-stroke of the weakened counter-revolutionary army was not, and could not be, strong enough to gain the initiative for a considerable length of time. After a series of serious tactical defeats, Kolchak not only lost the initiative but was completely beaten, suffering a strategical defeat which ended in the occupation of his political and strategical center, Omsk, and followed by a most energetic pursuit of the remnants of his beaten army.

This practically put an end to the campaign in Siberia, from a strategical point of view, and all further uprisings and military operations in East Siberia are more of a local political character.

According to the official report of the present commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, Comrade Kamenev, who is responsible for the whole Siberian campaign against Kolchak, there were fourteen fronts of the Siberian counter-revolution.

The Japanese and American troops landed at Vladivostok in August, 1918, and together with the local reactionaries began a campaign against the Soviets in the Amur district, gradually moving westward towards Lake Baikal, and to the north along the Amur Railway line. A regular

uprising of Russian population attained very serious proportions. Armed bands of insurgents operated throughout the country, and inflicted heavy losses on the Japanese and Americans. The local administration of the Kolchak "government", in spite of its drastic measures against the insurgents, became fruitless. The famous *ataman* and bandit, Semionov, his colleague, Kalmikov, recently assassinated in Manchuria, General Larionov, Baron Ungern-Sternberg, Colonel Silinski, and many others, in spite of all their efforts, were unable to stop the elementary movement of the Russian masses against intervention. Here and there, throughout all of eastern Siberia, fierce sanguinary fighting raged between the insurgents and the Allied troops on the one hand, and between the former and Russian generals on the other. Finally such confusion arose that nobody knew whom he was fighting in reality, and such conditions existed from Chita to the Pacific. The occupation of Vladivostok by the Japanese, after the evacuation of Siberia by the Americans, as well as the further conflicts of Japan with the new Government of the Far East, the friction between Generals Semionov, Horvat, Kalmikov and others, and the streams of blood of the peaceful population, all this was the result of the baseless, stupid, and criminal armed intervention of the Allies.

During 1919 alone, according to official information, the number of victims in towns and villages in that part of Siberia was estimated at about 80,000 civilians killed, besides the casualties in the rank and file of the different Russian forces, Reds as well as Whites. At the present time, the Far Eastern Government, with its headquarters in Vladivostok, is practically in control of the Maritime and Amur districts, which are still occupied by Japan. The Red forces, meanwhile, are concentrated partly in Transbaikalia and in the province of Amur, ready to complete their strategical task in the Far East as soon as the situation in European Russia is settled.

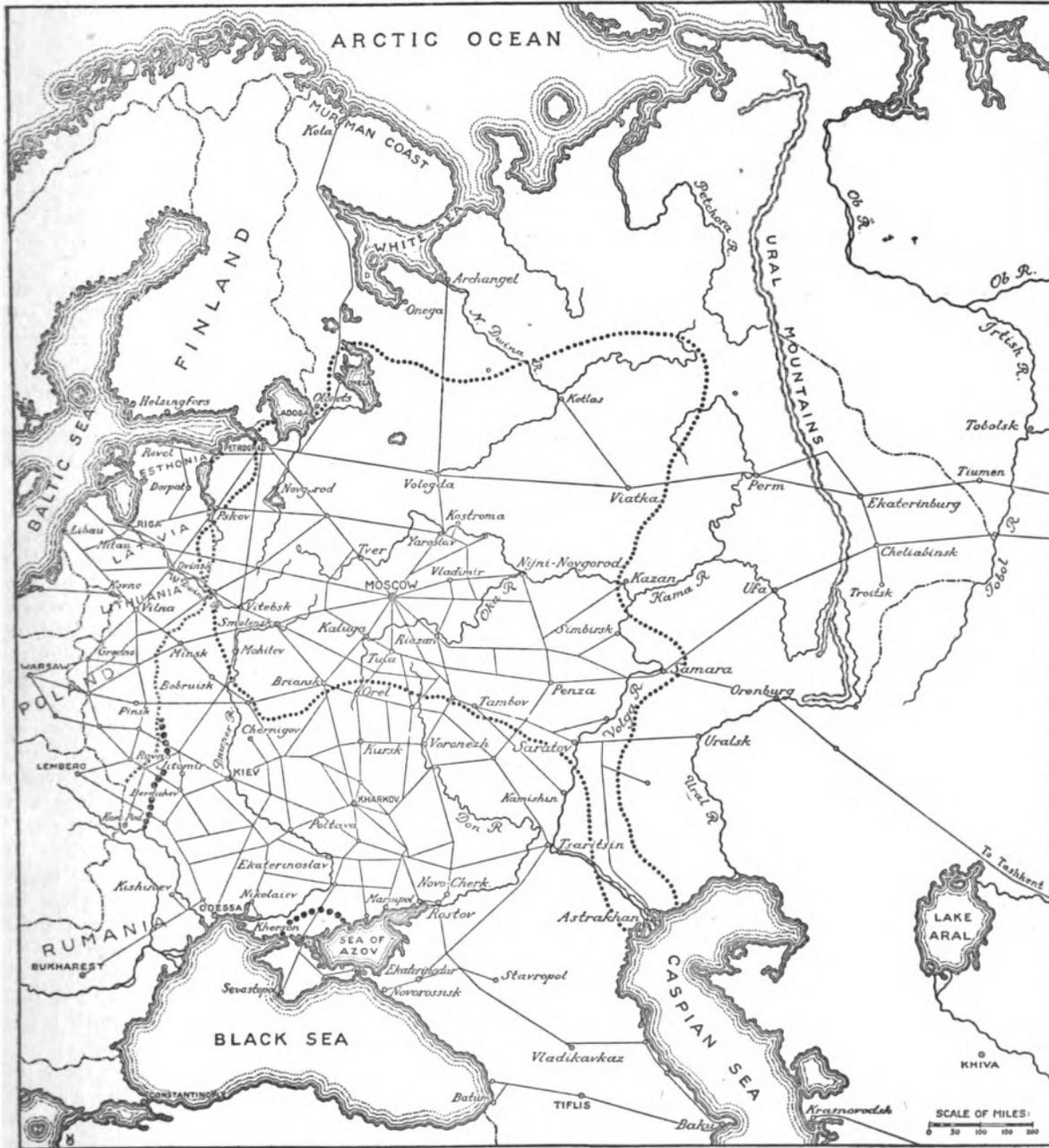
The Turkestan Front

The Turkestan Front was separated from the Eastern Front, and became independent after Kolchak's southern army was entirely defeated in the Orenburg district, and Orenburg was captured by the Red Army. Thus 45,000 Kolchak soldiers were taken prisoner, and an enormous quantity of booty fell into the hands of the Soviet troops. The final union of the troops on the Turkestan Front, (that is, of that part of our front which is facing Turkestan) with those troops which were actually stationed in that region, came about in the middle of September, 1919, in the district of Station Emba on the Orenburg-Tashkent Railway which thereafter became a most important means of communication between Moscow and Central Asia.

This victory of the Red Army opened up inexhaustible possibilities for the Soviets. The Soviet Government was established throughout all Russian Turkestan. A result of this victory was the establishment of friendly relations with Afghanistan and the Extraordinary Embassy of the Amir

General Map of European Russia, Showing the Strategical Situation on October 25, 1920

(Prepared from a Map of the Military Situation printed in four languages by the Typographical Department of the Field Staff of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.)



The line of heavy dots indicates the present Western and Southern battle fronts; the line of lighter dots represents the farthest advance of the anti-Soviet forces, after the beginning of the Revolution of November 6, 1917; the line of small crosses represents the frontiers determined by peace treaties already signed. Note that communications between Astrakhan and Moscow were never closed, as there was always kept open a wide corridor extending from the mouth of the Volga to Saratov, which was never out of the hands of the Soviet forces.

arrived in Moscow. Strategically, Soviet Russia has succeeded in organizing with Turkestan a united army, and special "partisan" detachments, subjected to one single command, were formed at once. Early in 1920, the result of this victory could already be seen. The British movement from Persia into Turkestan and through Afghanistan now became an impossibility. The revolution in Persia and the Anglo-Afghan War put an end to British indifference as to the influence of the Soviets in Asia, where the Russian proletariat put themselves on a solid footing. The occupation by the Russians of the port of Enzeli, and their march on Teheran, as well as the successful operation of the Turkestan troops in the rear of the Denikin army, were strategical results of the Russian successes in that part of the Republic. The Red Navy took a very important part in the operations on that front, and succeeded in destroying the British naval forces on the Caspian Sea, thus opening the route for the Red Army in Transcaspia, Transcaucasia, and Persia. The famous oil industry of the Baku region, already captured by the British, again came into the hands of the Soviets. A quick concentration of the Soviet Army on the new front alarmed the British. The possibility for Soviet Russia of cooperation with Turkey and the Caucasian republics, became a reality, and the possible menace to India confronted Great Britain more seriously than ever before. Finally, the British Government showed great care in regard to her attitude of further support for the Russian White General, and became less aggressive against the Soviets. Only the success of Red strategy in Central Asia forced the British diplomats to begin negotiations with Moscow, and brought the Russian Trade Commission to London to negotiate commercial relations. How far events would have developed on the Turkestan and Caucasian fronts is difficult to forecast now, but I can state that here the Soviet Army attained a complete victory, and holds so strong a position, that only in a real war with the western coalition would it perhaps yield all it has succeeded in winning.

The West and East Caucasian fronts as well as the Transcaspian front were also of great importance; here the Soviet Army was able to check the British intrigues directed against Georgia, Persia, and the Azerbaijan Republics, and it is only owing to the lack of space that we include the review of these fronts under the general title: "The Turkestan Front."

The Western Front

At the end of 1918, after the collapse of German militarism, which was brought upon Germany not only by the military force of Allied imperialism, but from within by the masses of the German workers and peasants, the yoke of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, imposed upon Soviet Russia, was automatically destroyed. The Red Army on the Western front in those days included Estonian, Lithuanian, Lettish and White Russian detachments, which took the offensive, and in March, 1918, a great part of Estonia and a great

er part of Latvia, Lithuania, and White Russia established Soviets. These countries formed their own armies. At this moment, however, the western capitalistic coalition succeeded in supporting the bourgeoisie of the newly formed republics to such an extent that they were able in April to attack the Red forces, defeat them, and start an offensive against the Soviet Republic. This coincided with Kolchak's offensive in the East, and the sharp struggle in the South, making it impossible for the Red Army to resist the advance of the Poles, Letts, Lithuanians, and Estonians, backed by the Allies. Vilna and Riga were captured by the aggressors, and only in September, the retreat of the Red Army along the whole line on the Western Dvina, from Polotsk to Dvina, and later on, along the line of Berezina to Pripet, was arrested. Henceforth the Red front, extending from Pskov to the South, became a permanent line for the concentration of the Red Army. Twice, on this front, the Russian Soviet forces were attacked by the so-called Yudenich army which cooperated with the armies of the small bourgeois republics of the Baltic region. There the question concerned Petrograd and its fate, over which the bourgeoisie of the world gambled. But as our readers are aware, Yudenich's adventure, thanks to the self-sacrifice of the Red Army, and thanks to the superhuman effort of the Red Baltic Navy, became a complete failure. Petrograd was in great danger, not only because of attack from the west, but because of the very serious intention of the Finnish bourgeoisie to support the plot of the Allies. The situation was very grave, moreover, because at the time the Soviet Army was fighting for the fate of Petrograd on the Pulkov Heights, the Finnish White Guards subjected the Red troops to curtain-fire not only from machine guns, but from cannons, and bombed Soviet territory with dynamite. According to the report of Comrade Trotsky to the Congress of Soviets of December 7, 1919, the Soviet Army in those days was "strong enough to make a counter-offensive." "But," says Comrade Trotsky, "we gave orders to the local command saying, 'no notice is to be taken of provocation; but should Finland interfere in spite of this, should she cross the border, should she make an attempt to strike at Petrograd, you are not to limit yourselves to mere resistance, but you are to enter on a counter-offensive, and follow it out to the end.'" And the Finnish bourgeoisie understood what it meant.

The end of 1919 found the Polish army in Lithuania, White Russia, in the greater part of Ukraine, and even in Great Russia. There was no peace between Moscow and Poland, but there were no serious hostilities either. Soviet diplomacy basing its policy on the principles of self-determination of nations did not fix a definite frontier-line between Poland and the Soviet Republic. The Polish Front was not considered strategically important, being the weakest of all the Red fronts, and Moscow made every effort to conclude peace with the Polish Government.

On April 18, 1919, Comrade Chicherin approached the Polish Government with an offer to negotiate peace, but in answer to this a Polish detachment disguised in Red uniform, under Red banner, took Vilna from the Lithuanians.

On December 22, 1919, a formal note of Chicherin with an offer to negotiate peace was transmitted by radio to Poland. There was no reply.

On January 28, 1920, a formal note was communicated to the Polish Government and only on March 27, two months later, did Patek, the Polish Foreign Minister, answer more or less favorably. But difficulties arose because of the insistence of the Polish diplomats that the peace negotiations should take place at Borisov, a Russian town on the Berezina, just captured by the Poles, and situated just in the middle of the battle front. Russian strategy could not permit this, especially when the Polish diplomacy refused to fix an armistice and stop hostilities along the whole front.

On April 23, in its note to the whole world, the Russian Government declared that it was ready to meet the Polish delegates in any country, and in any town that was not on the front zone. But the Polish Government did not desire peace. The negotiations, however, were important to enable it to camouflage the concentration of the Polish army and in this it succeeded in full.

Early in March, 1920, the Poles suddenly attacked the weak Russian forces along the whole front and took Mozir, Kulenkovich, Ovruch and Rezhitsa, and on April 23, began a vigorous offensive on the Volhynian-Kiev front, captured Zhitomir and Zhmerinka and directed the main bulk of their army on Kiev. The famous Ukrainian bandit, Petlura, became an ally of the Poles. In exchange for all Eastern Galicia which he had given up to Poland, he was to be established as a dictator over Ukraine, by force of the Polish arms, thus subjecting ninety-nine per cent of the Ukrainians to the Polish yoke.

