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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
POLAND, LITHUANIA, AND SOVIET RUSSIA, by <i>N. Ossipov</i>	473	THE RUSSIAN BLOCKADE AND AMERICAN COTTON POLAND AND SOVIET RUSSIA, by <i>N. Lenin</i>	487
MILITARY REVIEW, by <i>Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek</i>	475	BRITISH CAPITALISM AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA, by <i>Lt.-Col. Cecil L'Estrange Malone</i>	489
MOSCOW IN 1920, by <i>Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt</i> (<i>Seventh Instalment</i>).....	477	MURDER OF BAKU COMMISSARS.....	491
BURTSEV AND BENES.....	482	WIRELESS AND OTHER NEWS.....	493
EDITORIALS	484	A LETTER TO LLOYD GEORGE.....	495

Poland, Lithuania, and Soviet Russia

By N. OSSIPOV

[The article herewith reprinted from "Petrogradskaya Pravda" of August 19 is not as recent as we should like, but it becomes more timely by reason of the new occupation of Vilna by the Polish Gabriele D'Annunzio, whose name is General Zeligowski. The "insurgent" Polish troops under the latter's leadership are said to be strongly disapproved of by their home government, but it will be interesting to note whether it takes the Polish Government as long to take Zeligowski out of Vilna as it is taking the Italian Government to get D'Annunzio out of Fiume.]

THE question of Vilna has been the cause of strife between the landlords' Poland and White Lithuania ever since these two republics have come into existence. The Polish Government would not reconcile itself to the existence of an independent Lithuanian republic in which there was a rather strong group of Polish gentry and in which the Polish priests, who play an important part in the aggressive imperialist efforts of the Polish Government, had considerable influence. Having seized Vilna, Poland could not become reconciled to the fact that Lithuania, which looked upon Vilna as her ancient capital, claimed this city as her own. On the other hand, the White Lithuanian Government was dissatisfied with the fact that the Lithuanian Republic embraced only the province of Kovno and small parts of the provinces of Grodno and Suwalki, and therefore persistently strove to find powerful allies among the Entente nations who would defend Lithuania against Polish encroachment and would secure for her, at least in the far-off future, boundaries generous enough to include Vilna as the capital.

Both the Lithuanian and the Polish governments used every possible method to justify their claim on Vilna on the ground that its population was Polish or Lithuanian. Both sides tried to prove by statistical calculations and machinations

that Vilna, as well as the province of Vilna, indubitably are an ethnographic part of the country to which the respective statistician happened to belong.

Poland had seized the province of Vilna by force of arms, but resorted also to the stylish phrases of a plebiscite and self-determination of the population, alleging that the population has definitely expressed itself in favor of Vilna province becoming a part of Poland. This plebiscite and self-determination were carried out in a very "original" manner: the Polish gendarmes went through the populace and inquired of everyone whether he was for Poland or for Lithuania. Naturally, in view of the vast power possessed by the Polish gendarmes, who could without any reason at all throw absolutely innocent persons into the awful Polish prisons and keep them there for months, this plebiscite carried out by gendarmes gave astonishing results. A large number of villages with hardly a single Pole among their inhabitants were recorded as being unanimously in favor of Poland. The Poles, through their General Commissariat of Eastern Lands, organized packed district and provincial conventions where resolutions were unanimously adopted in favor of joining Poland.

Any attempt to protest against this falsified

expression of the will of the population was suppressed. Hundreds and thousands of active Lithuanians of the provinces of Vilna, Grodno and Suwalki were thrown into prisons, where they suffered indignities that could be inflicted only by Polish jailers. The Polish military police was especially violent in small towns and villages, where they subjected the Lithuanian prisoners to flogging and other torments in the name of patriotism and love for Poland.

On its part, the White Lithuanian Government retaliated with repressions against Polish citizens of Lithuania, who were striving to destroy the Lithuanian Republic from within and to have it declared a part of "Great Poland".

The antagonism between the Poland of the gentry and White Lithuania reached its climax but recently, when war between these two young republics seemed inevitable. The Polish Government was trying to provoke such an armed conflict, in its imperialistic blindness hoping to swallow Lithuania without any trouble. Only the intervention of Lithuania's protector, Great Britain, prevented these provocative designs of the Polish Government from going any further than the hysterical attacks of the Polish press against Lithuania.

Convinced that the Entente, and particularly Great Britain, would not allow Poland to attack Lithuania, the Polish Government resorted to the services of its agents, the social-traitors of the Polish Socialist Party, who sent a special delegation to Kovno to negotiate with Lithuanian representatives and to settle the Polish-Lithuanian relations. But the delegation suffered a complete fiasco, for Niedzialkowski and his fellow-delegates to Kovno were given to understand that as long as Poland would not renounce her designs on Lithuania, and would not leave Vilna and put an end to terroristic methods of governing Lithuania, there could not and would not be any understanding between Poland and Lithuania. Instead of forming an alliance with Poland against Soviet Russia, Lithuania found it more profitable to start peace negotiations with Soviet Russia, which led in the end to the conclusion of a peace treaty.

Poland was, of course, infuriated by these negotiations, which began at the very moment when the Polish imperialistic hopes were most radiant, and when the Polish press, intoxicated by victories after the capture of Kiev, was shouting that Poland, having in her hands also Vilna and Kovno, could dictate the fate of all eastern Europe. Had this situation continued a little longer and had not the victories of the Red Army considerably diminished the imperialistic passion of Poland, the latter would not have tolerated the continuation of the peace negotiations between Lithuania and Soviet Russia, and despite the advice of England and of the whole Entente, would have actively attacked Lithuania and put an end to the existence of this republic. But the decisive change in the fortunes of war (in favor of Soviet Russia), which followed the capture of Kiev, put an end to

the dreams of the Polish gentry to seize Lithuania. The great offensive of the Soviet army towards Lithuania and White Russia, which followed immediately, forced the Polish Government to a complete change of front with regard to Lithuania, to which until then Poland deemed it impossible to accord recognition, and she announced through her new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sapieha, the *de facto* recognition of the Lithuanian Republic.

The continued advance of the Red Army and the resulting retreat of the Polish troops, which soon turned into flight, brought to the front the question whether it would not be of greater advantage for Poland to surrender Vilna voluntarily to Lithuania rather than to be compelled by the Red Army to give it up at the cost of many losses. The circles which are grouped around Pilsudsky preferred the first choice to the second, and they began negotiations with Lithuania to have Vilna occupied by White Lithuanian troops before the entry into that city of the Red Army, so that the latter on approaching Vilna would be confronted by an accomplished fact of Vilna having been proclaimed the capital of Lithuania. But the *Narodowa Demokracja** expressed its emphatic and categorical opposition to such a solution of the question, refusing even at this grave moment for Poland to renounce "the historical claims" of Poland on Vilna, and but two days before the glorious military corps of Comrade Gay entered Vilna the *Dwa Grosze*, a Warsaw national-democratic newspaper, raised an alarm against the Polish political leaders who were ready to renounce Vilna in favor of the Lithuanians. The negotiations between the Poles and Lithuanians on the question of Vilna, which were carried on in Vilna itself, led nowhere, owing to the pressure of Warsaw and Vilna *Narodowcy*; and the commander of the Polish forces in Vilna, General Boruschak, solemnly announced that Vilna would be defended to the last drop of blood and called upon the Polish residents to arm themselves for the defence of the ancient Polish city. The Polish Socialist Party also issued an appeal to the populace which exceeded even General Boruschak's appeal by its stupid attacks on the Red Army and its wild yarns. But both appeals had no effect. Vilna fell under the blows of the Red Army.

At the last moment, when the first detachments of Comrade Gay's corps were already near Vilna, and when in the city itself the remnants of the Polish forces were looting the defenceless inhabitants at their stores and homes, the Polish commander invited two representatives of the Lithuanian committee of Vilna and informed them that, in accordance with an order which he had received from Warsaw, he turned over the city to the Lithuanian Committee.

This "surrender" of the city was carried out to say the least, in so peculiar a manner that the "brave" Polish commander could not even present to the Lithuanian representatives a copy of this

* The National Democratic Party of Dmowski and Paderewski.

historic order in writing, for knowing of the approach of the Red troops he found it impossible to lose any time in copying the order, and retired in a hurry, leaving the surprised representatives of the Lithuanian Committee absolutely unable to see what they should do with the city which was "surrendered" to them by the Polish authorities, and into which advance detachments of the Red Army had already entered.

Immediately after the entry of the Red troops

into Vilna, the local Communists organized a Revolutionary Committee, which announced at once that all the power was in its hands. Only a few days later it became known in Vilna that a peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Lithuania had been signed in Moscow, and that according to the treaty Vilna and the province of Vilna will become a part of the Lithuanian Republic, the treaty to go into effect within a certain time after its ratification by both sides.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

WE WERE correct when, in spite of the statement to the contrary issued by some of the foremost European military experts, we declared that the Southern Front in Russia would be liquidated before winter.

Baron Wrangel is defeated and defeated strategically. Both his "armies", which had fought along the Dnieper on the Kherson-Yekaterinoslav front, as well as on the Yekaterinoslav-Alexandrovsk-Mariupol front, are completely routed, and some are forced to lay down their arms, while the rest must seek refuge near the swampy Sivash Bay, by trying to cross it in order to reach Crimea.

France and England, the main supporters of the Crimean Baron, are in a state of great confusion. The peace between Poland and Soviet Russia entirely destroyed the whole scheme which French strategists for a long time have so carefully prepared. Once again the Red Army has succeeded in settling its account with its enemies, one after the other. Trying in despair to save the situation of the South Russian adventure, the imperialistic coalition in spite of the state of peace existing between Soviet Russia and Poland, encouraged the well-known bandit and traitor Balakhovich to continue his hostilities on the Russian Western Front, which certainly has not and cannot present any strategical importance whatsoever, but may cause a little political uneasiness to the Soviet Government, as well as a certain amount of useless and criminal bloodshed.

As it was reported on November 2, the Balakhovich bands entered Minsk and are moving eastward with Smolensk as their objective, after the usurper's declaring White Russia to be an independent state, and convoking a "Constituent Assembly."