The rest is well known. The Polish army crossed the Berezina and Dnieper, and began invading Russia with Moscow as its strategical objective. Fifty miles east of Kiev, the Poles met the bulk of the Red Army, were entirely defeated, and began a hasty retreat, pursued by the cavalry of Comrade Budenny and the advance guard of the Northern army of Comrade Tukharevsky. This pursuit was of great strategical significance, because its duration was more than a month, and the Polish field army was practically annihilated and henceforth deprived of the possibility of repeating an invasion of Russia, and consequently reaching Moscow, in order to overthrow the Soviet Government.

The failure of the Soviet army in their attack on Warsaw and the resulting tactical defeat of the pursuers did not affect the strategical situation of the Soviet Army, which was reinforced by fresh reserves and is gradually recovering its lost initiative, thus supporting the Soviet diplomacy and establishing a long desired peace with the last hostile neighbor to the West. Strategically even

a short armistice with the Poles was of great importance for the Soviet army, not in order to reinforce its western front, but rather to accomplish some regroupments to support the Southern Red Army, which, thanks to the Polish campaign was left to its own fate in fighting the hordes of Baron Wrangel, the only active enemy of Soviet Russia left now in Europe.

The Ukrainian front, being closely connected with the Polish front, is losing its strategical importance since the peace relations between Poland and Soviet Russia are almost established.

The Southern and Ukrainian Fronts

I have always considered the South Russian front as a most decisive and most important front for the Red strategy. The war in the south is the oldest of the civil wars. It was begun by cossack forces before the Czecho-Slovaks and Kolchak were created as the "champions of the Constituent Assembly." The cradle of the counter-revolution was the Don. Active aid from the working element of the cossack population, together with the Red detachments of Comrade Antonov, caused the liquidation of the power of the White Russian generals. Kaledin shot himself and Kornilov was forced to find a refuge in the Kalmuk steppes; finally Soviets were established throughout the Don. During the summer of 1918 the situation in South Russia was aggravated by the appearance of General Krassnov with his cossacks, who aimed to capture the rich Donets industrial district. He was backed by the Germans, who occupied Ukraine. Early in 1919, the Don Cossacks were seriously defeated by the Red Army, but the reaction in the Kuban and amongst the Don Cossacks gave an opportunity to General Denikin, the successor of the departed Kornilov, to form a strong army in the Caucasus and Kuban.

In the middle of January, 1919, the Southern front is occupied by the so-called "volunteer army", under the supreme command of Denikin, and the Don Cossacks are forming thirty-seven cavalry and infantry divisions—to cooperate with him.

From the Don Cossack region to Kamishin, on the Volga and the stanitza (village) of Nizhni Chirskaia, this front enabled the enemy to cut off Soviet Russia from coal, and oil supplies and from her richest agricultural area. Therefore the strategical problem of the Soviet Revolutionary Field Staff was to recapture the Donets coal district and to open the way to the Caucasus oil region.

In the middle of January, 1919, the Red Army concentrated its forces and started an offensive on a wide front: Ostrogorsk, Borisoglebsk, Povarino, Yelan, Tsaritsin, and Sarepta. In the middle of February the Southern Red Army forced the Don and the beginning of May found the Soviet troops eighty versts northwest of Taganrog and 125 versts to the north and forty versts to the east of Rostov. Further to the southeast a line of fifty versts was occupied by the Reds, south of the river Manich,—and the advanced troops attained the upper Kuma and approached the mid-

dle Terek. The strategical aim of the Red Field Staff thus was accomplished in three months, and the further operations were not undertaken because of the developing battles with Kolchak and on other fronts.

This interruption of hostilities was sufficient to enable Denikin to gain time and to reorganize his army. He then formed a strong body of cavalry and started a vigorous offensive from the Manich in the direction of Tsaritsin, and on May 20, by means of British tanks and poison gas, he broke through the Red front in the region of Yuzevka. The mutiny amongst the Don Cossacks against the Soviets in the middle of March, in the rear of the Red front, helped Denikin's advance and forced the Red Field Staff to order a general retreat, protected by rear-guard actions.

The offensive of the enemy was directed northward, towards Bolashov and Voronezh, as well as in a northwesterly direction, on Kharkov, Poltava, Yekaterinoslav and Kiev. The Red Army stopped its retreat, and then began to counter-attack the invaders, the main front line passing through Nikolaiev, Yelizavetgrad, Bobrinskaia, Romni, Obaian, Korotokmak, Liski, Povorino, thence to the Volga.

The counter-offensive of the Reds in the middle of August had as its objective to occupy the Kharkov region as well as the lower basin of Don. In twelve days the Soviet troops succeeded in capturing Volniki, Kupiansk, Volchansk and approached to sixty versts from Kharkov, speedily moving also toward the middle Volga. By means

of a strong cavalry counter-attack in the Kursk and Novokhopersk direction, the enemy not only stopped the advance of the Red Army, but succeeded in breaking through the Red front in the direction of Novokhopersk, and the cavalry of Mamontov and Shkuro penetrated far to the rear of the Soviet field army and raided Tambov, Kozlov, Yelets, and Voronezh.

Finally, the new retreat of the Red Army brought the Denikin bands as far north as Orel, but here, north of that town, in the Tula direction, he was met by fresh Soviet reserves. A decisive battle took place, and after a series of tactical reverses, Denikin received a final strategical blow near Kharkov, and his panic stricken forces were dispersed in complete disorder and energetically pursued and annihilated by the Red cavalry.

Only in the Crimean peninsula, under the protection of the Allied navy, a small part of the Denikin forces, under Baron Wrangel, one of Denikin's generals, were reorganized, with the help of the Entente, as a new counter-revolutionary force, which was to cooperate with the Poles. The general aim of Wrangel's strategy is practically the same as that of Denikin, but the existing political and strategical circumstances, as well as his resources of man-power and supply are much inferior to those of Denikin.

The third year of the titanic struggle of the Russian proletariat has ended with the triumph of the Revolution.

A Prophecy by Victor Hugo

We are in Russia. The Neva is frozen over and heavy waggons roll across its surface. The streets extend before us, there is buying and selling, laughter and dissonance; all possible activities are going on, faint fires are lighted over the water that has turned to granite. It is winter; there is ice, and it seems as if this condition of affairs were permanent. A continuous pale light illumines the sky and it is as if the sun had been extinguished . . . but no, you are not dead, oh liberty! At the moment you are most forgotten, the moment your return is least expected, you will suddenly arise—a blinding vision! Your radiant glance, your invigorating heart will again come to life over this dead mass of ice that has been trodden and become defiled. Can the peoples hear this crumbling, threatening, promising resonance? It is the river Neva breaking up its coat of ice. You said it was granite, and behold it splinters like broken glass. It is the great thaw, I tell you. It is water come to life. Water in its powerful joy and its frightful wrath. Progress once more begins. Humanity continues its onward march. It is a river which now unobstructed again pursues its course, tearing up by the roots, smashing to bits, crushing and drowning in its waves, not only the Empire of the upstart Emperor Nicholas, but also all the relics of ancient and modern despotism. Do you see that bit of furniture floating along there? That is the throne. Over there some other pieces of wood are being carried along. That is the gallows. Do you see that book, half of it submerged? That is the codex of the old morality and law of capitalism. And what are these crows nests that have just gone down? They are the barracks in which the wage slaves lived. All these things are being dragged down and washed away; never to return. And what was required to bring about all this—this incomparable victory of life over death? But one of your glances, oh Sun! But one blow of your mighty arm, oh Labor!

Moscow in 1920

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(Sixth Instalment)

THERE is a lack of draft-horses in Moscow. The horses are not sleek, but you cannot see their ribs either. They are not normal horses, *panye* horses, as our soldiers in the East say. At least this applies to the work-horses; the cab horses are often more defective, for the fodder rations are scant and roundabout purchases expensive. And then, there are rascals of cab-drivers who think of their own pockets and let the horses starve.

A cab journey from the Nikolai Station to the Theater Square in May, 1920, cost three thousand Bolshevik rubles, or thirty to fifty German marks. At the beginning of the Revolution the Moscow City Soviet had nationalized everything, surely including the cabs. Now the latter are free from nationalization. Quite a number have been requisitioned for official use; the remainder are free and wait at all corners.

But I was more interested in the dogs than in the horses. I once read about the dogs of Constantinople as they were in the 80's of the last century, of the unnoticed, hardly even kicked, neglected dogs of the Turkish capital. It was said that at Constantinople in those days there was a swarm of dogs, an army of dogs. The street of Moscow is not so rich in dogs as that, but the Moscow dogs are also neglected to the point of not even being kicked; they are unkempt, unattractive. Their skin, their glances, their places of refuge are outcomes of revolution.

They rest in gutters, against the walls of houses, and on the steps. They sleep all day long on these steps, and also at night. I do not know how and on what they live, for they do not stir from the spot.

There are shaggy dogs among them, yoke-yellow Saint Bernards, formerly master-dogs. They are long-sinewed Russian greyhounds, their white pelts soiled. The pelts are disheveled; the dogs' eyes seem pasted shut. They are mere recollections of the splendid days. Moscow dogs no longer have system about them. The dog-days are over. There are no longer masters and dogs. Many among the dogs were once masters. The dog has had his day.

My wife had packed a tin with anti-lice preparation in my baggage. She said: "You will get lice. Every night you must spread some of this powder over your bed. I do not want a lousy husband. I want one with a clean skin, a white-colored man, and not a mangy scratched-up wretch. Guard yourself against lice in Russia."

I made no use of the box of "anti-lice", and yet I got no lice, not even fleas. Not until I got back to Esthonia did the first flea alight upon me, when I was with the doctor at Reval. The doctor was issuing my non-vermin certificate, a certificate declaring me free of lice and fleas, and at that

moment the first flea fell upon me. But at Moscow I was liceless and flealess.

There are some lice, however, at Moscow, also fleas and bedbugs. But the terror of typhus (lice carry the typhus) was past in May, 1920, at least in Moscow. I was told that there was still typhus in other parts of Russia. Physicians, medical investigators, should at least be sent to Russia, and they should have with them stocks of medicaments, of salvarsan, of quinine.

The chief typhus regions are the parts that were evacuated by Kolchak and by Denikin; I was told that these parts were afflicted with frightful epidemics.

Makhorka

It takes time to get used to it. There is some of the Russian forest and of the Russian meadow in it; at any rate Russian real estate. It exhales fragrance—many fragrances. It is a tobacco for men; it knocks you down. You have to get used to it.

All Moscow that smokes pipes, and a part of cigarette Moscow, puffs makhorka. It is a sort of minced landscape with a little tobacco in it, chopped very fine, with obstinate white pieces of resistance. It is an acquired taste.

I did not acquire it. I did not need to, for I had brought twenty packages of tobacco with me from Germany, and in addition Sasha gave us twenty-five Russian cigarettes every other day. They were cigarettes with long paper mouth-pieces and good tobacco in the paper.

But one of the members of the delegation was intoxicated with makhorka. The audacious man smoked only makhorka; he swore by makhorka and sang its praises everywhere.

Makhorka (which was smoked already in peacetimes) is a tobacco for poor people, a substitute tobacco, a growth of necessity, a make-shift mixture, for the fragrant tobacco days of Moscow are gone for the present. The wonderful one-kopec cigarettes are a thing of the past. In May, 1920, you paid the cigarette dealer 400 to 600 Bolshevik rubles for 25 cigarettes. These peddlers were crying out their wares in a thousand streets, out of the recesses of houses, on street corners, and as they ran through the street. They sold you makhorka and also the necessary cigarette papers.

Anyone who has gotten used to makhorka will never part with the habit. I offered English cigarettes to a former director of the Credit Lyonnais and now a director in an industrial combine. He declined on the ground that he smoked only makhorka. He had given up all other tobacco.

All paper, every kind of paper is used for cigarette paper in Moscow. They smoked makhorka in wrapping paper, in newspaper, in tissue paper, in each and every kind of paper.

The matter is very plain. They did not paste

the cigarette paper, they hardly licked it. They turned a little "toot" of wrapping paper or newspaper and smoked. It is not expensive and saves time.

The English were better treated.

The Union of Tobacco Workers handed them great boxes adorned with dedications and containing long cigarettes. The English had a good time. Scheidemann, if he went to Moscow, would also get a big box with a dedication on it. He would not need to smoke makhorka.

The War With Poland

One day a young Communist came into the office of the combine. The manager signed something and the young Communist departed after shaking his hand.

"What have you signed?" I asked. "It is a front certificate. The comrade is going to the front. He has volunteered. Of course the population is being fine-combed, but this man, like many others, is a volunteer." Before that I had heard nothing of the war with Poland. They spoke but little of this war. Russia has been at war for six years, and, war-weary as Russia is, war has almost become self-evident. It is no longer a matter of lashing up initial enthusiasm, no longer a matter of intoxication, but a simple self-evident truth. It is a pressure, but it will not press Russia down. They say very little of the war with Poland. The leaders, the political leaders, speak of it. They are confident; they do not think of defeat.

This confidence is evident if you have completely grasped Russia. For this country makes use, against each assailant, of its extent and of its millions of men. If the war is a people's war, like the war against Poland, a national war, Russia is unconquerable. Who will conquer this length and breadth and these millions with the sword? Napoleon could not. Russia is one great Kutuzov.*

The war is oppressive. For war means requisitions, means sucking out energy, means cutting off sources of supply. Every war is oppressive, even to Russia. Who on earth has any right to wage war with Russia? It is a beastly crime. The war weighs down upon the transport roads and cripples them; both the railways and the waterways. The war murders. War is terrible in any case.

Russia will not lose the war with Poland. In the fall of this year, at the latest, Russia will win the war. In the fall at the latest, the defeat of the Poles will be decided. Russia's wars are autumn and winter wars.**

Russia cannot lose the war with Poland. For the Poles are fighting with a demoralized rear, with bloodless peasants: the anarcho-Socialistic peasant of Ukraine is undermining the rear. The Poles have no firm redoubt.