It is well known that the armed bands of Balakhovich do not represent the Polish army. Balakhovich joined Yudenich before the latter's famous dash on Petrograd, in which he took an important part. As one of the commanders in the Red Army, enjoying the full confidence of the Soviet Government, Balakhovich occupied with his forces a very important position on the front, when he entered into negotiations with the Estonian bourgeois government, and finally sold it the whole Pskov district. Henceforth he became

an unforgiving enemy of Soviet Russia. And such a man is actually supported by the French and English; such they need and are choosing in their sacred fight for "democracy". In the present case, peace with Poland came so suddenly and unexpectedly for the Allies, that their general staffs were not ready to instruct their counter-revolutionary leaders in time in regard to their further operation in Russia, and finally the Balakhovich movement was started, after so much delay that it did not produce even the effect of a mere demonstration upon the outcome of the Wrangel campaign in South Russia.

Had such a movement taken place at the end of September, after Baron Wrangel had reached Alexandrovsk, and his battle front extended to the north of that town, it would have strengthened Wrangel's position.

In order to understand this, as well as to realize the importance of the recent victory of the Red Army in South Russia, let us remember the report of the *Associated Press* from Sebastopol as late as September 27, 1920. "General Wrangel, the anti-Bolshevik leader in South Russia, has made prisoners of nearly 20,000 Bolsheviki north of Alexandrovsk.

"With the aid of the Ukrainian General Makhno, it is reported that Wrangel controls the famous Donetsk Coal Basin. Wrangel will attempt to carry on a winter campaign. It is asserted that he has obtained a guarantee of \$1,000,000 with which he is purchasing needed supplies, including shoes, overcoats, and blankets. It is said that a Turkish munitions plant is being established for Wrangel outside of Stambul."

The cable from Constantinople of September 28 gives further details: "The troops of General Wrangel are continuing to pursue the Bolsheviki along the railroad east of the Dnieper, beyond Alexandrovsk, according to the communique issued by General Wrangel's staff. North of Alexandrovsk we have captured thirty-three locomotives in good condition, 1,000 cars, ten machine guns and 1,000 prisoners. "The officers of the Russian staff have made public a proclamation inviting their colleagues now serving with the Bolsheviki to join General Wrangel."

"Reports of an important anti-Bolshevik move-

ment in the neighborhood of Kharkov, 150 miles north of Alexandrovsk, have reached here. General Makhno, with the aid of local insurgents, is said to have attacked Bolshevik positions to the south of Kharkov" (*New York Times*, September 30). And this was at the moment when the Red Army on the Polish front, engaged in constant rearguard actions, was gradually retreating in the regions of Grodno, Pinsk, and to the east of Rovno.

A little more than a month has since passed, and the victorious Red Army has completely liquidated the Wrangel battle-fronts. Already in the middle of October, while there was no news of the Wrangel "victories", the Reds began their vigorous counter-offensive.

The Dnieper River was crossed by the Red troops from Kherson to Yekaterinoslav at many points, and its eastern bank fell into the hands of the Soviets. Here the Red Army entrenched itself in very strong positions and, in a state of active defense, awaited the full concentration of its reserves. In vain the enemy tried to force the Reds back across the river, and finally the enemy was severely defeated at Nikopol, in the very middle of its battle front. The losses of the Wrangel forces were so heavy that it was said the French General Staff was afraid to make them public. At the same time, as we know, Red detachments were landed in the vicinity of the ports Mariupol and Berdiansk, on the Sea of Azov. Thus the northeastern front of the enemy was not only outflanked, but also threatened in its rear, and, as I have declared in one of my former articles, was doomed to destruction. What I conjectured has come to pass. The Wrangel front, which was called a "permanent" front by General Maurice of England, and which extended from Yekaterinoslav to Mariupol, was broken by the Red attack and started its disorderly retreat, which gradually assumed the character of a panic-stricken flight. Finally, the strategical railway parallel to Volnovakha-Alexandrovsk-Kherson fell into the hands of the Red Army, as well as, a little later, the railway triangle Alexandrovsk-Starokonstantinov-Feodorovka, thus deciding the fate of Melitopol, which as was reported on November 2, was captured by the Reds.

Meanwhile the Soviet troops which captured Aleshki, southeast of Kherson, on the east bank of the Dnieper, moved towards Perekop, which was also captured about November 2, as well as the single railway line which was still left to Wrangel, that of Simferopol, cut off by the Reds moving from Berdiansk, thus preventing the enemy from continuing his retreat into Crimea. In short, what I had foreseen about a month ago took place: in one article I severely criticized the statement of the British military expert, General Maurice, who had firmly declared that Wrangel would hold his present positions during the coming winter because the Red troops were absolutely unable to concentrate a strong army on the Southern Front, after their failure in Poland. The situation of

the retreating Wrangel army was a desperate one. As far as we have been informed, he succeeded in concentrating on both his battle-fronts 100,000 men. These fronts formed an acute angle, with the apex at Yekaterinoslav. The sides of this angle ran in the west to Kherson, and in the east to Mariupol. At the moment when Berdiansk, west of Mariupol, and Alexandrovsk, south of Yekaterinoslav, were captured by the Reds, the battle-fronts of the belligerent sides were shortened by about one-third of their length. For the Red Army this was very favorable, because of the strengthening of their reserves, while for Wrangel it became disastrous. The space behind his battle-front quickly became diminished and there was not only not room enough for rearrangement of his forces, but even for a normal tactical retreat, thanks to the lack of railways and of roads sufficiently developed for mechanical transport. The retreating troops of the beaten enemy directed their panic-stricken flight towards the remnant of the Simferopol railway which already was threatened also from the south by the Reds, who captured Perekop and entered the Crimean peninsula. The only way for escape that now remains for Wrangel's bands was that across the Sivash Bay, but even here he is unable to effect an orderly retreat.

All that the beaten Crimean Baron can do now is to use the reserves of guns remaining in Crimea, in order to offer some resistance in the eastern part of Crimea, using for the purpose the Sebastopol-Simferopol-Dzhankoi part of the Simferopol railway, with its branches extending to the west as far as Eupathoria, as well as to the east to Feodosia and Kerch. But such a resistance is out of the question and has no strategical importance. We must not forget the fact that Wrangel was in reality prepared for a winter campaign, and as far as I know, from very creditable sources, established throughout all the occupied regions, many supply bases which are considered to be very important. There is no doubt that he had to abandon all these materials during his retreat, because there was no possibility or time to destroy them and no opportunity of evacuating them. Therefore the booty of the Red Army must be tremendous, and it comes just in time. During the last six months, the expenditure of the Red Army in ammunition and war materials was very great, but it was a very necessary expenditure. As usual, the Red Army has again been successful.

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Moscow in 1920

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(Seventh Instalment)

The Third Internationale

Its office is in the building formerly occupied by the German Legation. Deneshnyi 5. In a side street. The chairman of the Extraordinary Commission lives not far from there.

The day after my arrival in Moscow I spoke with Radek in the study of murdered Count Mirbach. Radek called my attention to it.

It is a beautiful building. An airy vestibule, hung with tapestries. The salon and reception room of the legation look as they did in Mirbach's time. At least so I was told. They showed me the spot where Mirbach was struck by the bullet, and the line along which he staggered until he collapsed. They do not like to think of that horror. The Bolsheviki wanted to work with Mirbach, they regretted the murder in helpless wrath. So I was told in Moscow. They described the murder to me in detail, the auto, the flight of the murderers. It was a shameful and useless crime.

Klinger, the Secretary of the Third Internationale, has his office in a room on the ground floor, not far from Radek's study. He is a slender man, with a great beard and many nerves. Not robust, and often bent with the weight of his office. A peculiar crowd swarms in and out. Here all the races come together, all those who have a longing for Moscow. From Asia, from Europe, from America they come. There is a twittering of languages, a map of heroic proportions. The history of the Third Internationale is perhaps the most interesting history in the world. It is a large scale political story, a story of sacrifices, a story of far-flung interest, almost like the history of Popedom.

I do not know how well this globe-embracing organization functions. Only a few people are working in the office. It is quiet here; but it is from here that red trumpets ring forth. Looked at architecturally it is a little Vatican. Perhaps its influence is no less than the influence of the Vatican upon the world. It is not an artificial influence, it is merely an organization center, a centralized organization of an existing force, a developing force. Revolutions, like religions, are not things of force, things to be grafted on, but they are matters of development and growth.

Behind the building there is a small park. It is sadly neglected.

The grass is tall and uneven, the fountain plays no more. Its statue is weather-beaten. While the Third Internationale is growing strong, the park is crumbling away.

Among Bourgeois

They live in an exclusive street in Moscow. In a good house, with an elevator in the vestibule. But elevators do not function in Moscow at pres-

ent. Power must not be wasted, for fuel is scarce.

A great power distributing station is in operation near Moscow. It was built (in peace times) by a German firm. By Von Siemens, the A.E.G., and the porcelain factory of Rosenthal. A gigantic net spreads over the Moscow district from here. The power station operates, operates efficiently, but it does not supply as much power as one would like, for power must be saved.

Nor are the elevators in the government offices running. At least one pair of soles is used up in climbing to the top floor of the building of the Supreme Council of National Economy, for the elevator is not running. One arrives there with fagged-out lungs. But no matter, the elevator stands still. Blessed ration system.

In Moscow one never says a *bourgeois*, but *burzhui* or *burzhoi*. It is the modern attempt at botching verbalisms, the popular tampering with vocalization. There are many such modern verbal tamperings, such modern short cuts, modern perversions. For instance, *spezi* for specialist. By *spezi*, in Moscow, is meant not an expert; but the rebellious expert, the sabotaging expert, the lazy expert is so designated.

Burzhuis do not live in the sewer. Far from it. They are not starved for air, forced to do without. I saw tables in their house, chairs, oil paintings, "real" oil paintings. I sat on a sofa covered with rep, and was invited to partake of the roast.

Mrs. Burzhui was wrapped in a negligee. Perhaps it was a kimona. I am no expert in such matters. I do not even know whether pajama is of the masculine or neuter gender. But it was a good piece of wearing apparel, undulating, and reaching down to a pair of light-colored house slippers. On her feet were silk stockings. I was asked to dinner.

In the third room stood a baby carriage, a bourgeois baby carriage, with a faithful soul beside it. It was a nurse. A real nurse, not a phantom nurse, a fourth dimensional apparition of a nurse, but a nurse of bone and breast. A nurse of the sort used by babies. Hence a vaulted nurse, not a shallow, flat one. It was a real nurse.

The magnificent Landa was with me at the *Burzhuis*. He is a Communist, and is entirely surrounded by a leather suit. The toes of his right foot, to be sure, cannot exactly be said to be surrounded. Or rather, they are surrounded by air, if I might say so. But it was warm Moscow air, summer air, quite harmless to the toes. Of course, it cannot be said that it was particularly cleansing, but it was warm.

In addition, the magnificent Landa wore an *Everclean*. *Everclean* is the perfect thing. *Everclean* is absolutely laundry-proof. One needs only one *Everclean*, one needs no more. The magni-

ificent Landa washed his *Everclean* every morning with a little tea water. Then it flashed and burst into white glory in the warm rays of the Moscow sun.

A bit of lace over a right hand studded with diamonds was flirting across the table with Landa's *Everclean*. Beside it stood a young lady—a young lady, not a girl—with silk stockings, and draped in a large striped swath of silk, with soft eyes and bitter complaints.

For now began a discussion of the system, of the problems. The *Burzhuis* were not satisfied with the regime. No one can blame them for that. For this regime certainly is no garden of Eden affair, not yet. It is rather like the management of a farm, of a rough piece of land, with a great many weeds, badly-hoed, and not even well-ploughed. There is no whole-hearted joy, no *Burzhuis* fun in sauntering along that ground. Silk stockings or silk-stocking souls do not feel at home there. It is no good for silk-stocking souls.

The lady with the silk-stocking soul was a Soviet employe. The kimona lady did no work at all. "I would like to serve the people," she said feelingly, "but I cannot serve the people, I haven't learned to do anything. Revolutions should only be allowed after every one is competent to serve the people."

"What can I do," she said. "I must sell my things, for I can't do with less than 100,000 rubles a month. Too little bread, nothing to go with it. What can I do? I sell one thing after another. Unfortunately," said she, "unfortunately I cannot serve the people."

They doted on Lenin, but they complained about others. There is much to complain of in Moscow still. Every one actively engaged under the Soviet is far from being a paragon of unselfishness. Unfortunately many of them do not serve the people.

The little silk-stocking soul, wrapped in the swath of silk, complained too. Although she served the people in her way, she was not earning enough. The Soviet employes, whether male or female, really do not earn enough, with some exceptions. Neither in money nor in supplies. The Moscow government dinner (usually served in the government office building) is no luxury. It is not sufficient. The bread ration is likewise insufficient. It is mostly a matter of wage depreciation. The ruble depreciates with such rapidity that the wages and salaries simply never catch up.

But the little silk-stocking soul did not look starved in the least. She was no skeleton, she was a comfort to the eye. She was lively, trim, and her nails sparkled luxuriously. She was evidently living, and living well. Every one complains in Moscow, and hundreds of thousands of people are living quite comfortably.

No bourgeois can really become a friend of the system, can really come to love it, that is. The Moscow bourgeois, in times of peace, was lavish in the enjoyment of his food, his drink and his bed. He cannot get used to the vexing frugality now. That goes without saying.

But he lives, though he may not be able to serve the people. He lives so long without serving the people until he has used up everything that makes his exemption from service possible. Then, of course, he is compelled to serve the people.

Complaints about bread, about meat, about meals, about clothes, about money. One hears them constantly. They are complaints over temporary conditions, over the present. There is no perspective, only a retro-perspective. That is natural, it is probably the same in other places, or will be.

The bourgeois are no Socialists, and certainly no Communists. They lost what Socialism gained. For this reason their complaints are justified, for they do not know that a gain for Socialism is their gain too.

I remarked upon the baby carriage, upon the baby with the vaulted nurse. I said: this baby will one day serve the people, and will cease complaining. He will not be a mere plaintive present conditionist, he will perhaps not even be a mere perspectivist, but may become a real human-being seeking his happiness in the present. The past will have become a museum for him.

Perhaps, said the kimona. Perhaps said the silk-stocking soul. But what good will that do us? It will do us no good whatever. We are present conditionists, and present conditions are not in a nice state, they are in a state . . .

We did not accept the invitation to stay for the roast. Not because of a prejudice against roast. I longed for a Moscow roast, I reviled the roast-fed English Delegation. When I stopped in Narva on my return journey, I immediately ruined my digestion on a heaping dish of pork chops. That is how much I longed for roast meat.

But the bourgeois roast would have been a roast fought over and hedged about with principles. Therefore I went home, to a meal with *kasha*; to a meal served by Sasha, the Soviet cook, with her plump cheeks, her toothache, and her willingness to serve the people.

Profiteering and Sabotage

Moscow lives. Moscow is no starvation camp. The women of Moscow are balloon-cheeked. Their faces too. The children of Moscow are round-bottomed little ducks. Moscow men are far from anemic, far from being narrow, or spineless creatures.

Moscow lives. But Moscow lives only partly on the rationed products, only partly on the money it earns. A large part of Moscow lives by speculating. Actively and passively it speculates. It speculates, it buys and sells illegally, it speculates, and speculates, and speculates.

This illicit commerce is a necessary evil. For one cannot command the people: Live on your rations—when the rationed supplies are inadequate. That, in my estimation, is a matter of transition, but nevertheless it is an important phase of the Moscow psychology just at present.

There is speculation in everything in Moscow.

From a pin to a cow, furniture, diamonds, cake, bread, meat, everything is traded secretly. The Sukharevka in Moscow is a speculator's bazaar, an illicit trading-house. Now and then the police make a raid upon it. But the speculating is not cut down; it is a hydra-headed monster, which returns with a thousand heads.

Moscow has free market-places, a number of open markets, officially tolerated markets, supplementary markets, markets to fill out the inadequate rations. For instance, there is a supplementary market near the Theater Square. There are cucumbers, fish, hard-cake, eggs, vegetables of all kinds. There are great crowds on the long pavement. Booths are ranged along the edge of the sidewalks. Dealers are sitting around, are whispering from behind into ears of prospective buyers.

The price of a cucumber is 200 to 250 rubles, an egg is 125 to 150 rubles, and everything else in proportion. It is not much according to western exchange value, to say nothing of American exchange. At the time I was in Moscow a dollar was valued at a thousand Bolshevik rubles among exchange speculators. Some one told me of an American who changed 3,000 dollars into Bolshevik rubles. He received nine million Bolshevik rubles. Exchange speculation is not allowed, to make the money rate fluctuate and confuse the market—if one can speak of a standard rate. But there is speculation just the same. There is speculation in everything, in money too, of course.

Milk is being offered at every street corner by peasants. Good milk, not watered milk. This trade is allowed. It is not speculation, it is a legitimate relief and supplemental trade. But other things are speculated in. Every rationed product in the way of small goods is speculated in. But they speculate in bulk products, also. They speculate in fire wood, in clothing, in everything.

This speculating, this profiteering, this hoarding is a serious work preventer. Speculation is in the soul of the workers. They speculate while they work, they speculate when they should be working.

It is being fought against, but it has been impossible, so far, to overcome this mania for speculation. So far it has been impossible, naturally. This is war time, and there are not enough courageous ones in Moscow to take hold of things. It is a matter of development. I do not think it is a cardinal question.

The problem is well-known in Germany: Fixed prices and a ration system tempt people to break the law. But in Russia the underlying basis is different, the principles underlying arrest, the hypothesis upon which punishment is based are more radical and fundamental.

Moscow has always been a city of dealers. It was a political matter during the Revolution, and is one still. Moscow is still trading. The bourgeois trades, the Soviet employe trades, the worker trades. Moscow is the great port in Russia for illicit free trade. Often the trading is a mere process of exchange. I witnessed the following: One man, in high felt boots, stopped and spoke

to another man in leather shoes. They ended by going behind a laurel bush. There they both pulled off their footwear, or leg-wear. Then the felt-boot man put on the shoes, and the leather-shoe man the felt boots. It was a mere exchange, a corner trade, a trade behind the laurel bush, a simplified moneyless business transaction, so to speak.

The death penalty has been abolished in Russia. It is still in vogue at the front only. So I was told. The Extraordinary Commission is now fighting speculators and saboteurs. Speculation is considered a conscious interference with the rationing system, injurious to the common welfare. Sabotage, the direct or indirect refusal to work, is considered to be a rebellion against work, a hindrance to work, and welfare laziness.

The speculator is popular in Moscow, popular on posters, in the vaudeville theaters. He is not only being fought with every means, put behind the bars or forced to work, but he is also being made a laughing-stock. I saw one comedian who whacked a wooden doll to the tune of his refrain. Speculator, speculator, whizzed the song against the wooden cheek. The audience was in a frenzy of delight, and not one of them felt himself hit. Quite like us, quite like us, but still with a difference, looked at in the light of a problem.

There are small and large speculators, there is petty and great sabotage. Incredible horrors are still being perpetrated, crimes against the health of the people, storehouse speculation of colossal proportions. The punishment is in accordance. Such scoundrels should not be spared, scoundrels who steal the fuel from the freezing. Such scoundrels must be punished until the bones crack. I think they are still being treated much too mildly in Moscow.

Hard labor is supposed to be the chief punishment for laziness, as well as for speculation injurious to the public welfare. But it seems to me there is too little system connected with this hard labor. Every crime against the people should be paid with the sweat of the brow. Such trifling should be made good with production.

There are small disciplinary punishments for petty sabotage, lazy sabotage, rebellious sabotage. Certain administrative heads are vested with disciplinary powers, as for instance those of a captain in the former Prussian army. Jail up to two weeks. They are punishments by request. They are not given arbitrarily, but at the instance of the Extraordinary Commission.

Very little use is made of this power. Generally offenders are merely threatened. I experienced the following: A Soviet woman typist remained away from the office for weeks, without an excuse. She sent no doctor's certificate, nor did she excuse her absence with a single line. The managing head was clearly justified in recommending punishment. At last she appeared at the office, wept, begged, and blandished. Perhaps the lovely spring weather had tempted her to a little spree. Finally the managing head relented, and let the matter

drop with a good, strong warning.