* Michael Ilarionovich Kutuzov (1745-1813), Russian field-marshal who led the resistance to Napoleon in 1812.

** The fact that imperialistic Poland does not pursue Soviet Russian troops, but makes peace with Russia, shows that Poland has been defeated in her attempt to annex Russian territory.—
Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.

There is no sense in attacking Russia. For many reasons there is no sense in it. England, the English Government understands this very well. There is an unheard of brutality, an incredible stupidity in waging war on Russia. Russia is a gigantic cauldron of foodstuffs, a colossal warehouse of possibilities for the whole world. Who has any interest in smashing this cauldron, in destroying the possibilities?

Europe has never before been guilty of an equal stupidity.

The Ruble

Once the ruble meant something in the world; it meant 2.16 marks, (50 cents American money). Of course there was a lot of trickery about it, a gold standard flim-flamming by Witte and Kokovtsev. For Russia never really had a gold standard, only a centralization of the gold to entice foreign traders. Inside of the country you never saw much of the gold standard. The paper ruble fluttered gaily, the little ruble, the debasing, prostituting, bribing little ruble. The ruble shot its poison into the souls of Russian officials, and to this day not all the souls of Russia have been purged of this poison. Already, in peace times Russia had a color psychology of rubles, a local *agiotage*, according to the age of the ruble, the color of the ruble, the size of the ruble. The Soviet Republic must reckon with this psychology also. Romanov rubles, Czarist rubles, are considerably higher in purchasing power than Bolshevik rubles. In May, 1920, a speculator would pay 20 to 22 thousand Bolshevik rubles for 1,000 Romanov rubles. Of course this is only true of speculators, for the state exchanges only at par.

Russian money, Bolshevik money is not money in the European sense of the word. It is only money of issue, not money of presentation. There is no institution in Russia that redeems the Bolshevik money, as for instance the Bank of England redeems pound notes. To be sure, the obligation to redeem in many countries of Europe is today not different from the case of the Bolshevik ruble. Redemption has ceased. The German Reichsbank, for instance, cannot redeem. It may exchange notes for notes, or notes for treasury loan certificates. But you cannot call that redemption. It is a sort of solution (viewed in the large) but not a redemption. For the present it is a humbug which is not admitted. But the Bolshevik ruble is an open humbug. The Bolshevik ruble is really an unblushing deception, while the European banknote is a veiled deception. That is the right way. Deception should be practiced openly, without a veil, if the whole monetary system is to be swindled out of existence; if that is your object you cannot swindle sufficiently. The Soviet Republic has thus far issued only 600 to 700 milliards of rubles. It cannot print as many as it would like, only a few million milliards a day. That is far too little if it is intended to deal a death blow to the monetary system. But it must be done to death, as it cannot be torn out by the roots at once or beheaded at a single blow.

That is what the system demands; and men will have it so. They do not want it to be decapitated at once; they want to be deceived and they do not notice that they are deceiving themselves. It is an interesting, delightful episode. It is caviar to the financial critic. The more magnificent the deception, the more luscious the morsel to the financial critic.

The Soviet Republic has now issued revolutionary certificates, notes with propaganda printed on them, in all the languages of the world powers; in all the important languages of the world you read: *Proletarians of all Lands Unite!* The notes are smaller than the old Bolshevik notes. I saw 500 and 1,000 ruble notes. The rallying cry of the Communist manifesto, of Marx and Engels, you may read in the German language, and then in the French language, in the English language, in the Turkish language, in the Russian language, etc., etc., right down the note.

This propaganda bank note, this tendentious ruble note is worth less than the old Soviet note, the Red note: 10,000 Red Soviet notes are worth in Moscow, or were worth when I was there, 11,000 manifesto notes. There are also old Red 10,000 ruble notes; you do not see them frequently.

They print small notes, hardly larger than postage stamps, of green, yellow, brown color. Some of these also are manifesto notes, but the rallying cry is printed on them only in Russian. There are also Kerensky notes, whose purchasing power fluctuates between that of the Romanov notes and of the Bolshevik notes. Notes, notes, notes. Heaps of ruble notes, crumpled notes, patched notes, and lost notes. The little postage-stamp notes hardly receive any attention. They are worth practically nothing. You pay with whole perforated sheets of such notes. The individual note is hardly even paper, it is trash. It is a caricature, a money joke, a parody on the capitalist money system.

People do not count in Moscow in rubles but in bread. To be sure they say: "How much bread shall I get for so many rubles"; or "How many rubles must I pay for so much bread?" The emphasis is not on the ruble but on the "bread". Bread is the measure, the standard, not paper. There is a profound meaning in this, a Socialist meaning. This is already one of the consequences of the systematic gigantic devaluation, of the magnificent relegation of money to the background, of the huge mass-production of money. The ruble is therefore a psychological matter, of color, of size, a calculation on a scale according to the size and color. The ruble is no more; money is no more. This is the catastrophe of money, a feverish production of a supplementary purchasing power. If the people do not steal (from a Socialist standpoint), this whole deception would be unnecessary. But as it still has capitalistic tendencies, it must be deceived in this way. That is the essence of this printing of paper money.

In foreign countries the Bolshevik ruble is worth

nothing. Nor need it be worth anything, for Russian foreign trade is financed differently, is financed with gold, with foreign goods, with concessions and products. The sellers to Russia need not worry; the Soviet Government pays promptly, and in good money, or the equivalent of good money. It does not need to deceive foreign dealers. It has enough wherewith to pay. It has a devaluated standard (if you can speak of any standard at all) in the interior, but its money standard abroad is of high value, of the highest value. No country in the world has a standard of higher value, not even America.

Moscow Time

The clock is set ahead in Moscow. In the summer it is set hours ahead. For that reason, the working-day begins very early and ends very early. As time is counted in Berlin, the offices and factories close at noon. This arrangement is good, for it permits of recreation during the daylight hours. Moscow needs recreation. Moscow nerves are no longer peace nerves. They need walks in the open, relaxation, lounging lassitude.

Of course, there are also nerves in Moscow that cannot escape their torment. The administration heads slave for twelve and fourteen hours, and more. Chicherin is such a slave, and many others toil from early morning till late at night. They are helpless and perplexed because there is such a scarcity of labor, and such a tremendous amount of work. Chicherin begins his work late in the afternoon and continues until six in the morning, Moscow time. But these are intensified exceptions.

There is plenty of time in Moscow. There has always been plenty of time in Moscow, even today. Russia is large, and time is slow in Russia. What is an hour more or less!

Often I lost patience, I stamped my foot, I struck my fist on the table, I could not get used to Moscow time. I liked the summer schedule of time, but not the Moscow sense of time.

A horrible nuisance is the following practice: I am speaking with the head of a department. The thread of our subject weaves back and forth between us. The door opens and some one stumbles over the carefully spun thread, breaks it in two, and talks with the department head ignoring my presence. I am bursting with rage, I stamp my foot, I tremble with impatience, for I have no time. The thread-breaking man or woman goes out, smiling as though nothing had happened, and immediately another breaks in and speaks over my head. There is no rational system in this method of holding conferences, time is frittered away, the department head loses his perspective. There is no sense of order, no sense of sequence, of consecutiveness. Lenin has this sense, and there are others who have it. With them one thing follows another in consecutive order, is assorted, registered, announced, cancelled, admitted. Order, order, order. Blessed folk!

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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.

AN enterprising American engineer, "grub-staked" by a considerable group of California capitalists, goes prospecting in Soviet Russia, strikes a rich lode, stakes out his claim, and returns to arrange the development of his diggings. The Commissariat of Foreign Affairs has announced that the American syndicate on whose behalf Mr. Washington D. Vanderlip concluded his contract with the Soviet Government will commence operations in the spring of 1921. The syndicate has acquired under a sixty-year lease the exclusive right to the exploitation of coal, oil, and fisheries within a territory of 400,000 square miles, comprising all of Kamchatka and a huge area of northeastern Siberia. Here is a notable achievement which runs true to the American pioneering tradition. Mr. Vanderlip and his backers have "broken trail" in the authentic spirit of the American frontier. They may be said, indeed, to have picked up the American frontier and carried it across the Pacific to penetrate new areas and discover new riches. We speak of the American frontier in no nationalistic sense, but as that realm in which the characteristic spirit of the American frontiersman found free play for his audacity and hardihood. Mr. Vanderlip, adventuring into Soviet Russia, braving the real hardships, and no less courageously ignoring all the imagined perils of that hidden land, displayed something of the same hardihood and audacity. And yet, notable as is the performance of Mr. Vanderlip, the extraordinary thing is that at so late a date he should be the first American to bring such an enterprise to successful conclusion. For three years Soviet Russia has been an open field to any American pioneer with imagination and initiative. Almost from its inception the Soviet Government invited American engineers and specialists in all fields to come in and do just what Mr. Vanderlip has done. Soviet Russia asked for American technicians and American tools, but instead of these there came only American soldiers with American guns. Dare we hope at last that Mr. Vanderlip's achievement marks the end of America's ill-advised and unhappy experiment in foreign intervention and signifies the return to the nobler tradition of the pioneer? American soldiers brought to Russia only bitterness and hatred and death. American

pioneers can bring to Russia skill and enterprise and experience. How welcome and how sincerely appreciated these will be, the case of Mr. Vanderlip has proved.

* * *

THE policy of granting concessions for exploitation by foreign engineers and capitalists is not new with the Soviet Government. It is no departure from established principles. On the contrary, it is part of a program publicly announced from the very first. Just as Soviet Russia needs and will buy the most improved machinery developed under the capitalist system and manufactured by capitalists, so it will employ the best technique and the most experienced technicians. If this technique and these technicians can be bought with high wages, Soviet Russia is prepared to buy them that way, as Lenin announced in his famous program speech in April, 1918. If these forces can be attracted in greater volume by the offer of concessions in natural resources, Soviet Russia is rich enough and vast enough to grant large concessions without in any way endangering its sovereignty or social structure. In its reply to the Prinkipo proposal the Soviet Government stated officially that it was "ready to give to the subjects of the powers of the Entente, mineral, timber, and other concessions, to be defined in detail, on condition that the economic and social structure of Soviet Russia shall not be touched by the internal arrangements of these concessions." Discussing this question with Arthur Ransome in 1919, the Chairman of the Committee of State Constructions at Moscow said: "We want from abroad all that we cannot make ourselves. We want a thousand versts of rails . . . We want new railways built. We want dredgers for our canals and river works. We want excavators . . . We shall pay in concessions, giving foreigners the right to take raw materials. Timber, actual timber, is as good as credit . . . We are prepared to say, 'You build this, or give us that, and we will give you the right to take so much timber for yourselves.'"

The principle was exhaustively argued and definitely accepted in the winter of 1919 when the concession was granted for the building of the Great Northern Railway. This contract was approved on the understanding that the foreign promoters were financed by American capital. In May, 1919, the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs stated in a letter to its representative in America, "We are ready to give all sorts of economic concessions to Americans in preference to other foreigners. We mean concessions in Northern Russia, the development of natural resources (forests and mines), the construction of railroads, of electrical stations, of canals, etc."

It will be argued, of course, that concessions to foreign capitalists may endanger the integrity of the Communist state. One might concede the danger. And yet Soviet Russia has already surmounted the dangers of foreign intervention, of



Recent Pictures from Soviet Russian History

This Illustrated Supplement to the Third Anniversary Number of SOVIET RUSSIA presents a few scenes, persons, and institutions of importance in Russia's history. Our first picture represent Yu. Steklov, editor of the Moscow *Izvestia*, Official Organ of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, leaving an automobile. Below is a 60-ruble Soviet note (worth only a few cents in American money). Both sides are reproduced; the inscriptions read: "Exchange token. Russian, Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Sixty Rubles. Chief Commissar of the People's Bank. G. Po . . . Guaranteed by all the resources of the Republic. Treasurer, G. Galtsov. 60 Rubles. Proletarians of the World Unite. Counterfeiting of these notes punishable under the law."





May First in Warsaw

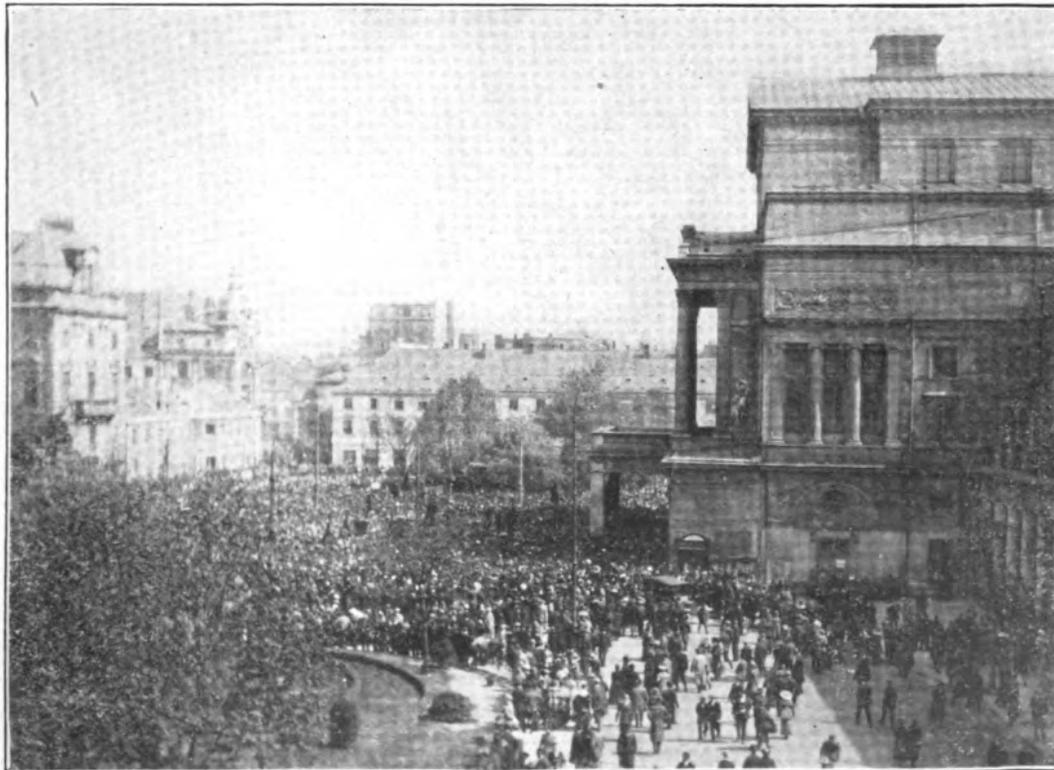
While these scenes were photographed in Warsaw for SOVIET RUSSIA they are of great importance as indications of the attitude of the Polish masses toward their Russian neighbor. In the May First parades in the streets of Warsaw, this year, banners were carried with the inscriptions reproduced in these pictures. The inscription in the upper picture reads: "Long Live an Alliance with Soviet Russia." That in the lower picture reads: "Long Live Peace With Soviet Russia."