On that account the offices are constantly short of help. On that account there is a lack of punctuality, there is slovenliness and flattery when punishment is about to befall. A firm hand is needed here. One must and does consider all the exigencies of life, but things must be handled with a firm hand. At least there must be a more definite punishment. Else there is danger of indifference. Perhaps it will be different when the war ends. There are not enough self-assertive administrative forces in Moscow. The majority are at the front.

But these things will change, for a reason which I cannot go into at present, for it is a matter of economic psychology, a matter of organization psychology, a scientific matter. This book is to be no heavy, weighty matter, but a gathering of anecdotes, a light diary, a recreation, and not a brow-sweating job.

The Streets at Night

I have already mentioned that there are no prostitutes prowling at night. Neither during the day nor at night. The streets of Moscow are free from prowling women even at night. One is not constantly baited, leered at, no one tempts you with fond reference to a waist line. This form of germ I did not notice in Moscow, either by day or at night.

The night is not dark in Moscow. It is not a white night as in Viatka, in Helsingfors, or among the crags of Finland. It is not even a dusk-like night. It is almost a rose-colored night.

Only a few lamps light the streets. The night glows in Moscow. Even the Bolshevik night. The glow of the Moscow night was not a product of the bourgeois light—the night is not revolutionary. It remains unconcerned about the system. It brings peace without bothering about the system.

After ten o'clock at night the theater, the concert halls, and the lecture halls begin to empty. But life is still throbbing in the social-gathering places, and the crowd on the boulevards is only just beginning to come to life. Toward one o'clock it is quiet on the dark green girdle encircling Moscow, and on the street.

In May, the Moscow sun went down about ten of an evening. An enrapturing sun, a rapturous sun. It glitters on all the golden domes, it frolics in a mirror with a thousand faces. It rainbows in all these golden mirrors as it sinks beyond the horizon. It is a gaily-colored sun, a sun which rises once more just before it sets, rises in the thousand domes of Moscow.

Then there is quiet. The watches are doubled. Those brown soldier watches in the door-ways, for the dead, and on the crossings. Men and women watches, with the gun shouldered upside down, or the gun held between the knees, or in the crook of an arm propped against a wall.

We were on our way from a visit to the German consul at three in the morning. The streets were quite still. They echoed almost like the streets in a small German town on a moonlit night. The

watches were dozing. I said to my companion: What nonsense they write in the European press. If the people could only smell this peaceful quiet. If only they could wander through this stillness of the Moscow streets. He nodded, was about to answer. Suddenly a gun-shot only five paces away. It shattered the quiet, broke it into a thousand pieces, drove it away in all directions, hunted it, lashed it down the street.

What was it? People passed by and did not even look around at the watch who had fired the shot. We passed the watch and he shot again. What was the matter? We did not find out that night, and we were disturbed. Perhaps the Terror was not quite gone from the streets of Moscow.

The next day I was told that they were young militia men, greenhorns with a gun, men and women who like to pop a gun. They are forbidden to shoot and so they do it. It is a safety valve to discipline. A twitching finger on the trigger and the bullet is gone. It does not lodge in a wall, it misses a stray cat, or whizzes into the air between the houses.

Those free with their fingers are punished if they are reported. It is a waste of ammunition, it is insubordination, it is childish. Several times I heard this gun-popping during the following nights. Then there must have been a sudden blow-up. For the streets of Moscow became very quiet. The rifles slept. I think someone must have been locked up.

Any women may go through the streets of Moscow at night, unmolested. Miss Harrison, the courageous newspaper woman, went to the Foreign Bureau every night at eleven. About two in the morning, and even later, she returned. One noon hour she told us: "Once in Berlin a monocled-being spoke to me. One of those who are exquisitely creased and pressed, including the brain, a hand-kissing, finger-tip-touching expert. At the Victory Arch I caused his defeat," she said. "In Moscow I go about perfectly unmolested, even by looks." That is what an American woman told me, who appreciates good manners. She wanted to tell that to the folks at home, especially the women-folks.

Without Alcohol

A relief device: I am tired of writing and must have a diversion. Otherwise I won't write any more. Mrs. Snowden has just gotten some new, high, stout, yellow leather boots, so that she may have a look at Russia. And she has also gotten from her husband a splendid hat with wings of Hermes on it, so that her brain may not be disturbed by the Russian summer sun. But her boots, her high, stout, yellow leather boots and her splendid hat with its pinions have been of no avail. The hat did not defend Mrs. Snowden against the heat of summer, and in her boots she may have gone through Russian cities and over the Russian streets, but not through Russia. She certainly did talk a lot of nonsense in her article in the *Vossische Zeitung*. I tell you, she cooked together something that Karl Marx once said about Russia,

in a way that shows her absolutely devoid of reason, shows that Mrs. Snowden not only did not see Russia, but never even saw Karl Marx. And she goes on to say something about Russian agriculture, which is absolutely wrong. And she talks about the cities, which she has never understood. She was led through Russia like so many others, without having grasped a single point of the essence of Soviet Russia. But she considers it her right to judge. She was taken around in an automobile and paid visits to exhibitions and homes, to cities and villages. But my dear high-booted, wing-hatted lady, you must work, and work hard, or else you will understand nothing of Russia. When Mrs. Snowden left Moscow, the soles of her high boots were still intact. People told me so. When our Delegation left Moscow all their soles, not to mention other things, were in pieces. That is the point, wing-hatted, high-booted, dearly-beloved innocent with your English energy and your glance—but I shall say nothing of your glance.

Not only Mrs. Snowden was without alcohol, without whiskey, without any stimulation in Moscow. I have seen many persons in Moscow that had spirit, but none with alcohol. Many were intoxicated and none so sober as Mrs. Snowden, but no one was drunk. Many were intoxicated with the Idea. They were not so immune to it as Mrs. Snowden who is not intoxicated with any idea because she sees none. She does not see the Soviet idea nor the Marx idea. She simply releases silly babble about children, future, humanity.

I saw no one drunk, not a single intoxicated man in Moscow. Inebriation was a social disease in Russia, a social disease that had to be eradicated. And damn it, it has been! I will not maintain that there is no such thing as a drunken man in Moscow. But alcoholism in Moscow is a thing of the past. There is no longer (*relata refero*) any alcoholism in the Russian army or in Russia as far as the system of the Soviet reaches.

Do you know the story of the Russian alcohol monopoly? It is a drunkard's tale, a delirious tale, a tale of an idiotic way in which the state financed itself. It is a story of national intoxication, of national stupefaction, of murder by millions, of a low-down national assassination. The whole world raved and fumed against the Russian vodka monopoly, against this base whiskey treachery. The German press raged against it, the English press, the American press; every anti-rum paper in the world raged against it. Why do not these anti-rum papers now recognize this social deed, this deed of eradication, this tremendous sobering act, this health-giving act of the Soviet Government? You might at least recognize that! The elimination of prostitution and the driving out of the rum demon, you might at least recognize that. That is all we ask from you. Do you know the didactic story, the deterring story, the educational story of Tolstoi against the demon rum? He wrote it for the health of the peasants. The Moscow proletariat had to drink rum in peace times. He had to keep himself on his legs by means of

rum, until his legs no longer kept him up, until he dropped and died in his tracks. The state required that he should drink rum. The rum monopoly dragged its 600,000,000 rubles every year out of peasant hearts, peasant livers, peasant brains and peasant kidneys. It dragged its 600,000,000 rubles everywhere out of the hearts, brains, livers and kidneys of the industrial proletariat. It made all Russia drunk, it made a pig-sty of Russia. You cannot deny that that was a base murder, a vile and general assassination, a universal poisoning without parallel.

I am not saying this with propagandist purposes. I am simply recording the narrative of a man whom I trust. This is what he said to me: White armies, aside from their other ailments, were soaked in alcohol. The Kolchak army was a staggering army. Prussian books of history tell of Russian soldiers in the Seven Years' War licking up alcohol with their tongues. The Whites, I was told, did not only lick up alcohol, they ate it alive. This staggering army was fighting against a sober army, and the sober army was victorious. Sober armies will always be victorious; sobriety will always conquer. Not the sobriety of Mrs. Snowden, who knows no intoxication, but the abstinence from alcohol, from cocaine, from all stimulants.

Stünkel

When you come to Moscow do not forget to pay a visit to Stünkel. But make known your coming in advance for he is a dreadfully busy man. He works in Room 125 in the building of the Supreme Council of National Economy. He is the metal-master of Russia, an organizer of the metal division of the Supreme Council of National Economy, which embraces the entire metal industry of Russia, or will embrace it. I shall not give you his private address, for Stünkel must remain undisturbed at night. He works from early in the morning until late at night.

You have surely not yet heard of Stünkel. You only hear of the Soviet stars, the Soviet celebrities. But I shall give you a tip: Politics is not as important as economic organizers. I have brought a number of things with me from Moscow, and one of them is a strong aversion for politicians. Politicians are stale, unproductive, officious, scribbling, orating, but not working. This staleness is something out of place in the modern age. The middle ages have just been overcome, the new time is dawning, and it is to be hoped it will be without politicians. The new era will not be made by politicians, but by workers of every stamp, it will be made by the machine workers, the garden workers, economic organizers, physicians, teachers, popular artists, technologists, workers of every kind, but not by politicians. There are politicians in Moscow who are workers, and there are workers who are politicians. Lenin, for instance, is a political worker and a working statesman. But even Lenins will not make the new era, important though they may be for the transition period. The new era

will be created by other persons, and among them is Stünkel.

Stünkel is a Finn who was brought up in Germany. He is an engineer, one of the few Russian engineers who recognized the course of events rather early. He plays an important part in the Russian Society of Engineers, and that means a part in an important phase of the Russian Revolution. I cannot give you more information on this just now; I can only say that this society is very important for Russia, both in a negative and a positive way, for the Russian Revolution.

Stünkel is amiable, cool, and is equipped with organizing eyes. He can at once tell you whether things are not well in Kolomna, one of Russia's metal hearts. He sees the cycle of development, the path of evolution, the economic tendency, the errors and possibilities, and acts accordingly. He acts quickly, without much apparatus, without the red tape which is elsewhere so customary in Moscow, without the official awkwardness sometimes noticeable in Moscow, without long meditations, circuitous routes, and fruitless discussions. He is not a man of paper decrees, but a practical man. In short, a splendid fellow.

In his ante-room (125-A) you will find people who have been already satisfied, who know where they are at. They are sure that Stünkel will tell them something definite. It will be a positive statement, a plus or a minus, but it will be positive. He disposes of all these cases calmly, one after the other, no one mixes in with the other. Meanwhile he telephones, quickly and definitely, as it were with an amiable lash. He is a magnificent business man, a smooth, cool organizer, a briber with calm energy. Soviet Russia needs such people, and has all too few of them. Germany has such people, and so has America. Send them over to Soviet Russia, you will not regret it.

Outside of the city, across the Moskva, in a garden shaded with cherry-trees and infested with Stünkel's offspring, I worked with him until late at night (that is he worked with me). At tea, which was served by the amiable Mrs. Stünkel, he told me things of which I had had no suspicion. On four evenings he delivered a course of lectures to me on the history of nationalization. I understand the necessities, the requirements for development, the distinctions. He took his drafting-board and drew for me, and thus illustrated the history of nationalization, simultaneously outlining it in the air with his fingers. I now grasped the present needs of economy, the chaos, the crying aloud for order; I saw people in this chaos, above this chaos; I saw money in this chaos, money that was fleeting and gone; I saw the accelerators and the retarders, the understanders and the non-understanding, the wanters and the resisters. All was as clear as a straight line to me now; a road; everything was disentangled and I breathed freely. It was Stünkel who provided me with this point of vantage, with the tower, the hill from which I could review the whole. I now understood the social economy of Russia; the social-psycho-

logical transformation which was driving for revolution. I understood the struggle of the officials and private employes against the workers, the struggle of the engineers against the workers, and the counter-struggle of the workers. For the first time I understood the new commercial geography, the new economic map of Russia, which Krzyzanski later made concrete for me, just as once before Wermuth, now Mayor of Berlin, one of Prussia's best officials, had explained to me with the aid of a map a matter that I had not previously understood.

In the little cherry garden, Stünkel gave me these points, these illuminations and I am grateful to him for them. I have rarely had such an instructive teacher.

Burtsev and Benes

The agent of Russian reaction, Burtsev, during his stay in Prague last week, was immediately received by Foreign Minister Benes and President Masaryk. In the *Narodni Listy* and *Venkov*, he openly acknowledged that he was traveling as an agent for the purpose of obtaining military assistance for the Poles and for Wrangel against Soviet Russia.

Prior to his arrival in Prague he was in Berlin for the same purpose, and negotiated with the Pan-Germans led by Luetwitz-Kapp. He published an article anent his activities in the *Vossische Zeitung*. After leaving Prague, he will travel to America to obtain financial assistance there from the capitalists. The immediate reception of Burtsev by the President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, even were it not for other matters to which we refer below, is tactlessness against Soviet Russia, and is diametrically opposed to the manner in which the official Russian Red Cross Mission, with Comrade Hillerson at the head, was received; against whom the bourgeois and the National-Socialist press combined, is aroused. At the time, the President of the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross, Dr. A. Masaryk, sent a note (!) to Comrade Chicherin in which she protested against the "agitation by the Russian Mission," although there was no agitation, and in spite of the fact that a long time before the Russian reactionaries had made of Prague their Centrum and Eldorado.

It is, however, not only a question of Burtsev—it is more than that. Although the Government declared its neutrality in the Russian-Polish controversy, and although Foreign Minister Benes declares his readiness to resume relations with Russia, as though in direct ridicule of all present customs, ammunition is being delivered and transported to Poland. All of Benes' actions, whether regarding the famous *Little Entente* or anything else, have an edge directed towards Russia. On the 9th of August, the Government declared anew strict neutrality, the war minister denied that ammunition was being sent to Poland—but all assurances are in vain. The Manifesto of Organ-

ized Railroad Men, which we publish elsewhere, shows that the Government and the Foreign Minister are lying. We reiterate: It is not a question of Burtsev, he is merely a link in a chain; we say no longer that it is sophistry, but an evident and—what is more—unconcealed hatred of the Proletarian Russian Empire. Burtsev merely proved how far-reaching is Benes' hatred and shamelessness, for he is not ashamed to welcome openly and to overwhelm with attention an agent of the Russian and of the Polish capitalistic reaction. Besides this, on the occasion of Benes' last visit in Paris, a banquet was given in his honor by Burtsev and by the entire group of Russian reactionaries. It was then that Benes declared that the Czech nation (!) would never recognize the Bolsheviki, and that he himself *looked forward to the time when he would be able to welcome in Prague the representatives of the "liberated" Russian nation and of Wrangel's government.*

In the case of Wrangel, the story of Kolchak whom Benes warmly admired, repeats itself. It was not only Kramar, but also Benes, who first of all, during his stay in Paris while peace negotiations were in progress, agitated for repeated intervention of the Siberian armies against the Russian Revolution. But while Kramar openly acknowledged his enthusiasm for Kolchak, Benes with a truly realistic shrewdness knew how to put on a mask of neutrality so cleverly, that he deceived even his friends of the Realist Party. At that time, Professor Radl, in a polemic against Herben, quoted as a contrast to the policy of intervention Benes' neutrality, and received a reply from Herben which at that time we already remarked as a true picture of Benes' sentiments. Herben said then: "It seems that an explanation of politics or rather of the political A B C is necessary. A political party (Herben understood here Kramar's position and that of his party in the question of intervention) is more free than the administration though their purpose may be the same. The politician of a party may act and speak differently from a Foreign Minister who is bound by considerations and agreements. A Minister sometimes finds himself in a situation where he is compelled to reject a policy though he may personally be in accord with it. Sometimes he must even announce publicly that he is not in accord with it." It is clear from this that Herben carelessly betrayed that Benes was a Kolchakist just as Kramar was, and that he is today a Wrangelist again just as Kramar is.

Such is the appearance of Benes' neutrality, which on the other side he parades in the House under a mask of good-will and what not, sends notes to Russia full of assurance of the Government's goodwill toward Russia. It is therefore necessary to view the furore artificially created by Burtsev's visit in this connection, especially as it appears in Benes' organs, the bought-over *Cas* and his voluntary servant *Ceske Slovo*. These papers wash their hands of Burtsev, pronounce him a reactionary, and show with transparent tend-

ency that it is upon a hint from the Hrad, that they bamboozle their readers, saying that Burtsev was not successful on the Hradchin. It is noteworthy that the policy of Hradchin is to clothe itself in a mantle of duplicity and humanitarianism, and meanwhile, to poison the Czech atmosphere with lies, intrigues, reaction, in such measure that in the end no one will see his way clear in this tangle.

We brand Benes as an evil spirit of the Czech foreign and internal policy. From the very beginning of his taking hold of things in State Administration his career was marked by insincerity, hypocrisy, and lies, in every act of administration in relation to Russia. The falsehood has, of course, its tradition from the time of the organized attack upon Russia of the Czech armies, who were deceived by the allied "liberators", and designed to become the executioners of the Russian Revolution. Influences which, at the time, were active upon the leadership of the Czech armies are still active today—and everything else is a contemptible lie.

To all the sins which our party has committed will be added its support of Benes' double game and his intrigues against the Soviets. It is impossible to believe that the leadership of a party was not aware of the real sentiments and the real purpose of that man, when he so often so openly, and so shamelessly showed his true face. Notwithstanding this, the party continued to deceive the working-classes regarding the goodwill of the Foreign Minister towards Russia. And today when the third Coalition has passed away, and preparations are being made for the fourth, Benes again figures in it. There is not the slightest doubt that Benes has his fingers in the postponement of Congress, and in the terror brought about by Tusar against the proletariat and its representatives by the uncompromising Left; it is certain beyond doubt that this terror was arranged upon a direct hint of the allied rabble whom Benes serves. And here it will be necessary for the proletariat to speak decisively, once for all. The organized capitalistic reaction, whose servants are both Tusar and Benes, is planning an attack upon the proletariat who until now have been an obstacle in the way of execution of the plan of the Allies to make of the "liberated" Republic a stepping-stone for an organized attack upon the Russian Republic.

Russian Comrades demand of the proletariat of the world, not only in the interest of the Russian Empire, but above all in their own interest, that they prevent any attack of the European capitalists upon Soviet Russia. This is the task, in the first place, of the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia. There can be no peace as long as the agent of the allied capitalists will direct the foreign policy of our state. The first duty, therefore, of the proletariat of the Czecho-Slovak Republic must be: Down with Benes! Down with Intervention! Long live Soviet Russia!—From *Obrana*, New York.

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GENEVA in 1864 was the scene of the first Red Cross Conference. It was the original plan of this organization to assure to fighters on both belligerent sides, in any war that might arise, the medical and surgical care of a body of men and women—doctors and nurses—who would be entirely neutral in the conflict being waged, who would treat the soldiers of one combatant with exactly the same degree of solicitous attention as those of the other side, and thus contribute, to this extent at least, to diminishing the horrors of war. The American Red Cross organization was founded in 1881 by Clara Barton, who had already practiced in at least one war (the Franco-German War, 1870-1871) the principle of conducting a neutral organization that should give aid, comfort and care to fighters of both opposing nations. High hopes have naturally been placed in the effects of the operation of such kindly agencies—in fact, more than one gentle enthusiast has expressed the belief that the natural kindness of many persons contributing to the relief of friend and foe alike would instil in both a spirit that would ultimately make war between them impossible.

Headlines appearing nearly two weeks ago in New York newspapers (our attention has just been called to them) would make it appear that this splendid prospect is being more than realized. It would appear that the kindly offices of the Red Cross are being bestowed not only on enemies against whom frank and open warfare is being waged, but even on a nation against which the hatred of its torturers is so great that they must invade it without declaration of war, blockade it without open confession of blockade, distort and misrepresent its current history while pretending to issue the truth. So great would appear to be the kindness of the American Red Cross, to judge from the headlines of which we speak. They read thus: "\$14,000,000 Spent in Russia by Red Cross.—2,667 Persons, Including 503 Americans, Employed in Relief Work, According to the Annual Report.—18 Hospitals in Siberia.—10,000 Different Articles Distributed Free of Cost; Sanitary Trains Operated."