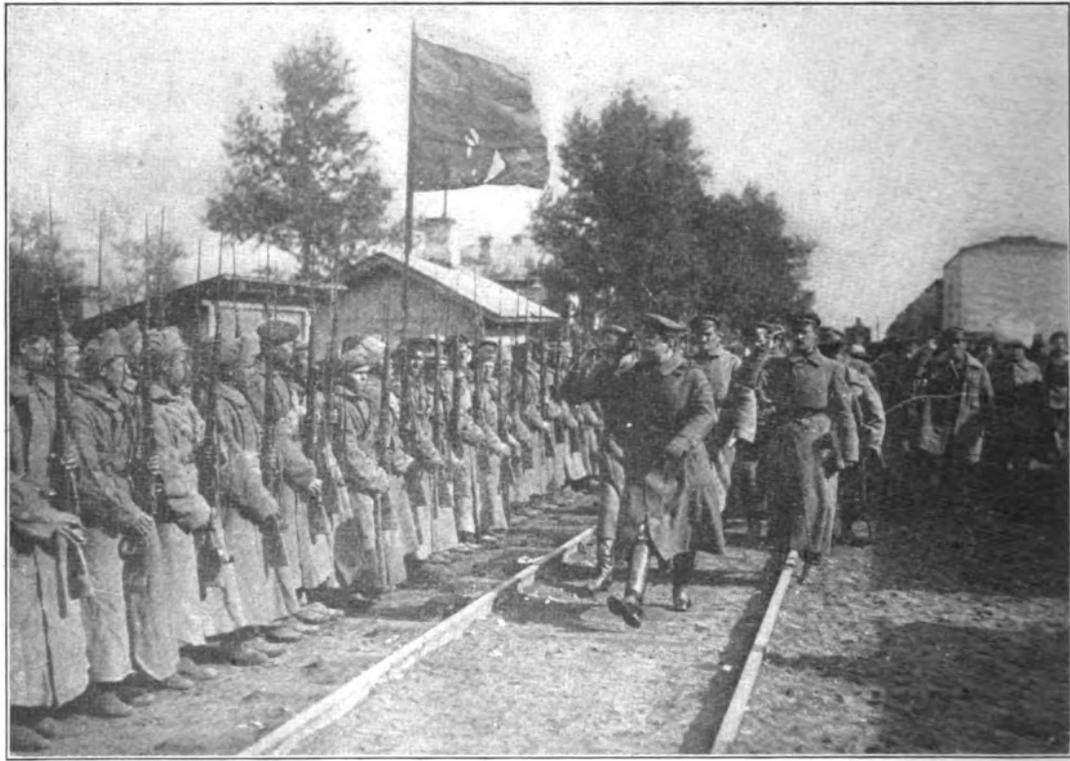




May First in Warsaw

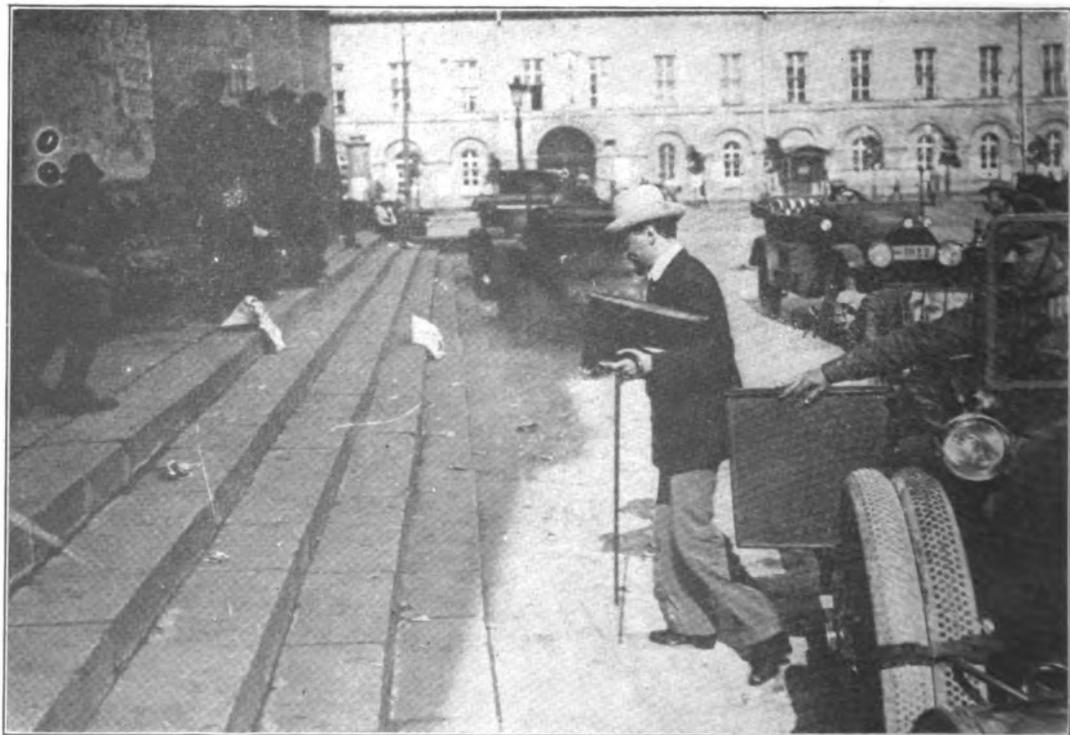
The inscriptions in the upper picture read: "Vistula Section K.P.R.P. Long Live the First of May of the Proletariat", and "We Demand Peace With Soviet Russia". The lower picture represents a scene of the demonstration on Theater Square, Warsaw.

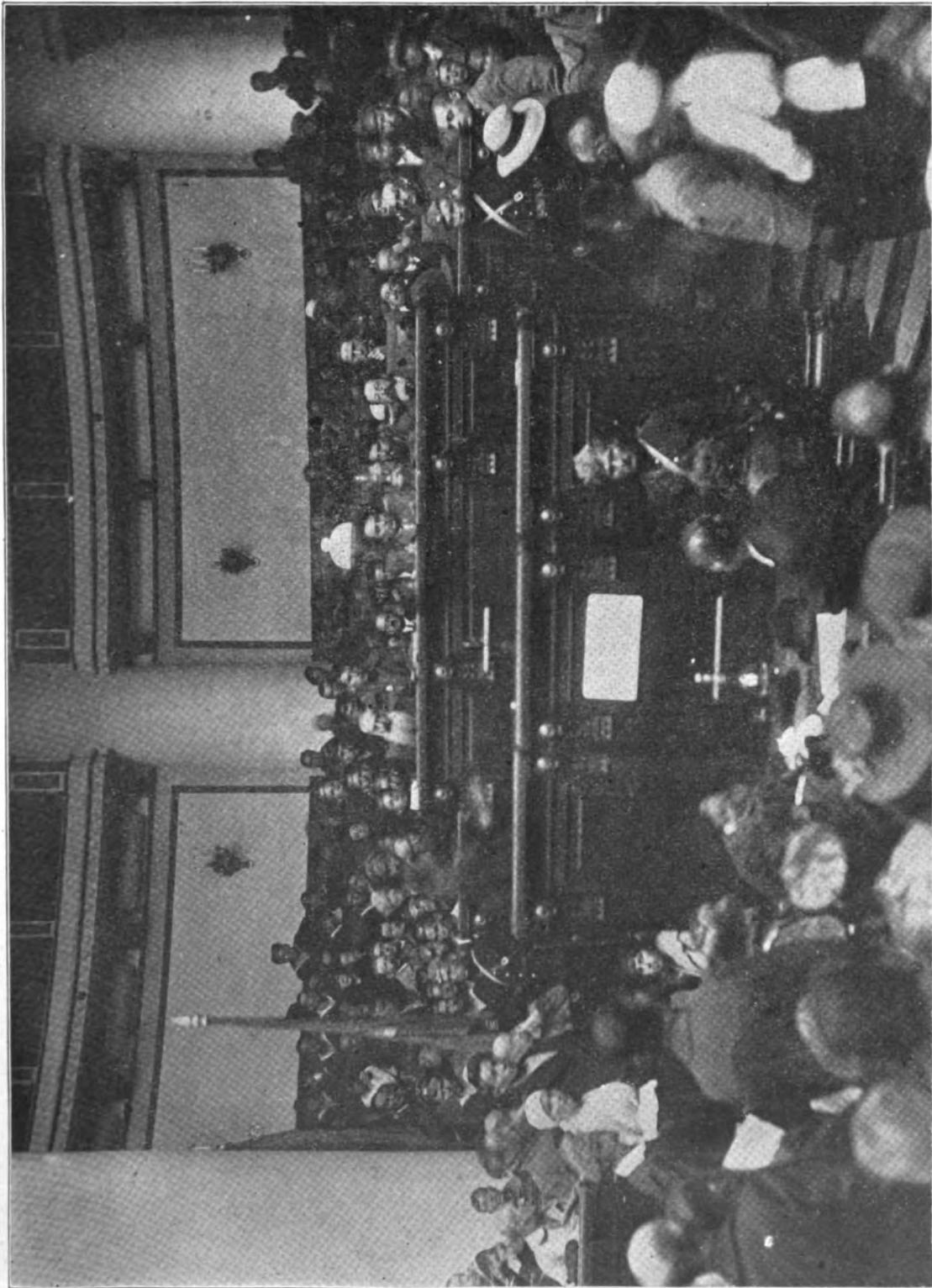




Trotsky in Military and Civilian Dress

These pictures give us two new views of the Commissar of War. Above, he is shown reviewing the First Moscow Regiment; below, he is entering the Moscow Opera House from his automobile.





The Petrograd Soviet

This important body is shown in session with the Italian delegates as visitors. Zinoviev, Head of the Petrograd Soviet, is seated in the center, under the lamp; Zorn is on the right, second row behind the rostrum, with his hand on his chin. A statistical study of the composition of the Petrograd Soviet was printed in SOVIET RUSSIA a few weeks ago.



Scenes on the Island of Rest, Near Petrograd

On this island, which is a sort of rest home for the men and women workers of Petrograd, there are club-houses for both sexes. Above, women are shown resting and reading in a room of a former palace on this island (formerly Kamenny Ostrov); below men in another apartment are playing games.





Educators and Pupils at Moscow

Above is a Group of Workers in the Commissariat of Education. Below is a tug of war between boys and girls in the Pirogrov Colony near Moscow.





Russian Officials in Conference

Above is a conversation between Trotsky, Lenin, and Leo Kamenev, People's Commissar of War, President of the Council of People's Commissars, and President of the Moscow Soviet, respectively. Below is shown Vladimir Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, seated beside a village school-teacher.



blockade, and of civil war and internal intrigue fomented by foreign agents. Soviet Russia will have many grave dangers to face in the future. There is no reason to suppose that it will lack the strength and vigilance to safeguard itself against any undesirable influences arising from the presence of foreign industrialists engaged in developing Russian resources under the close supervision of the Soviet authority. Let it be remembered, moreover, that Soviet Russia is offering to permit the exploitation of its natural resources and not of its men and women. Workers employed in the foreign concessions will be guarded by all the laws devised by the workers' republic for the protection of labor.

* * *

LIEUT.-COLONEL Cecil L'Estrange Malone, M. P., rose recently in the House of Commons to rebuke the Prime Minister for his repetition of the cant charge that there is "no democracy" in Soviet Russia. "Did they really have democracy in England?" asked Mr. Malone of his colleagues in Parliament. "Are our elections really free?" he inquired, and added "I got in by the same method as you got in." From his own experience Mr. Malone then described the processes of an English election.

"What happens when an election takes place, when great issues are before the country—new housing conditions, better industrial conditions, and all the hundred and one new social improvements that are required? A great newspaper magnate, or some other great influential interest controlling the newspapers, comes along two or three days before the election, and instead of the issues being real, vital issues which are before the country, what comes before the people? Hanging the Kaiser, making Germany pay, and all this futile rot which the people are asked to vote for instead of the really fundamental social basis which they should send people back to legislate for and to improve their conditions. Then, even if the people have the sense not to be bluffed, what happens? Last week we saw in this House something of the democratic legislation about which the Prime Minister boasts. In two hours last Wednesday 160,000,000 pounds of the tax-payers' money was voted through the House without a single word, or even half a word, of discussion. That is the democratic legislation of which the Prime Minister boasts. If anyone analyzes the electoral machinery of the country, it is the remotest possible form of real democracy. . . . On pure grounds of industrial democracy, election by industrial franchise is obviously and clearly more democratic than election by parliamentary representation, which confuses, combines and mixes up hundreds of different interests so that the real vital interests of the people are totally obscured."

Thus a member of the British Parliament on the alleged perfection of the British Parliamentary system.