Even Russia, then, barbarous, tyrannical, autocratic proletarian Soviet Russia, seems to benefit by the generous ministrations of the Red Cross.

But when you read through the news item, which

is dated Washington, October 30, and which announces certain data to be printed in a forthcoming annual report of the American Red Cross Society, you find that while no word has been permitted to enter the paragraphs that might weaken the impression that *all* of Russia has been thus magnificently nursed and fed and tended, there is yet not a single indication in the article that would point to any aid actually given to combatants or non-combatants in Soviet Russia. Read a few of the paragraphs of this forthcoming American Red Cross Report, as quoted in the *New York Tribune* (October 31):

"Service was extended to millions of men, women and children and ranged from hospital care for the sick to food and clothing for the starving and ill clad. The work was carried on through commissions sent to Siberia, western Russia, southern Russia and the Baltic States; a total of 2,667 persons, including 503 Americans, were employed and 10,000 different articles were distributed free of cost.

"The commissions operated sanitary trains with a total of seventy-five cars and equipped with 830 beds, with a capacity of 1,550 patients. Anti-typhus trains operated by the commissions traveled 11,000 miles, furnishing preventive baths to 105,000 persons, disinfection for 1,000,000 and issuing 500,000 clean garments. In Siberia alone Red Cross trains distributed 8,000 tons of supplies and eighteen hospitals with a total of 6,596 beds were operated."

And then remember that Siberia means the Siberia of Kolchak, Semionov, and the Japanese, that Western Russia means Poland and the territories of Soviet Russia wrongfully held by that country, that Southern Russia was lately the Russia of Denikin and only yesterday the Russia of Wrangel, that some of the Baltic states were still at war with Soviet Russia four months ago, and that the report even frankly says, as far as Southern Russia is concerned, that the work there "consisted largely in caring for refugees and in fighting typhus and cholera in the Crimea."

Particularly difficult, according to the report, was the work of the organization "in helping the people of Esthonia, where there was no ambulance service and little in the way of hospitals when the Americans arrived." We quote further:

"The army was in retreat and disorganized and the combined force of soldiers and civilians to the number of 20,000 was described as a hungry, suffering, panic-stricken mob. In December typhus broke out, and for months the Red Cross workers fought the disease amid great difficulties."

Without repeating all the details in the newspaper report of these Red Cross activities in Esthonia, let us come to the point and state simply that aid was given to every military and civil organization outside of Soviet Russia, including many that were at war with Soviet Russia, that aid began to be given to Esthonia—in the very words of the report—only when the army of Yudenich, in retreat across that country, badly needed such attention, and that no effort seems to have been made—at least none is described—to carry similar benefits of the Red Cross into Soviet Russia. For the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has committed the crime of permitting the workers and peasants to rule, and that republic is there-

fore considered an enemy by those countries in which the workers do not rule, and there is no neutrality, we must assume, and not even a neutral Red Cross organization, between the old system and the new. At least the old will not have it so.

Generous care devoted to the people of Esthonia will meet with no disapproval in Soviet Russia. The people of Soviet Russia well understand how much suffering there was in Esthonia before its people finally forced a reactionary and pro-Entente government to make peace with Soviet Russia. And the people of Soviet Russia hope that Esthonia will continue to receive gifts at the hands of the American Red Cross in spite of the fact that they have made peace with Soviet Russia. But the people of Russia cannot fail to understand that war is being waged upon them not only by treacherous foreign chancellories, but also by what is allegedly the world's greatest humanitarian organization, the Red Cross.

* * *

MR. H. P. DAVISON, then President of the American Red Cross Society, made, shortly before the opening of the war between the United States and Germany in 1917, a declaration to the effect that it was necessary to give contributions to the American Red Cross because that organization was one of the most potent agencies in the winning of the war by the United States. Whether Mr. Davison really meant this, we do not know, but at the time the statement was interpreted by many persons as meaning that the benefits of the organization would not be impartially distributed to soldiers of both fighting groups, but that the Red Cross was a combatant organization, aiding one of the belligerents to "win the war." However the case may have been in the war with Germany—and that war is one with which we are not now concerned—there is no doubt that Mr. H. P. Davison's remarks are entirely true when applied to Russia. For in Russia aid is given by the American Red Cross only to the reactionary or semi-"democratic" republics that have there been set up, or to out-and-out counter-revolutionaries; and no aid is given to the people who have dared set up a government that is new, a government that has overthrown the capitalists and refuses to recognize as valid the claims of creditors who long ago had lent money to its oppressors to aid them in the prosecution of their autocratic designs against the people of Russia.

* * *

ONE of the servants of the masters is Wrangel, the Wrangel who occupied the Crimea while the Red Cross was feeding refugees and fighting typhus in those parts. The *New York Tribune* of November 5 has the following news item concerning General Wrangel's mother:

TERIJOKI, Finnish-Russian Frontier, November 4.—The mother of General Wrangel, the anti-Bolshevik commander in the Crimea, arrived here yesterday from Russia absolutely destitute. She was cared for by the American Red Cross and furnished with money and

supplies by Colonel Edward W. Ryan, of that organization. Mme. Wrangel is anxious to join her son in South Russia.

Colonel Ryan, it will be remembered, spent a few days in Russia this year and described conditions there as far more terrible than they really were (we spoke of his report in our editorials in the May 22 issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*). There is no reason why a helpless old lady should not receive assistance from a representative of the American Red Cross, and it is fortunate that the refugees from Russia who need the attentions of the Red Cross are members of the reactionary classes; but it is unfortunate for the American Red Cross that it has few cases to point to, judging from the Washington message of October 30, in which it has given assistance to the persons really constituting the population of Soviet Russia. The colony of Petrograd children who were being transported home across the Pacific and the United States by the American Red Cross is the only body of persons connected with Soviet Russia whom the American Red Cross ever aided, as far as we know, and even then it was the intention for some time to return the children to Russia only after long delays. Their recent arrival in Finland is good news, however, and it is to be hoped that all of the children will soon be restored to their parents in various parts of Russia, most of them in the vicinity of Petrograd.

Recently we learn that Semionov's wife and mistress, both of whom seem to be estimable persons, are now in Japan, and have been supported thus far on funds whose ultimate origin is the treasury of the Japanese Government. Had they gone to Finland, their benefactor would have had to be the American Red Cross. But Semionov's mistress is not entirely without all relations to the latter body. We quote the following from the *New York Globe* of November 5:

"In Chita, this woman officiated as the leader in the distribution of the American Red Cross relief supplies and bestowed jewels and furs on many of the girl workers in the organization. One of her many trips to Japan and China, when she is supposed to have brought Semionov's wealth to places of safety, was made on an American train. The arrival of the bona fide wife may start a fight for the possession of these millions."

* * *

MANY guests have visited Soviet Russia since the establishment of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, now already in its fourth year. The number of visitors during the third year of the life of the Republic was much larger than in the former years, and the number of their printed reports has therefore also increased greatly. Furthermore, the number of picturesque fabrications for which some of these visits serve as an excuse is also on the increase. The latest misrepresenting guest is a guest indeed: he is Dr. L. Heilen Guest, Joint Secretary of the British Labor Delegation to Soviet Russia, and "a prominent English Fabian Socialist" (*N. Y. Tribune*, October 31). Here is what he writes in a recent number of the *London Times*:

"Lenin is best understood if he is thought of as a Central Asiatic Mahomet, sending out the cry of his new materialist religion from his high tower of the Kremlin in Moscow, and calling to the millions of the Russian and Siberian peasants to work, fight, and die for the new conception or against the errors and evils of the western democratic world. And this 'new conception' already is hopelessly old in the western world. It is the kind of materialism that speaks of mind as 'an excretion of the brain as bile is an excretion of the liver.' It is the kind of materialism that expects to find in a man's economic circumstances a complete explanation of his character and beliefs. In a word, it is the crudest kind of materialist fatalism.

"And Lenin and his helpers have all the marks of the zealous propagandist in the missionary zeal with which they seek to impose their views on other nations. The conditions of adherence to the Third International sent out lately to Germany, France, and England all lay stress on the need of subordination to Moscow and the need of implicit obedience. Like Mahometanism, too, the new faith is militant—its good is to be carried everywhere by fire and sword, heavy civil war and terrific struggle. The democratic side of Socialism, the liberal ideas implicit in western Socialism, such as free speech, free meeting, free and secret elections—all these disappear in the Russian conception. Lenin declares 'liberty is a bourgeois superstition.' Democracy is said to be a pretence to fool the workers. And Bolshevism is declared to be salvation."

Of course this silly stuff will be believed by no one that knows anything about "Western" Socialism, for any such person is fully convinced that "Lenin" Socialism and "Western" Socialism are identical, in so far as the latter is Socialism at all. And we hold no brief for "Mahometanism". It may be that Mahometans disseminated their faith at one time with the aid of the sword; it was certainly also the case with "Western" Christians at certain stages of their history. But it is not necessary for "the new faith" "to be carried everywhere by fire and sword, heavy civil war and terrific struggle." At least neither Soviet Russia nor the often-mentioned "Third International" is obliged to carry out this process. There is much oppression in Europe—in fact oppression in some countries has become unbearable. Ireland is in constant rebellion and Hungary and Germany are smarting from the wounds inflicted by the frightful blows of a savage reaction. Revolution in Italy is in progress and serious events are expected in Greece and Poland. It is difficult to see why Asiatic qualities must be attributed to Lenin merely because he understands the forces that are driving the peoples of other countries to revolution and frequently writes essays describing and evaluating these tendencies. The Norwegian Government, acting under orders from abroad, refuses to allow its fishermen to sell fish to Litvinov who is authorized by Soviet Russia to purchase their fish, and gives the fishermen no other means of realizing on the products of their labor, and yet is surprised to find disaffection growing among the population of North Norway. Is the slant of Lenin's eyes or the height of his cheekbones really so very important in a discussion of revolution in Europe as to make such allusions worth while? Mr. Guest seems to think so:

"In a few moments a secretary came and conducted us to a large, light room, furnished chiefly with large

desks and chairs, where Lenin stood ready to greet us. Lenin is a short man, nearly bald in front, and his hair is slightly ginger; his English is fairly good, but his French is better. The face is high as to cheekbones and the eyes are somewhat slitlike—the color of the face is very sallow, its general appearance definitely Asiatic. Lenin smiles often, but without geniality.

"We began the interview at once by asking about raising the blockade and getting peace.

"Lenin—It is perfectly impossible to get a capitalist government to raise the blockade. The English Government says it is not helping Poland, but this is not true. English liberal newspapers acknowledge that help is being given by England to Poland. The League of Nations is a capitalist conspiracy.

"Mr. Tom Shaw and I asked for definite proofs of help being given to Poland of a character we could produce in this country. Lenin retorted by saying we must turn out our government by revolution, and then we should find the secret treaties.

"Lenin—England and France are waging war against Socialist countries, and I hope for their defeat.

"In answer to a question, 'What kind of defeat?'

"Lenin—There is only one kind of defeat or victory.

"In answer to a question as to what was the obstacle to a League of Nations delegation:

"Lenin—The League of Nations is France and England waging war against us—we are not at peace.

"In answer to a question as to how we could help to get peace:

"Lenin—More resolutions are a little help. But only real help can come from the British revolution.

"In answer to a question as to how we could get Socialism in England:

"Lenin—I am a pupil of English Socialism. It would be childish to say that all our institutions must be copied. The Left Communists in England are making blunders because they are too much copying the first forms of the revolution in Russia. I am in favor of parliamentary action. We had twenty-five per cent of Communists in the Constituent Assembly, and this was enough for victory. In your country fifteen per cent might be enough for complete victory.

"In answer to further questions, Lenin suggested sending a message to the British workers (the one already published in England). In answer to another question:

"Lenin—I do not believe the blockade can be lifted with a bourgeois government in power in England.

"With regard to the Terror:

"Lenin—The Red Terror has been infinitely smaller than the White in Finland, Hungary, Egypt and Ireland. We are firmly for the Red Terror against the capitalist class. We are firmly convinced that the capitalist class will use every means of violence against the proletariat."

And yet everything Lenin said to Mr. Guest, according to the latter's own questions, was plain speaking of a moderate and sensible type; the suggestion that the English working class should overthrow their government might even be taken as a little joke on the part of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, for it really does seem rather ridiculous that two grown men should seriously ask him for proofs of British and French aid to counter-revolutionary generals, proofs that everyone in England has read in English newspapers. Of course Lenin has not the documents themselves, and of course he is right in saying that they can be obtained only from the foreign offices of the governments that have signed such treaties. Yet to some persons such badinage may seem so outrageous as to be worthy of that adjective which to them covers so much villainy—Asiatic.

The Russian Blockade and American Cotton

[The Representative of the Soviet Government recently received a letter from the Managing Editor of the "Oklahoma Leader", setting forth the adverse economic conditions affecting the cotton farmers of the United States as a result of the artificial restrictions imposed upon world commerce, and inquiring as to the possibility of Soviet Russia as a market for American cotton. In reply, Mr. Martens showed that the blockade of Russia was depriving the American farmers of an annual market for more than 760,000 bales of their cotton, that being the quantity of American cotton normally imported into Russia in pre-war years. Forty per cent of the cotton imported into Russia before the war came from the United States. In addition to the loss of this normal market, Mr. Marten's letter pointed out that the American farmers were being deprived of an even larger demand created by the present abnormal scarcity of cotton textiles in Soviet Russia. The Soviet Government is already negotiating for the purchase of cotton in the English market and would purchase great quantities of American fibre if the restrictions upon trade between the United States and Russia were removed.

We reproduce this correspondence in full.]

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA, October 14, 1920.

L. C. A. K. Martens,

Representative of the Russian Soviet Republic,
New York City.

My dear Sir:

A situation which threatens poverty and ruin to thousands of cotton farmers of this section of the United States has come about. The price paid to the farmer for his cotton has fallen below twenty cents per pound at the end of a season in which the farmer has been forced to pay exorbitant prices for everything which has gone into the production of his crop. The cotton producers state that the 1920 crop has cost from thirty to forty cents per pound to produce.

Cotton farmers so deeply resent the injustice which the situation imposes upon them that cotton gins over a wide area have been threatened with destruction if they do not cease operations until the price of cotton rises. Numerous gins have been burned.

There has been much talk, but no constructive measures have yet been taken. It seems reasonable to assume that the best way to attack the problem is by going at causes.

It is clear that the drop in the price of American cotton is largely due to the restrictions artificially imposed upon world commerce. It is manifest that if peace were made in Europe on a basis which permitted normal industrial activity and free commercial intercourse the present situation could not have arisen.

I desire to have a statement from you as to whether the government of the Russian Soviet Republic is at this time ready to make a definite offer for American cotton. If so, will you state the amount of the present crop which Russia would buy, the price and the terms upon which it would be taken and other pertinent conditions which would apply to the transaction.

I would like a statement as to what steps would be necessary to permit shipment of any cotton which the Russian Government might buy. The cotton farmers have an immediate interest in knowing what are the restrictions affecting their industry and whether the present policies of blockade and embargo are denying to them a large market for their cotton at a good price.

Very truly yours,

EDWIN NEWDICK,
Managing Editor, "Oklahoma Leader".

* * *

NEW YORK CITY, October 22, 1920.

Mr. Edwin Newdick,

Managing Editor, "Oklahoma Leader",
Oklahoma City, Okla.

My dear Sir:

I have given your letter of October 14th most careful consideration. The situation which you describe in the cotton industry of America has already engaged the attention of experts in the Commercial Department of this Bureau. It is quite true, as you state, that the present depression in the American cotton market, as

in many other lines of industry, is largely due to the artificial restrictions imposed upon the normal processes of production and commerce in Europe. Of these restrictions, the blockade and the continuous succession of wars waged against Soviet Russia by various forces and by counter-revolutionary bands supported by foreign powers are the most important and most far-reaching in their economic effect throughout the world. Russia has always been an integral part of the economic system of Europe. It was impossible to withdraw the extensive resources of Russia and the vast purchasing power of the Russian people from contact with the rest of the world without producing everywhere dislocation and depression in industry. Although the Soviet Government has been victorious in defending itself against its foreign enemies and is at present rapidly dispersing the last of the counter-revolutionary elements, nevertheless, the blockade is still in force, particularly as it affects trade between the United States and Russia.

In the case of cotton, the destructive influences of the blockade and of foreign intervention are particularly noticeable. Prior to the world war, Russia's annual raw cotton imports, during the period of 1909-1913 average \$56,804,500, which was nearly ten per cent of the entire value of Russian imports. Of the total quantity of raw cotton consumed by Russian textile mills during 1913-1914, about fifty-one per cent was of domestic origin (from Turkestan). Of the remainder, nine per cent came from Egypt and India and about forty per cent from the United States through Hamburg, Bremen, Liverpool, and other distributing centers. (It may be surprising to many American cotton growers to learn that such a large proportion of their crop reached Russia. Since it was almost exclusively handled by English and German middlemen, it was generally included in American statistics among the exports to England and Germany). Of the pre-war yearly consumption of cotton in Russia, totalling 1,784,752 bales, 762,352 bales were of American origin. This, then, represents the actual market of which the United States is deprived by the blockade of Russia, assuming all other conditions remained the same. But the potential purchasing power and demand in Russia for cotton today is of course vastly increased beyond this figure by many circumstances. Through a variety of causes the Russian textile mills have for some period been deprived of their regular domestic supplies and have been cut off from all foreign sources. The shortage has been so acute that various substitutes have been employed and a large quantity of flax, for instance, is now being worked into goods which normally would be made of cotton. Moreover, because of the blockade and of the disruption of transportation due to intervention and civil war, production of all textiles has been greatly curtailed in Soviet Russia. Thus, summing up the present situation, it will be seen that Russia for several years has been deprived of an annual import of 762,352 bales of American cotton, and that this shortage has been greatly augmented by the curtailment of the domestic supply, and that, further, the whole production of cotton goods within Soviet Russia is greatly in arrears of normal needs. If to these conditions we

add still another factor, namely, the greatly increased purchasing power of the Russian peasant and worker which has come to them as a fruit of the Revolution, we see that the immediate demand for cotton in Russia enormously exceeds that of pre-war years and will remain very large for a long period.

I need not point out to you, nor to any American cotton grower, the obvious relation of these facts to the present condition of the American cotton industry. In reply to your question as to whether the Russian Soviet Republic is at this time ready to make a definite offer for American cotton, I can say that it would be ready to do so, but that unfortunately under the present conditions no such offer can be made. Soviet Russia is most effectively blockaded. My Government is not recognized by the Government of the United States. There is no provision for cable or postal communication between America and Russia. The right to travel between the two countries is withheld. The Soviet Republic is prevented from transferring any funds and from establishing credits in the United States with which to finance purchases of the goods which it so greatly needs. Under these circumstances it is of course impossible to state the specific price or terms upon which we would be prepared to purchase American cotton, since so long as present restrictions remain in force there is no possibility of our making any such purchases and the question of price and terms can only be properly determined under conditions of practical trade and not on a merely hypothetical basis. I can of course say, and the statistics which I have given you show this clearly, that Russia will immediately desire to make large purchases of American cotton as soon as the blockade is lifted. In this connection I would call your attention to a letter recently addressed to Mr. Lloyd George by Mr. Karssin, the chief of the Soviet Government Trade Delegation at London, published in the *London Daily Telegraph*, October 6, 1920. Writing with regard to the various commodities for which the Trade Delegation is contracting in London, Mr. Krassin says: "Purchases of Egyptian cotton . . . could be effected soon after the conclusion of the commercial treaty." To your question as to the steps necessary to permit the shipment of cotton which the Russian Government might buy in America, I can reply that the only preliminary requisites are the establishment of such arrangements as ordinarily exist between commercial nations and without which international trade is impossible. The Soviet Government has never demanded formal diplomatic recognition as a preliminary to trade relations. We have merely pointed out that trade cannot be established without the necessary facilities for communication by post and cable, and for travel and for the transfer of funds. Without these facilities, of which we are at present deprived, it is of course impossible to resume trade.