JOHN REED

John Reed was born in Portland, Oregon, on October 22, 1887, and died in Moscow on October 17, 1920. His career as a newspaper and military correspondent, which he pursued up to the end of his thirtieth year, provided him with numerous opportunities for excitement and adventure. Among the countries he visited in the course of his journalistic expeditions were Mexico, Germany, Poland, Serbia, and Russia. Each of these countries added something to his view of life or provided him with an experience that helped to build up his mass of observation. In Mexico he learned to know the lot of the exploited land-serf; in Germany he came in contact with a temporarily triumphant militarism; in Poland he saw a nation being wrecked by the oscillating sweeps of opposing armies; in Serbia he found a primitive race of shepherds fleeing unarmed before the heaviest artillery in Europe.

His life in other countries is a life of adventure that recalls to the European admirer of the pioneer romances the audacious spirit that was one of the most attractive qualities of American life as seen from abroad. But his life after his sojourn in Russia during the Soviet Revolution, the Revolution of November 7, 1917, was different. His contact with the proletarian revolution was more a grip than a contact; it was to hold him in its grasp until he died. During the "Ten Days That Shook the World", John Reed received the immense stimulus that was to separate him forever from a life of mere adventure and to cement him definitely to the struggle of the working class for its emancipation. He returned to America in 1918, understanding that he was to occupy an important post in the employ of the Soviet Government. It happened that political considerations required his relinquishing this career, and in spite of a possible personal mortification or disappointment in this connection, he never permitted any feelings of this kind to interfere with his affection for the proletarian government to which he had definitely devoted the service of the rest of his life. The incidents in his life during the past few years are still alive in the memory of every friend of Soviet Russia. Many of us still remember the great meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York, at which John Reed addressed a large audience with the message of the new era at whose birth he had been permitted to be present. Many of us also remember the meetings he addressed in November, 1918, held in commemoration of the First Anniversary of the Revolution. His work in connection with American political conditions it is not our function to touch upon. That he was the first American to serve as a link between the United States and Soviet Russia there is no doubt. He was in Moscow since the Fall of 1919, although he left there at least once, early this year, to pass through Finland and return to America, which he did not succeed in doing. He lies buried under the Kremlin wall, together with other faithful men who fell in defence of Soviet Russia.

The Railway Situation in Soviet Russia

NEXT to the civil war and foreign wars, the solution of the railroad problem has been the paramount issue of the Soviet Republic. The history of the railroad situation in Russia, ever since the beginning of the World War, has been very illuminating with respect to its relation to the Russian Revolution. The efforts of the Allied Governments to prevent the entire breakdown of the Russian railway system are quite well known. Two commissions from the United States alone, composed of prominent engineers and railway men, were dispatched to Russia in the hope of saving the situation, but to no avail. The evils of the old government were too serious a handicap to be overcome by good advice from experts of foreign countries.

It was a very lamentable situation to which the Soviet Government fell heir upon the accomplishment of the November Revolution. From virtually nothing, the Workers' and Peasants' Government had to rebuild its railways. Here in the United States we are familiar with remarkable railroad undertakings and developments, but no situation has ever existed which paralleled the difficulties in this respect the Soviet Government has had to face. A transportation system at best inadequate, even under the most flourishing conditions before the war, was practically a complete wreck by the time of the Revolution. On top of this wars of counter-revolution and invasion had to be fought. That a distinct and well thought out policy of railway rehabilitation and extension was actually developed by Soviet Russia is perhaps one of the most remarkable tributes to this country of workers and peasants.

It should not be concluded, however, that Soviet Russia is by any means beyond its difficulties. The situation is improving, and the reason for it is revealed, for example, by the spirit and morale which has actuated the workers to engage, among other things, upon enterprises as are indicated below.

The Mobilization of Railway Workers

The Workers' and Peasants' Councils in the various railway centers have early inaugurated a systematic mobilization of all the local railway workers. All persons who, during the last ten years, have ever been in the service of railways either in the capacity of engineers, firemen, boiler-makers, machinists, trackworkers, agents, supervisors of all kinds, as well as many others, between the ages of 18 and 50 years, were called upon to report for the purpose of engaging in railway work. This movement was suggested from the central body of Workers and Peasants, and carried out at the discretion of the local groups.

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party also issued a circular with respect to the mobilization of all Communists to fight the disintegration of the transportation system. This

appeal is a model of earnestness, sincerity, and devotion to duty truly remarkable.

The groups they mobilized were organized into technical gangs and, by way of a start, a week of intensive work was inaugurated on every railway system. This step alone did a great deal to inject new life and spirit into the badly demoralized railway structure.

On the Nikolai and Murmansk Railway both regular railway men and periodic volunteers worked at high capacity. In the first place efforts were made to clean up all the equipment in need of light or so-called running repairs. As was to be expected, the workers dismantled those locomotives and cars which were beyond repair and utilized spare parts secured in this way for the repair of less seriously damaged rolling stock. Many box and cattle cars (*Teplushki*) were converted for passenger and military transport purposes. From available sources, in forests and elsewhere, great supplies of wood were gathered for locomotive, car and stationary heating purposes. Coal had become very scarce owing to the occupation of the coal regions by counter-revolutionary forces. At stations freight cars were promptly unloaded and returned to service. The permanent ways were repaired, switches and cuts cleared of snow and dirt. Scrap was carefully sorted, and materials which were reclaimable, properly transferred to centers of repair and construction.

The productivity of the shops was almost immediately increased by 70 per cent. In the course of the inaugural transportation week on the Murmansk Railway, 30 locomotives were rehabilitated and two badly ditched locomotives were derailed and repaired. Furthermore six locomotives were placed in condition to be forwarded to the large repair works at Petrograd, 21 passenger cars, 168 freight cars, and 43 *teplushki* were reconditioned. Much detail material for station purposes was manufactured.

Perhaps one of the most serious conditions with which the railway administration of Russia was confronted concerned itself with the condition in which the Denikin hordes left the railways in the Ukraine. The entire technical personnel in this region was forced to withdraw with the defeated and retreating bands. All drawings, maps, and instruments of any value whatsoever were either destroyed or stolen. The bridge situation was particularly serious. To the south and in the north of Kharkov over 47 bridges had been deliberately destroyed. The personnel of the railways worked heroically reconstructing them. Local expeditions were organized and dispatched to various badly affected portions of the railways for the purpose of getting them into shape. Naturally this rehabilitation work was seriously handicapped by lack of necessary materials. The demand was infinitely greater than the supply. Nevertheless, in a rela-

tively short time over 29 of the 47 destroyed bridges were gotten into condition for service.

The Inauguration of International Railway Service

The conclusion of peace between Esthonia and Russia, together with the gradual rejuvenation of the economic and social life of Russia resulting largely from the consistent and continuous efforts of the railway workers together with the partial lifting of the blockade, created new hopes and incentives for improving the railway situation. Thus the reestablishment of service between Esthonia, Petrograd, and Moscow became one of the really important problems. A progressive plan was evolved looking forward not only to the development of this particular portion of the service which was soon functioning smoothly, but to service with all other countries as well, as soon as they made peace with Russia.

Railway Numbers of the Daily "Economic Life"

In Moscow a daily paper entitled *Economic Life* is published by the Supreme Council of National Economy and Commissariats for Food, Finances, and Foreign Trade. During the height of the rehabilitation campaign two Sunday editions of this paper were entirely devoted to the fight against the disintegration of the railways. It was pointed out that the workers, who, after the November Revolution, took over the direction of the social and economic welfare of the country, have learned to realize clearly the great necessity of uninterrupted transportation service. Every locomotive, every car, has, in the eyes of the workers, become of great importance. The difficulties under which existence has been carried on in the last two years has made the question of railway service the most burning of life's problems for the proletariat. For only through its fortunate solution will a way be provided for workers to find themselves out of the difficulties and inhibitions which are their heritage from the old reactionary government of Russia.

The paper further points out in clear and precise terms the exact situation with respect to the railroads. Nothing was covered up for the purpose of misleading the large masses of workers. Untiringly were the workers informed of changes which took place from time to time, good achieved, losses suffered. It made no difference how things actually stood. The workers were told the truth. For the intention was to arouse their constant thinking and activity in behalf of the battle against gradual disintegration.

Thus very interesting and accurate figures were presented with respect to the condition of, for instance, the rolling stock. It was pointed out that the number of locomotives in actual service as compared with 1914 is only 25 per cent, or approximately 50 per cent of those which were in service during 1916. It is thus pointed out, as a logical conclusion to the situation as it actually is, that nothing is of greater importance than to repair wherever possible every available locomotive in the shortest possible time, and to provide with-

out delay, from whatever sources available, as many new locomotives as can be secured. The catastrophic condition of the railway situation has forced the following question to the fore.

Are the locomotive and car manufacturing facilities of Russia with an adequate supply of fuel, metals, and other necessary construction materials, as well as with workers, properly fed and clothed, capable of providing the estimated number of locomotives and cars needed so badly? Furthermore, in what time can this equipment be furnished by Russian plants? Making an assumption that the total length of the railways in Russia is 50,000 versts (33,333 miles) certain figures are derived with respect to immediate equipment needs. Thus assuming the normal to be 30 locomotives per 100 versts, at least 15,000 are necessary at the present time. And on the basis of the average Russian train length, normally 30 cars, the total number of cars required is 450,000.

At the present time there are approximately 10,000 locomotives and 250,000 freight cars available. Consequently it is estimated that at least 5,000 new locomotives and 200,000 new freight cars will have to be furnished in the near future.

In the years 1912-13, when the locomotive and car factories of Russia were taxed to their highest capacity, it was demonstrated that Russia could supply from 1,700 to 1,800 locomotives and 40,000 to 50,000 cars annually. When it is thus further considered that approximately 1,300 locomotives and 30,000 freight cars must be retired every year as no longer serviceable, it is revealed that the net rates of increase in locomotives and cars during the best days in Russia were approximately 500 and 15,000 respectively. Thus it appears, if Russia is dependent entirely upon its resources, provided certain detail material can be secured promptly from the outside, it will take at least 10 years to build the 5,000 locomotives immediately necessary, and at least 13½ years to provide the necessary 200,000 freight cars.

Actually the conclusion has been reached that this period of ten years for 5,000 locomotives and 13½ years for 200,000 freight cars must be cut at least in two. In order that this be accomplished it is intended as quickly as possible to utilize whatever locomotive and car building facilities are securable in foreign countries. Furthermore it is intended to rehabilitate as quickly as possible, through installation of new machinery, the severely taxed repair, and locomotive and car building facilities of Russia itself.

The foregoing part of the program of railway rehabilitation merely confines itself to the low rate of railway expansion which prevailed in Russia before the war. If Russia is to progress as it undoubtedly will, and if railway building receives the impetus it should under the revised economic system, additional large amounts of equipment will be needed for many new lines and branches.

New Railway Projects in Russia

Railway development, under the Czarist Govern-

ment, resulted in a net low level of railway improvement. The existing government has delegated the management and development of the entire railway system of Russia to the Commissariat of Ways and Communications. It has recognized very clearly the weaknesses of the old order of things, and has set about, in spite of many other pressing problems, to study and organize comprehensive projects for the improvement of its railway facilities. Coupled with this are plans for far-reaching developments in the mining and metallurgical fields, the increase of coal production in the Urals, Siberian, Don and Donetz regions, the development of hemp and cotton cultivation in Turkestan, the irrigation of barren and sterile lands, the developments of oil industries in the Embea and Ukha regions, the utilization of the vast lumber resources of the north and of Siberia, which are not only needed by Russia itself, but by foreign countries as well. And lastly, the vast agricultural developments of the new and as yet unpopulated parts of Siberia and Southeast Russia all are expected to contribute to the increased demands for new railways and waterways. A long and interesting story alone could be written on the remarkable economic possibilities which exist and which can be developed with an ever increasing rapidity after peace has once been established throughout Russia.

It has been pointed out very effectively during the last two or three months that nothing is perhaps of such great importance to the stabilization of economic conditions in the world as the reopening of the great granaries of Russia. At the basis of this whole situation lies the Russian railway problem. Consequently every car, every locomotive, every rail which in the future is supplied to Russia will help by just that much in the bringing about of improved living conditions so sadly desired the world over.

The plans which have thus far been developed for the extension of railway systems in Russia have been initiated and carried forward in most cases by the local communal units and authorities who are directly affected. The judgment of the representatives of these territories upon all questions connected with the future development of railways in their localities is always carefully sought. The period when these problems were solved in the remote depths of the Petrograd chancelleries has passed, and passed forever. The time has also passed when the final decision for the building of railway lines and their operation rested with this or that high-ranking, remote, disinterested government or financial official. The people of the different localities are encouraged to initiate plans and proposals for the extension of railway facilities. Local discussion of these problems the country over stimulates their thorough study and consideration from all sides and angles, so that satisfactory and permanent solutions may be eventually secured.

A list of the projects considered by the Commissariat of Ways and Communications, shortly

after its organization, in 1918, along the lines indicated above is given below. Previous to their submission to the central commissariat, they have been carefully studied by engineers and experts in conference with interested communities and regions. There are already many well worked out plans looking towards the realization of these proposals as soon as materials are available and the Red Army can be converted into a labor army for universal constructive service. Among such plans and projects the following may be mentioned:

1. *Kotlas-Soroki*. This line is proposed for carrying local freight, mainly timber, also freight from the Ural and Siberia directly to the Archangel and Murmansk coast, avoiding the Vologda Junction. Besides reducing the distance, this is extremely important because it relieves the congestion of the railroad line connecting Petrograd and Viatka. This congestion has been increasing each year so that the Vologda branch is no longer able to take care of all the freight although measures for its enlargement have been taken.

2. *Yekaterinburg-Sinarskaya and Shadrinsk-Kurgan*. This line is of extraordinary importance because it relieves *Kurgan-Chelyabinsk* and *Tumen-Omsk* sections of the Siberian railroad, which are overloaded even in peace times, and brings the Siberian freight nearer to the northern ports. When the *Kazan-Yekaterinburg* line will be completed the new projected line will open a direct outlet for Siberian freight to Moscow. This is very important, for it will supply central Russia with food-stuffs from southwestern Siberia.

3. *Tavda-Tobolsk* is of great importance because it connects the North Ural region with one of the biggest harbors of Northeastern Siberia.

4. *Kotlas-Solevarni-Verkhoturys-Tumen*. This line must be built next because the line *Viatka-Perm-Yekaterinburg-Kurgan*, with the increase of export, will soon become overloaded. It will not only reduce the transit for the Siberian and Ural freight, but will also attract much of the local shipments, and will be of great significance for colonization purposes.

5. *The second Kurgan-Omsk route*. Simultaneously with the building of the above lines, it is essential to build a second track on the Kurgan-Omsk railway without which it will be impossible to carry all the freight from Siberia shipped through this district going not only to the northwest, but also to Central Russia.

6. *Yermolino-Nizhni-Novgorod-Simbirsk-Kinel* will connect by direct line Petrograd with Turkestan, especially after the *Petrograd-Rybinsk* is completed. Besides its importance for long distance traffic this line will play an important part in the internal exchange of commodities and will facilitate the supply of the central industrial districts with cotton and foodstuffs because this line in its southeastern part will pass through grain-growing regions.

7. *Krasny-Kholm-Svir or Yaroslav-Povenetz*. The next preceding line must be provided with an outlet to the Murman coast. The two variants

Railways in European Russia



Indication of Railways:
 — in operation; - - - - under construction;
 ····· construction immediately required; ······ projected for future construction;
 — variant.

named in the title to this paragraph should be investigated from the economic and technical side. The latter direction, although longer, passes through a region better suited for colonization purposes.

8. *South-Siberian* trunk line. The construction of this line was begun early in 1918, but was interrupted by the Kolchak adventure. This road together with the *Orenburg-Orsk* railway and its junction with the Kulundinsk near Slavgorod is necessary for the transportation of food supplies. With the construction of this railway the granaries of the southwestern section of Siberia will find an outlet not only to the center of Russia, but also to foreign countries. In the near future when Barnaul is connected with Kuznetsk, a new outlet will be provided from the Altai district.

9. *Rybinsk-Krasnoufimsk-Ufa-Ishim-Yeniseisk-Pacific Coast*. Next in order comes this line owing to its great economic, transit, and colonization importance. It is the second more northerly Trans-Siberian trunk line which connects Petrograd with the Pacific coast by the shortest route, through one of the ports on the Amur where it empties into the Gulf of Tartary.

10. *The Trans-Volga region railroad*. For a more complete connection on the northern ports with the industrial centers, and serving them, it will be necessary in the near future to consider the construction of the Trans-Volga region railroad through Kazan to the station Mahturovo of the Northern Railway line, thence either to the line of intersection of the *Kotlas-Soroki* with the Archangel line, or to the city of Povenetz and the Murmansk Railway. The choice between these two directions will entirely depend upon the results of the technical and economic surveys.

Railway Lines Important for the Interior of Russia

Besides the railway lines necessary for transit purposes in both internal traffic and the export to foreign countries, it is necessary to build a whole chain of trunk lines of great economic importance, mainly for Russia proper. Among the railroad lines which should be built in the first place are the following:

11. *Saratov-Chernyshevskaya* with a branch to the station Millerovo and a continuation to one of the ports of the Azov sea, and the building of a bridge across the Volga at Saratov to be built without delay. The construction of this line and bridge, together with the completion of the lines *Troitsk-Ursk-Orenburg-Orsk* and *Uralsk-Iletsk* will provide the shortest route for the exchange of commodities between the Donetz Basin and the Azov Sea on one side and the Trans-Volga region on the other.

No matter what the political relations between the different parts of Russia may be, the exchange of commodities on these lines is bound to go on very intensively, because only the Donetz Basin can supply the Trans-Volga region with coal, conveying it further to the Ural ore-beds. To be sure

the Kuznetsk coal region is farther removed from the Urals and yet the railway lines for transporting this fuel to the Urals are still but a project. The building of those lines is more difficult, more expensive and not so important as the branch under consideration. Returning cars on this line can carry to the ports for export the food supply from the grain producing Volga region.

12. *Nikolaevsk-Samara* or *Saratov-Samara*. One of these lines must be built for straightening the coal route from the Donetz Basin to the Ural in connection with the construction of the railroad *Saratov-Azov Sea*. At a conference in Saratov the *Urban-Balakovo-Samara* line was also considered for serving the same region.

13. *Orenburg-Ufa-Perm*. A start has been made on the construction of the line *Orenburg-Ufa* which has a purely local character. In order to utilize this branch for transport of the rich northern mineral resources of the Urals it is necessary to extend it to Kungur or Perm.

14. *Kiskan-Begdyash*. Approximately in this direction a line must be built to take care of the mine districts of the Southern Ural slope (Kornovsky, Magnitnaya mountain, etc.).

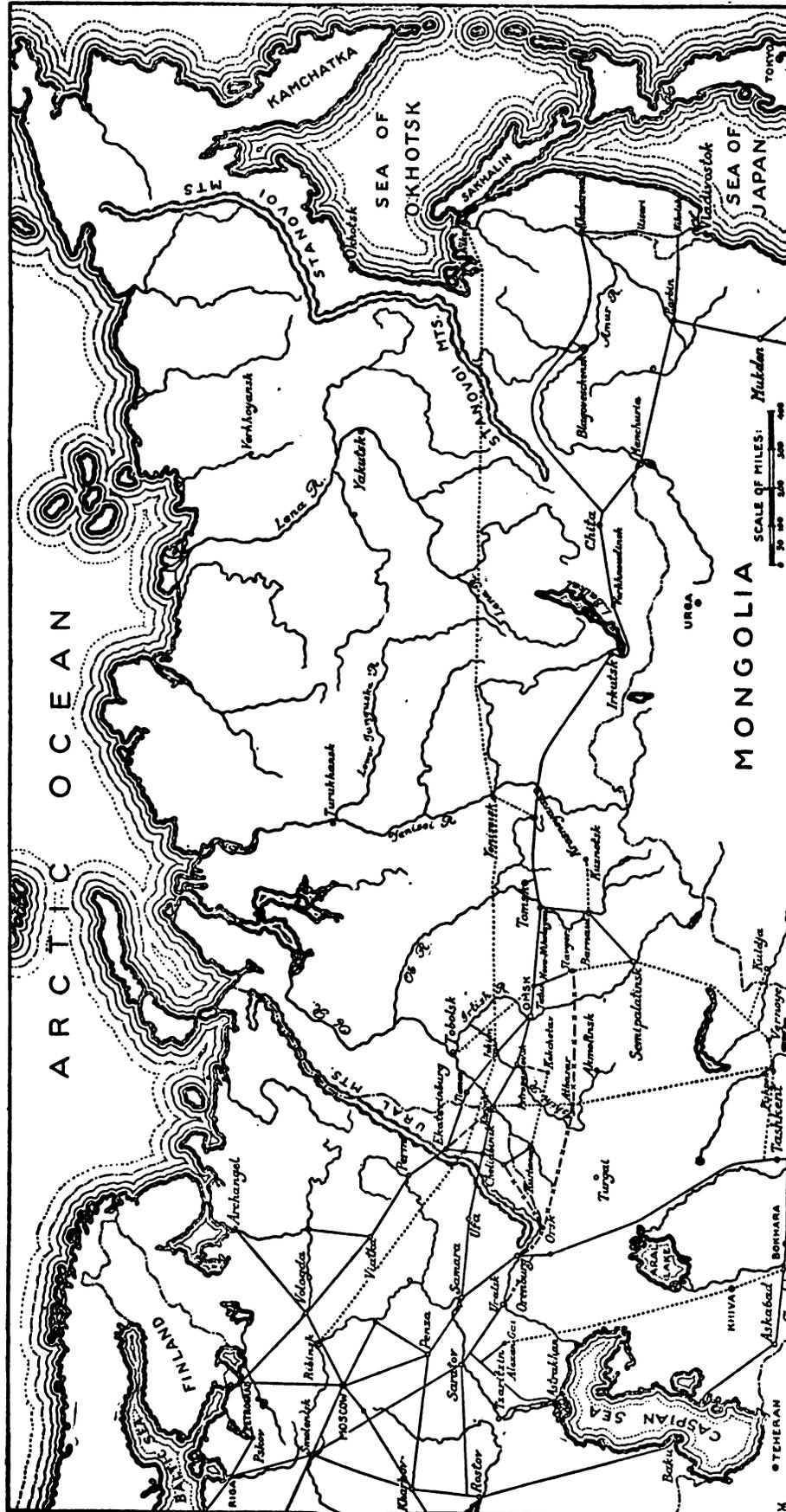
15. *Moscow-Donetz-Basin-Azov Sea*. This line is of the same importance for the Moscow region as the line *Saratov-Azov Sea* has for the Trans-Volga regions and the Ural. Until the political situation clears up, it will be necessary to postpone the building of this line, but it has to be kept in view for the first opportunity. In the same category belongs the long planned *Kozlov-Swyat* or *Krest-Vladikavkas* line.

16. *Inza-Penza-Tokarevka-Kharkov*. The building of this line, at least that part which will connect with the line *Moscow-Donetz Basin*, should be begun immediately, upon our internal life becoming more or less normal. This line will bring order into the whole railway net of the region, for it will help to relieve the existing congestion of the lines and enable it to take on new freight from the entire maze of new lines in the region which are being or will be built later.

17. *Aleksandrov-Gai-Chardjuv*. This line will be important for the internal exchange of commodities. It will relieve the *Orenburg-Tashkent* railroad and will supply the central industrial region with cotton from the district of Amu-Darya, and with petroleum from the district of Embinsk. With the further development of cotton culture in Central Asia and with the occupation of all available land for cotton raising, the growing population of the cotton region could be supplied by the same railway line from the Trans-Volga region with grain and other commodities of prime importance.

18. *Petropavlovsk-Kokchetav-Chiderty*. It has been found that the first section of the line should be built during the year, because of its importance in provisioning the region. The importance of this line will grow considerably when extended to Chiderty on the Southern-Siberian railway (under construction) as it will make possible the exchange

Railways in Siberia



*Indication of Railways:
 — in operation; - - - - - under construction; projected for future construction.*

of commodities between northern Siberia, rich in timber, and the Altay region, rich in agricultural products. In addition to this, between Kokchetav and Chiderty, there are beams of excellent quality coal, which is of great importance in supplying fuel to the railway and the iron industry of the Ural.

19. *Kurgan-Atbasar-Pishpek*. Of almost equal importance as the previous line is the line *Kurgan-Atbasar*. The construction of this line will find a new outlet for provision cargoes from the southwest of Siberia to the center through the completed line *Kazan-Yekaterinburg* and the line *Shadrinsk-Kurgan*. The latter line must needs be started during the current year, and if possible, a temporary traffic over the line should be opened during the food supply campaign. By continuing this line to Pishpek through the Spassky works access will be secured for food supply freight to Turkestan, thus making a short cut between Turkestan, and the western part of Siberia and the territory adjoining the Ural.

20. *Inzo-Kokchetav*. Permission to survey the ground for this line was evidently given prematurely, as its local and transit importance can not be ascertained until the Southern-Siberian line has been built. In the near future it would be sufficient to survey and, if the results prove satisfactory, to build the line *Kustanay-Kokchetav*, which is important for provision transit.

21. *Barnaul-Kuznetzk*. Construction should be undertaken immediately after completing the Southern-Siberian line or possibly simultaneously with it, in view of the fact that it will supply the latter line and all others planned in the region with fuel from the close-by Kuznetzk coal-mine district.

22. *Kuznetzk-Telbes*. Necessary to be built for rendering more complete services to the Kuznetzk coal-mine district.

23. *Slavgorod-Semipalatinsk-Verny* with a branch to *Kulja*. This line is a natural continuation of the Kulundinsk railroad, connecting it with Semipalatinsk and will be of great importance for exchange of grain and lumber material between northern and southern Siberia and Turkestan.

24. *Tobolsk-Tatarskaya*. Increases the importance of the above trunk line, because it will furnish the shortest route for the cheap Altai grain not only to the north of Siberia, but even farther to North European Russia and its northern ports.

Lines Important for Colonization Purposes

25. *Perm-Pechora* (near Uakshinsk) is to connect for the first time the rich Pechora region with the railway-net of Russia.

26. *Kotlas-Ob* (through Yakshinsk to the port Chemashovskaya). With the building of this line timber-material will have access to the northern ports. After the war this timber will be extensively exported abroad from the basins of the Pechora and the Ob.

27. *Kostroma-Manturovo-Kotlas*. This line must attract timber material to the center of Russia, and on return hauls will distribute the Volga freights among the counties of the Vologda and Kostroma Provinces. It will also cross the best farm lands of the province of Vologda—the region of flax cultivation—and will hasten a transition to higher forms of agricultural economy (the manufacture of oil) for which there are very favorable conditions.

28. *The Bay of Indiga-Ust-Tzilma-Yakshinskaya* and further to *Tobolsk or Turinsk*. This line is to be surveyed next. Aside from its importance for colonization purposes, this line, in case it is possible to build at Indigskaya Gooba, a good port, protected from Arctic ice, will be the shortest trunk line for the transportation of Siberian and Ural freights to the Arctic Ocean.

29. *Archangelsk-Mezen-Shilma*. It has been planned by the technical conference of Petrograd. Yet the significance of this line, and still more its urgency is problematic and, therefore, it is necessary only to survey the line most carefully from the technical and economic points and put it on the list of constructions only in case of weighty results obtained by the survey.

Branch Lines of Industrial and Local Importance

A well laid railway plan for connecting the industrial centers, factories, plants, mines with trunk lines by means of branches is necessary for the development of local industries. Such branch lines must be laid out for the Ural, Altai, and the Embinsk petroleum district, in the industrial center, etc. The most important ones, however, many of which have been partly begun, are the following:

30. *Tom-Bogoslovskaya* line connects the station Kemerovo of the Kemerovo branch of the Kolchuginskaya railroad with the Altai coal mines of the former Bogoslovsky Company in order to supply the Bogoslovsky metallurgical district with coking coal. Construction has been started and must be finished without further delay.

31. *Ugolbaya* line from the Nadezhdinsk Works to the coal mines of Bogoslov.

32. *Samarskaya* railroad from the Nadeshdinsk Works to the Samarsky region of iron ore-beds.

33. *Bogomolovskaya* line from the station Verkhnyaya on the Bogoslovskaya railway to the copper-pyrite beds of Bogomolovsk.

34. *Sosvinskaya* narrow gauge line from the Nadeshdinsk Works to the Sosvinsk Works to connect the Siberian water-system. *Tumen-Irtyshtobol-Tavda-Sosva*, with the district of Bogoslov and with the county of Verkhoturys in general.

The value of the last four branches is plain. Their construction has already started and it is necessary to complete them in the nearest future. In the mining region of Verkh-Isetsk four other branch lines have been begun, the completion of which at a near date is absolutely essential for the development of the activity of mills in these regions.

35. *Karpushinskaya narrow track line.*
36. *Pyshminskaya narrow gauge line.*
37. *Cheremshanskaya broad gauge coal-carrying branch.*
38. *Bursunskaya broad gauge coal-carrying branch.* The construction of the following branch lines must also be begun immediately in the central industrial region:
39. *Kirshach-Oreykhovo.* Establishes a passage of the southern transit freight to the north, avoiding the Moscow "Knot", intersects the peat beds and passes through the factory district.
40. *Sereda-Ples.* Creates a new outlet from the Shuysky-Ivanovsky district to the Volga, unloads the port of Kineshma and the railway divisions *Kineshma-Yermolino* and *Novki-Shuya.*
41. *Makaryev-Semenov,* which crosses the forest low land estates, undeveloped owing to the lack of railway facilities. This line will open an outlet for the lumber freight to Nizhni and to the Volga.
- Furthermore, construction of the following lines must also be considered for the near future:
42. *Vichuga-Yuryevetz.* Must serve for receiving lumber material, floated down the rivers Volga, Unzhe, and Nemde for the Moscow and Ivanovsk district and for satisfying the local trades.
43. *Kalyazin-Novki.* Is of great importance for the lumber trade and industrial enterprises of the central region. It will shorten the transit

between Petrograd and the regions of Nizhni and Vladimir.

44. *Uglich-Rybinsk.* Gives direct connection between Rybinsk and Moscow, passes through forest lands and is of great local importance.

45. *Belkovo-Chelkovo* brings Moscow within reach of Shyusky-Ivanovsky industrial region.

46. *Tambov-Morshansk,* passes through localities rich in forests.

47. *The Dolgorukov branch* from the station Elnya on the Ryazan-Uralsk railroad is also necessary for the exploitation of the local wealth of lumber.

48. *Iletzk-Orsk* shortens the haul.

49. *Fatezh-Malo-Archangelsk* is of importance for the transportation of provisions.

50. *Mishkino-Kurtamysh* is also important for transportation of provisions, though less so than the line *Kurgan-Atbassar,* with which it must compete.

Two maps indicating nearly all of the projected lines mentioned in the foregoing accompany this article. Reference thereto will be of great interest in explaining the details referred to.

The foregoing information which has been gleaned from many important and reliable reports issued by the local and central railway administrations in Russia, amply reveals the fact originally pointed out that a very far-reaching and thorough policy in railway rehabilitation and extension is in the making at the present time in Russia.

Notes on Russia

By WILLIAM HERZOG

(May—August, 1920)

June 1, 1920. We are on our way to Samara. A ship is coming towards us. There is music on board.

At 10.30 in the morning a drive through the city with Russell and Mrs. Harrison. The others in autos to the Soviet House, where a meeting is to take place. We stroll through the streets of the very ugly city. Dirty and without individuality. In the main street in front of the church we meet a slender little woman who is carrying three great round loaves of bread in her two hands. Mrs. Harrison draws her into conversation in Russian, and a man joins our group. He says he is a Jewish worker. He and the woman speak a broken German. Both are complaining. It has never been as bad as this. Nothing to eat, laments the woman with the three loaves of bread. No freedom, wails the alleged worker. It is true, he adds—when I question him in what respect the Jews had been better off under the Czarist rule—it is true the Jews suffered no longer as a race, they have equal rights with the others; but the cost of living is so dreadfully high. As on a phonograph this world-wide complaint is repeated over and over, and yet it loses nothing of its justification by this constant repetition.

The woman invites us to her home. We follow her, curious to see how these plaintive petty bourgeois really exist. So far as we could see, their home, consisting of three or four rooms, was furnished with the customary bourgeois fittings. Her husband, whom she introduced to us, had been a master tailor. Together they bewailed two grown sons who were in America, one of them an engineer, the other a physician, and at the sight of the neat photographs of these two good sons all the smug vanity of the bourgeois came out to bask in the sun of his family pride. The woman continued to whine about everything and nothing, raged against the Terror, told stories of atrocities, and every look and every word begged sympathy. We were soon to learn how much sympathy she really deserved. The proof of the justification for her complaints followed immediately. She invited us to tea, implored us to remain, that we were a godsend to her, for now she could cry out her sorrow over the misery and the suffering which had come over Russia. And when we declined, she went out, and with the evident intention of tempting us to remain, returned with a loaf of the purest white bread which I had seen in six years. She declared that she knew what was due to German

guests, and there should be no lack of genuine tea and sugar. When I delicately hinted that their condition could hardly be so deplorable, since they had such beautiful white flour for their bread, she smiled slyly, and her little eyes became like two pinheads: "Oh, I have been storing that flour for two years!" And the sugar and the genuine tea and the butter, also, most probably. However we investigated no further, for our doubts in the beginning turned to certainty that all her crying and whining about misery, and the cruelty of the Soviet authorities was due to the fear of being arrested as a speculator. We thanked her very cordially for the view she had allowed us of her house, and left this hospitable little usurer, who for obvious reasons could be no friend of a new order so foreign to her thought and feeling.

But it is important to realize that aside from the counter-revolutionists of aristocratic and capitalist extraction none are so dangerous to the Bolsheviks as just this stratum of open and secret enemies, these petty profiteers and speculators.

* * *

At the house of the German pastor, by the name of Lintius. He is out of the city. His wife, a lanky lady wearing gold spectacles, receives us in his library. She obligingly answers all our questions for information. In a very matter of fact manner, simply and decisively, this woman, whose philosophy and whose whole nature must make her anything but a friend of the Bolsheviks, draws for us a graphic and unvarnished picture of the true conditions, and of the difficulties and the efforts of the Communists to prepare a sound foundation for the improvement of the people's condition.

With a few simple illustrations she describes for us every-day life:

The workers (who belong to the first category) receive a daily ration of one pound of good bread. The second category receives three-quarters of a pound a day. Aside from this only one-half pound of salt and two boxes of matches per month are furnished. There should also be meat, fish and oil rations, but none of these supplies are given out. One egg costs forty rubles, one pound of butter from 1,000 to 1,500 rubles.

The children's food dispensaries receive the confiscated supplies of the speculators. The children have the best of it. They receive a nourishing soup with a piece of meat and tasty gruel for lunch. Samara alone has sixteen of these children's dispensaries. All the children in these institutions look well-nourished and well-dressed.

* * *

Shortly after our return to the ship we are visited by the Commander of the Military District of the Volga, Baltiski. This former Czarist officer and member of the great General Staff, is in the service of the Revolution since 1917. He answered my questions for information in the most amiable manner. The soldier in the Red Army receives 1,000 rubles per month, the non-commissioned officer 2,000 rubles, the commissioned of-

ficer 3,000 rubles. The higher officers up to the general of any army 6,000 rubles.

Last year the class of 1901 was drafted. Every man possible is taken on. The general temper of the army: that of the victor.

* * *

At seven in the evening, a meeting of the Soviet of Samara. In a great theater. The pictures of Karl Marx, Liebknecht, Lenin, Trotsky in the lobby, on the stage, around the house. Red flags, standards, banners bearing revolutionary slogans are seen before the wings. A great band from the Red Army strikes up the Internationale. The enthusiastic mass in its great unity, its palpable longing with which it appeals to the foreign delegates, and which culminates in the barely spoken and yet so audible cry: "Carry on the work which we have started", is powerful and compelling.

There is no doubt: the English delegates are waking illusions, hopes, in the breasts of the Russian proletariat. Will they fulfill these hopes? The masses are being stirred up by the representatives of a nation whose government is using Poland and Baron Wrangel to make war on them. These representatives of the English working class are being welcomed by the Russian proletariat with a touching enthusiasm. They are being cheered. The Russian proletariat, of whatever party, expects powerful assistance from the English. Very soon. Are they mistaken? Will they be disappointed again? The Englishmen, whose words often sound revolutionary, seem honest citizens, reformist-opportunistic Socialists. Arrived, self-satisfied, enjoying their position, at peace with the world. No revolutionary, class-conscious fighters.

TERROR IN RUSSIA

"There were two 'Reigns of Terror', if we would but remember it and consider it; the one wrought in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years; the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred millions; but our shudders are all for the 'horrors' of the minor Terror, whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe compared with lifelong death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty, and heartbreak? What is swift death by lightning compared with slow fire at the stake? A city cemetery could contain the coffins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror—that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror which none of us had been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves."—A YANKEE IN KING ARTHUR'S COURT.—Mark Twain.

The Intrigues of the Officials of the Cooperatives

Statement of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission

IN THE period when foundations were being laid for the rehabilitation of the economic life of the country the Soviet power was naturally and inevitably constrained to make use of the services and experience of the old cooperators to supply and distribute the necessaries of life to the populace. Favored at times with great confidence from the organs of our power and working apparently hand in hand with them, the cooperators have always maintained that despite the divergence of political convictions and views with regard to the world events which are now developing and with regard to the course of our revolution they can nevertheless work conscientiously and honestly in conjunction with the Communists on the basis of the cooperatives, since the latter are absolutely neutral. The favorite refrain of the leaders of the old cooperatives, which have outlived their usefulness, to justify their existence was the allegation that the cooperatives were non-political, that their activity was of a purely humanitarian character, similar to the activity of the Red Cross, that they did not interfere with the political activity of the ruling power, and so forth. But all these were only phrases. Actually the "neutrality" towards the Soviet power took the form of a camouflaged underground struggle against the entire course of our economic policy within the country, while beyond the Soviet boundaries the leaders of the cooperatives, finding themselves within the sphere of the White Guardists, immediately threw off the mask of "neutrality" and in this case sincerely and cheerfully joined the united front of the enemies of Bolshevism.

Thus, for instance, in his report to Denikin, which was published in the *Bulletin of the Cooperatives of South Russia* No. 2, of December 10, 1919, a member of the Governing Board of the *Centrosoyuz*, Mr. N. M. Mikhailov, wrote: "Wherever the cooperative organizations found themselves in the sphere of influence of the Volunteer Army they immediately and this time sincerely and willingly established close relations with you, sometimes suffering bitterly from the Bolsheviks when the Bolshevik power would be temporarily restored."

At the present time the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission is in possession of ample materials disclosing with incontestable clearness this underground side of the activity of the group of old cooperators that has still remained in the Governing Board of the *Centrosoyuz*. In the course of the investigation made in connection with the case about the abuses in the Petrograd branches of the *Centrosoyuz* and *Centrosectsia* (which abuses had taken place before the fusion of these two organizations into one) it was established that the above-mentioned group, behind the back of the other part of the Governing Board, was carrying on its secret activity which conflicted with the interests

of and the tasks set by the Soviet power. Having connections with the center of the Russian cooperatives in the western countries through Mr. A. M. Berkenheim, who found his way to England and played there such a "sensational" role in the question of the resumption of trade relations, this group was receiving from him instructions and directions which, in the last analysis, aimed at the restoration in Russia of free trade, of the denationalization of the banks and so forth, that is in other words, at the overthrow of the Soviet power through economic means, which is fully in accord with the theses of Mikhailov propounded in his report to Denikin.

Thus, last year, on the eve of the expected occupation of Petrograd,* the aforementioned part of the *Centrosoyuz* gave directions to V. N. Krokhmal (formerly a member of the Menshevik Central Committee), in accord with instructions which they received from England from Berkenheim, with regard to a number of financial operations and to the further activity of the Petrograd branch in the event that Petrograd would be captured by the Whites, the instructions clearly revealing the hand of the hidden instigators, namely foreign capital. Among other things the instructions state:

"Find export commodities, spend for the purchase of these commodities all the means in your possession, spend all that you will obtain from the sale of our goods, and send everything to us. Do not worry about profits. Sell at the prices that you can get, and the profits or losses we will count afterwards. And don't be too particular with regard to the commodities (for export). Flax, hemp, lumber, we can use everything. Even books. We have heard that there are in Petrograd editions of the Russian classics at comparatively low prices, and these goods are now in great demand here. We recommend that you seriously consider this question. In the lists of export commodities you should not confine yourselves to Petrograd, you should investigate also the surrounding district, of course, leaving a certain part of the commodities for the district. If necessary, you should establish contact with and work through other cooperative organizations. In general, this is an important matter just now, and the whole future of our relations depends on its successful solution."

On the basis of these data the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission found it necessary to arrest the members of the Governing Board of the *Centrosoyuz*, D. S. Korobov, V. A. Kuznetsov and Lavrukhin, and to undertake a thorough investigation of this case.

Chairman of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, DZIERZYNSKI.

* By Yudenich.

Order of the Council of People's Commissars

On becoming cognizant, through the report of the Chairman of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, of the charges brought against a group of members of the Governing Board of the *Centrosoyuz*, the Council of People's Commissars resolved: that, while the case is pending, the following persons shall be suspended from the Governing Board: Korobov, Lavrukhin and Kuznetsov, who are under arrest; Selgeim, Lenskaya, Vakhmistrov and Mikhailov, who are abroad, and their three substitutes in Moscow, Sakharov, Pruss and Sergeiev.

*Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, ULIANOV (LENIN),
Chief Clerk, BONCH-BRUYEVICH,
Secretary, L. FOTYEVA.*

April 22, 1920.

APPEAL TO OFFICERS IN WRANGEL'S ARMY

CHRISTIANIA, September 14, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—Officers of Baron Wrangel's army! Time and experience must have shown you clearly what a criminal role was imposed upon you by your leader. While toiling Russia bleeds in the struggle with the Polish nobility aided by the robbers of all lands, you, Russian officers, are playing the part of auxiliaries to the Polish landlords. Who is leading you? A Russo-German baron who has intrigued against Denikin, accusing him of undue democracy and who represents monarchist Russia. Aware of his impotence, Wrangel is ready to yield to his lords and protectors three-fourths of Russia in order to enslave the remainder himself. English newspapers have revealed Wrangel's secret pacts with the French Government. According to the *Daily Telegraph* of August 19, Wrangel has ceded to a French syndicate the monopoly of export and import in all South Russian ports. The *Daily Herald* of August 30 states that Wrangel has accorded to the French bourgeoisie the right to exploit all railways of European Russia, the control of grain export at pre-war prices, and three-fourths of the production of coal and naphtha. Everything Wrangel does depends on the favors of Anglo-French capitalists, who for the sake of economic subjugation of the Russian people are ready to use any one, whether Czecho-Slovaks, black colonials, or Wrangel's hordes. Whatever original purposes you may have had, you are now but the hirelings of Capital, and the prop of the Polish aristocracy that has always hated the toilers of Russia. Wrangel's efforts to occupy the Caucasus have been thwarted, his landing parties have been destroyed. Sooner or later your master will suffer a terrible defeat. You cannot doubt this any longer; but the event will be achieved at the price of your blood and ours, and of new privations for our country. Have you not had a lesson? Is it not clear that all further strife only strengthens the Polish lords, and helps them to subjugate East Galician and Russian territory? The new Russia of the workers and peas-

ants is in need of labor and of economic and cultural reconstruction. This can be attained only with the termination of this senseless and purposeless civil war. In the name of all that is honest in Russia, guided by the need of reconstruction of laboring Russia, we appeal to you: Give up your role of hirelings of Poland, of the French usurers. Lay down the weapons that you are using against your brothers, and freely join the Soviet power. Officers of Wrangel's army! The Government of Workers and Peasants for the last time extends to you the hand of reconciliation.

*President of the Central Executive Committee,
N. KALININ.
President of the Council of People's Commissars,
ULIANOV, (N. LENIN).
President of the Military Revolutionary Council
of the Republic, L. TROTSKY.
President of the Extraordinary Council of the
General Staff, A. BRUSILOV.*

PRESS LIES REPUDIATED

Moscow, October 18.—Every day brings new absurd inventions about Russia. The latest fairy tale is about alleged rising in Moscow. This is a pure invention. There is not the least ground for this absurd fabrication as complete order reigns in Moscow. There are no disturbances, no anti-Soviet movement; there is not the least trace of any unrest.

Moscow, October 15.—The news about an alleged rising of sailors in Petrograd is an absurd lie. Nothing of the sort has happened. Reports about the alleged creation of an anti-Bolshevik government in Nizhni-Novgorod are totally untrue, pure inventions. Also Budenny never rose. He remains unswervingly faithful to the Soviet Government. There has been no rising of insurgents in Kiev. At present there is in the capitalist press a general orgy of calumnies and lies.

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Wireless and Other News

TROTSKY TO THE RED FLEET

Moscow, September 25, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—Trotsky has addressed the following order to the Red Fleet: The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers, Peasants, and Cossacks decided on September 23 to propose a ten day's armistice to the Polish Government and to sign the preliminaries of a peace treaty. In doing so the Central Executive Committee has given proof of an extraordinary spirit of conciliation having in view the end of hostilities as soon as possible. Red soldiers and sailors should remember that we have not waged war for conquest, annexations, contributions, or glory. We are defending the Republic of Workers and Peasants. We are waging war for peace. Not at the price of blood, but concessions do we intend to attain peace. Our supreme power, the Central Executive Committee, is making today an effort to spare the working masses of Soviet Russia a fourth winter campaign. Each Red sailor should comprehend the meaning of this decision. All commanders and all political and military commissars of the Red Fleet, and of the sailors' formations on land, are ordered to communicate and explain these decisions to the sailors.

GENERAL WRANGEL

ODESSA, September 25, 1920.—General Wrangel, accompanied by a foreign military mission and newspaper correspondents, left for camp. In saluting one of his regiments the general declared that he and his army fought, not merely to annihilate Bolshevism and to redeem Russia, but to save the culture of the world. That his faithful army was the only power which would break the waves of Red Internationalism that are extending over all western Europe and are threatening to invade America.

BAKU HAS NOT BEEN EVACUATED

Moscow, September 25, 1920.—Chicherin has telegraphed to Litvinov as follows: "The news spread by radio press concerning the pretended evacuation of Baku is absolutely false and absurd. It is contrary to truth."

CONGRESS OF THE METALLURGICAL WORKERS

Moscow, September 24, 1920.—The International Congress of Metallurgical Workers, representing three million workers, has passed a resolution against the capitalist war with Soviet Russia. The Congress requested all organizations to prevent most energetically the war waged by international capitalism against proletarian Russia. This war is not directed against Russia alone, but also against Socialism. The congress protested against the White Terror in Hungary.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

Moscow, September 25, 1920.—According to the report of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade the commercial relations of Russia with foreign countries is improving daily. Over two million poods of merchandise have been imported from Sweden, Germany, and England. Canada has permitted Russia to open credit in Canadian banks. Russia has ordered, in Czecho-Slovakia and other countries, great quantities of agricultural and other merchandise. Russia actually has at her disposal merchandise valued at one hundred million dollars ready for export. This does not include stocks of cereals, oil and wood stored in distant provinces.

CULTURAL WORK IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, September 29, 1920.—Some Russian factories have commenced the production of paper, but not in sufficiently large quantities. To spread the daily news among the working masses, the Soviets post the journals which are read by millions throughout Russia. There is also a spoken journal which is very popular among illiterates. It is read publicly by some one in the villages, and is greatly enjoyed by the villagers.

The Central Committee of the All-Russian Federation of Arts, with a membership of 150,000, sends its fraternal greetings to all the writers and artists of the West. The committee expresses its conviction that the proletariat alone can guarantee the free development of art.

At the third session of the Central Executive Committee, the Commissar of Public Instruction has given the details of the steady increase of primary schools. The number has grown from 55,000 in 1911, and 73,000 in 1918, to 87,000 in 1920. The schools are attended by five million children.

Moscow, September 25, 1920.—The Commissariat of Public Instruction intends to found a university in Tashkent (Turkestan).

A RUSSIAN SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION

Moscow, September 25, 1920.—The steamer *Delphin*, having on board a scientific mission sent by the Soviet Government to Kanin Nos, has arrived at Archangel. The ship also carried several thousand poods of fish.

KALININ IN THE CAUCASUS

Moscow, September 24, 1920.—During his sojourn in the Caucasus, in the village of Armavir, the president the Central Executive Committee, Kalinin, made the acquaintance of the local priest. The latter was converted to Communism, and issued an appeal to the population inviting them to support Soviet Russia with all their strength.

TROTSKY TO INTERNED SOLDIERS

Trotsky has addressed the following letter to Red soldiers interned in Germany:

Moscow, September 29, 1920.—Bourgeois Germany wishes to exploit the internment of Red troops in Eastern Prussia to arouse differences between the officers and the Red soldiers, and even to recruit troops to Wrangel's cause. This counter-revolutionary propaganda will bear no fruit unless our interned brothers are neglected. This must not be. The interned soldier should observe that the preponderant majority of the German people, themselves suffering under the yoke of the Entente, have naught but sentiments of sympathy and fraternal solidarity for the Red Army. The millions of German workers are with us. Our brothers in Eastern Prussia must know and feel that we have not forgotten them, that we have fulfilled our promises, and that Soviet Russia is thinking of them. Moreover, our comrades must conduct themselves in their difficult situation in captivity as they did in the Red Army in Russia, namely, as conscious militants of the international proletariat. The moral solidarity of all comrades must not weaken. All honest soldiers of the Red Army must evince abroad the same discipline and conscious solidarity. Provocateurs and traitors must be expelled from the community of Red soldiers. Fraternal greetings to our interned Red soldiers! Be brave and disciplined Communists!

NORWAY AND RUSSIA

The following communication was sent to the Government of Norway:

The Central Governing Body of the Northern Workers' Party and the Secretariat for the National Trade Union Organizations of Workers have been eagerly following the public discussions arising with regard to commercial relations with Russia. It is clear from the agitation going on in the bourgeois press that powerful forces are at work attempting to prevent a commercial agreement with Russia. It has also been publicly announced, without later denial, that the French Government through its representative in Christiania has made representations to the Norwegian Government on the subject of the sojourn of Litvinov, Representative of Soviet Russia, in Christiania. The Secretariat and the Central Governing Body are of the opinion that the government's view of the question does not coincide with the interests of the Norwegian people. And this our view has been strengthened by the manner in which the authorities (particularly the policy of the city of Bergen) have acted towards the Russian Trade Delegation which recently was in Christiania.

In this connection we lodged a firm protest against such treatment of foreigners who come to this country as guests of the Norwegian working class. Both the National Organization and the Party will in the future take every step to prevent the re-occurrence of such incidents.

As for the commercial relations with Russia, it must be demanded that the government should meet half-way the request to bring about a commercial agreement which will make it possible for Russia to carry on regular trade in Norway. This is a demand which first of all concerns the fishing population, but also the rest of the working class, in fact, the entire Norwegian people; for all are interested in securing for one of the country's most important occupations conditions to develop without any artificial obstructions.

For the Norwegian Workers' Party,

KYREE GREPP.

For the National Trade Union Organization of Workers, OLE O. LIAN.

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA

VIENNA, October 1, 1920.—The press publishes from time to time alarming news about Russia. According to these reports, rebellions, internal troubles, famines, etc., are the order of the day in Russia. The false news is almost always spread at the moment when the western workers make an assault upon capitalism. On the occasion of the recent action of the Italian workmen, for instance, a counter-revolution in Petrograd was featured. The news is almost always dated at Helsingfors, Stockholm, Viborg, or Reval, and relates a conspiracy against the People's Commissars, the assassination of Lenin by Trotsky, or describes battles in the streets of Moscow, etc. The anti-Bolshevik journal, *New Russia*, gives a list of anti-Bolshevik agencies. Here are the names: Berlin, A. V. Ditmar, Schellingstrasse, 2, Hotel Schneider; Vienna, J. Perski, Wahrungstrasse 5; Hungary, Budapest, A. Chariton, Terezkornt, 34; Czecho-Slovakia, Prague, I. Klopotosky, Tabor-sky 15; Poland, Warsaw, H. Tennenbaum, Nowolipie; Finland, Helsingfors, Alman, Pressbyrg, Asplanadgatte 23; Terioki, Mme. Bogdanov; Greece, Athens, Letteraidolis and Barth, Librairie Internationale; Latvia, Riga, Ed. Petzhold, Schlummeala; Esthonia, Reval, A. Pumpinsky; South Russia, Sebastopol, office of *Zarya Rossii*; New York, office of *Russkoye Slovo*.

RUSSIANS ARRESTED IN ALEXANDRIA

ODESSA, September 25, 1920.—The police of Alexandria have arrested three Russians accused of having attempted to blow up transports of munitions destined to go to Wrangel.

HARVESTING IN RUSSIA

Moscow, September 25, 1920.—In the governments of Perm, Vladimir, Tambov, etc., the crops are being gathered very satisfactorily. In some districts the entire population between the ages of fifteen and fifty-five have been mobilized for work in the fields.

wish to gain an accurate idea of the scientific theories which inspired the creation of the Soviet Government.

Mr. Postgate's sanity and scholarship are doubly welcome in the light of Mr. Comerford's lurid rhetorical outbursts. Mr. Comerford, according to his publishers "made a search" study of unpublished material, and he has done so relentlessly, and he has articulated itself to his readers, and he has done so with a hypothesis which is so full of errors and so many mistakes which are scattered broadcast throughout his book. Mr. Comerford repeatedly refers to Yoffe, the head of the Soviet delegation in the recent negotiations with Poland, as "Joffre", apparently confusing him with the well-known French Marshal. Again, he speaks of "the coal fields of upper Galicia, to be determined by the plebiscite between Poland and Germany." No doubt Galicia and Silesia mean much the same thing to Mr. Comerford's mind, which boldly assails the most difficult problems of economics and political science, while it scorns such elementary subjects of knowledge as history and geography.

In reading Mr. Comerford's concrete accusations against the Soviet Government one is conscious of a curious sense of familiarity. There is

the inebriated Rekhalev, chairman of the Ural Soviet; surely his misdeeds have already been called to the attention of the American public. And there is the scandal in the village of Olkhi, where the authorities are accused of manufacturing illicit liquor; surely this has been published before. When we come to the tax irregularities in the county of Dekiashkov, in the third district of Vitebsk, we suddenly recall the sources of all these stories. They were published in *Struggling Russia*, before that harassed magazine gave up the ghost; and, if we are not mistaken, Mr. John Spargo, Mr. William English Walling, and others now busily engaged in "exposing Bolshevism", have already made ample use of this material. In regard to these accusations it may be observed that the regulation of liquor and the apportionment of taxes are apt to be thorny and controversial subjects in the best regulated communities.

Incidentally, the passing of *Struggling Russia* is an evil omen for Mr. Spargo, Mr. Comerford, and all the gallant band of propagandists who lay claim to encyclopedic knowledge about Soviet Russia without having set foot in the country and without knowing a word of the language. This drying up of the main fountain head of their "knowledge" leaves them quite dependent upon the stray tales of *emigres* and Polish propagandists.

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