Very truly yours,

L. MARTENS,

Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

POLAND AND SOVIET RUSSIA

By N. LENIN

The following is a portion of a speech by N. Lenin, President of the Council of People's Commissars, delivered in October, at the first session of the Russian Communist Party:

"When in January we made to the Poles a proposal for peace, which was extremely favorable to them and unfavorable to us, this proposal was interpreted by the diplomats of all countries in the following way: The Bolsheviki are very accommodating; therefore they are very weak.

"Intoxicated by this claim, the Poles ventured

their great assault and took Kiev. But our counter-attack threw back the Poles and pushed them almost as far as Warsaw. In the latest strategic turn of events, we have again retired 100 versts. The doubtless, rather serious position which grows out of this retirement is not however decisive; it is very important to know that the diplomats have been wrong in their calculations as to our weakness, that they are convinced that the Poles cannot defeat us, and that we were not far from achieving a victory over the Poles, and are not far from achieving such a victory even now.

"By our advance on Warsaw, we have come into touch with the center of the imperialistic world system. Poland, which is the last support in the struggle against Bolshevism, and which is absolutely in the hands of the Entente, is such a tremendous factor in that imperialistic system that the fact of a serious threat of this support by Soviet Russia has caused the whole system to tremble. The Soviet Republic has become a factor of increasing importance in world politics. The new situation has expressed itself particularly in the fact that the bourgeoisie of the countries in which the Entente rules have expressed their sympathy for Soviet Russia. The border states, whose relations to Bolshevism were expressed only in mass persecutions of Communists, have concluded peace and made treaties with us against the will of the Entente. This fact has had its reverberations in all the states of the world.

"On the occasion of our advance on Warsaw, great excitement and commotion was produced in Germany, resulting in a situation similar to that brought about in our country a year ago. A further consequence of our contact with Warsaw was the struggle of the western powers with their own proletariat, particularly in England. When the English Government sent us its ultimatum it transpired that the English workman had first to be consulted. These workers, whose leaders are—at least nine-tenths of them—opportunists and turncoats, answered with the formation of a Committee of Action, which is a union of all workers without regard to party."

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS'

Moscow, October 8, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Supplanting the state control of the former regime, the Soviet Government has undertaken the creation of a live controlling organization which would look after not only the formally correct spending of state funds, but also the actual enforcement of all possible abuses. To participate in the work of this institution to be known as "Workers and Peasants Inspection" representatives of the workers and peasants are elected. Elections are now being held for this workers' and peasants' inspection, and the entire press points out the importance of this event which gives workers and peasants an opportunity to rule the country for themselves, and control the activities of state officials.

British Capitalism Against Soviet Russia

By LT.-COL. CECIL L'ESTRANGE MALONE, M.P.

[The following is a portion of a speech delivered by Col. Malone in the House of Commons as contained in the official report of the proceedings of the English Parliament.]

IN ORDER to understand this matter, you must understand the financial interests which Members on the front Bench and their friends have in Russia. Before coming, however, to that part of what I am going to say, I want to make a few remarks concerning the Prime Minister's speech. To listen to the Prime Minister's speech was like listening to an anti-Socialist orator in Hyde Park—and a very indifferent one, too. I do not think, from the arguments put forward by the Prime Minister this afternoon, that he would have earned £5 a week which the average anti-Socialist orator in Hyde Park is able to earn. He made several very inaccurate statements concerning the internal conditions of Soviet Russia.

He selected statements from certain individuals who have been to Russia, and he took care to select individuals whose reports favored the case he wished to put before us. He chose the reports of a very few individuals—two out of some two or three dozen—who have reported to the contrary effect; and of those two whose reports he selected, one has been disowned by a large section of the Independent Labor Party. I am told that resolutions of protest are pouring in from every part of the country. (Hon. Members: "Name!") It is Mrs. Snowden. The Prime Minister made three points with regard to that, namely, that Mrs. Snowden is alleged to have reported—I hope for her own sake that she has not reported—that in Russia there is no Socialism, there is no democracy, and there is no Christianity. Let me deal briefly with those three points. With regard to the statement that there is no Socialism, no one has ever suggested that there is either Socialism or Communism in Russia. It is futile to suppose that there is likely to be Communism in Russia in this generation. Even if they had not been subjected to the war of intervention and blockade, and to other difficulties which have been imposed upon them by the Secretary of State for War and his colleagues, it would have taken a great deal longer than two or three years to pull down the old capitalist system and to build up a new Socialist order. You have to disorganize and reorganize nearly every government department—education departments, boards of trade, commercial departments. Every department is built up on a new system. Apart from the war which they have been waging—and, I am glad to say, waging successfully—it is not likely that you would have found Socialism in Russia today. The second point which the Prime Minister made was that in Russia there is no Christianity. What is the true fact about that? It is true that they have disestablished the old Orthodox Church. Anyone who knew the pernicious, vile political influence which

the old Russian Church held over the people in the time of Rasputin knows what a benefit to the Russian people the disestablishment of that Church has been. People who have been in Russia know quite well that religion is free in Russia today, with this difference over the past regime, that the clergy have to obtain their pittance from the contributions of the faithful and not from the taxpayer—a very beneficial change. (An Hon. Member: "They have all been murdered!") Not only I, but many other people have seen these priests and bishops, and as there is prohibition in the country I am sure they are not all ghosts. But it is really rather ludicrous to talk about lack of Christianity in Russia. Are we really so Christian in this country that we can talk of another country which has disestablished its old reactionary religion? I believe Russia is just as religious and as Christian as we in this country, and probably more so.

The third point was that there is no democracy in Russia today. But have we really got democracy in this country today? The Prime Minister spoke about elections. Are our elections really free? Are they any freer than the show of hands he referred to? (Hon. Members: "Yes!") I do not think so. (Interruption.) I got in by the same method as you got in. (An Hon. Member: "How did you get in?") 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 financial interest controlling the newspapers, comes along two or three days before the election, and instead of the issues being real, vital issues which are of importance to 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 real fundamental social basis which they should send 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 of the taxpayers' money was voted through the House without a single word, or even half a word, of discussion. That is the democratic legislation about which the Prime Minister boasts. If anyone analyzes the electoral machinery of the country, it is the remotest form of real democracy. Look at the Press. Ninety-nine per cent of the Press is controlled by financial interests. Only one daily paper is controlled by Labor, and even that paper

is in a bad way because it is boycotted on the capitalist bookstalls. It has to struggle against *The Times* and the *Morning Post* and the great papers which represent the financial interests. When I hear the Prime Minister comparing the two systems of electoral machinery I know he is simply talking through his hat. I know he does not mean it. I remember the time when he was living in a little room on the third floor in the City and he was boasting of the day when he would come before this country and lead it to Socialism. I wonder what he thinks of that now. I remember the conference in Glasgow in 1917 when he was howled down and he reminded us of that, too. He said he was going to lead the country after the war to become a great Socialist England. I do not know whether he is disguising his policy, but if he is, he is certainly disguising it very well. 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.

I will pass from that to a point which is of more vital interest today. I want to deal with the great financial interests in Russia—the people who are interested in Russia—and I will not leave the Front Bench untouched on this matter. I think there are two causes which are operating in this country in favor of intervention in Russia. First of all we have that large section of Conservatives—perhaps I will call them the people whose thoughts and ideas are represented by the *Morning Post*, who are frankly afraid of Socialism. I admire their outspoken frankness as I admire the outspoken frankness of the Secretary of State for War. At least they have the courage to say what they mean and what they want. They have a legal right from their point of view to oppose Bolshevism and to use every means in their power to fight it, because it is quite obvious that if Bolshevism succeeds the idea is bound to spread, and on that ground they will be quite justified in asking us whether or not we would spend money to fight against this terrible menace which they look upon as a devil from their point of view. And we of course should vote against it, and we should also use force outside to prevent these troops going to Russia. From that point of view it is quite legitimate. But what I regret is that beyond this there are groups of people and individuals in this country who have money and large shares in Russia, and they are the people who are working, scheming, and intriguing to overthrow the Bolshevik regime, because if Bolshevism continues, what will happen? Under the old regime it was possible to get ten or twenty per cent out of exploiting the Russian workers and peasants, but under Socialism it will not be possible to get anything at all probably, and we find that nearly every great interest in this country in some way or another is connected with Soviet Russia.

I will run through one or two of the big interests. First of all I will deal with the companies, and I will get down to specific individuals later. First of all we have the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated, Limited. That is an amalgamation of the businesses which were formerly controlled by Leslie Urquhart. This concern has interests in the Russian-Canadian Development corporation. In this Sir E. Mackie Edgar is the controlling influence. This gentleman is also the controlling influence in Sperling's, which is the controlling influence in those centers in which there has recently been agitation—I mean in Motherwell, in Glasgow, in Londonderry, and in Belfast. Then there are the British and the French interests. I have been at some pains to try to ascertain the exact extent of British and French investments in Russia, and I find from the Russian Year Book of 1918 it is estimated that approximately they amount to £1,600,000,000. That is a very considerable sum indeed. I should think it is composed, to about a half, of the Franco-Russian Loans, and the Franco-Russian Loans are largely financed by the Rothschild Bank in Paris. I feel it my duty to point out that the Prime Minister carries out these conferences at the house of his private secretary, who is very closely connected with, indeed, I think he is a nephew of, Lord Rothschild. These facts are very unsavory, but I cannot help drawing attention to them. When we talk about M. Millerand and about Marshal Foch and the French people being opposed to peace with Russia, we do not mean the French democracy, and we do not mean the French peasants or workers, but the French bondholders. Let us be quite clear about that. We mean the people whose ill-earned savings constitute the £1,600,000,000 which have been sunk in Russia.

I will give one or two other corporations interested in Russia. The next concern of any extent is the British Trading Corporation, which was the outcome of the Farringdon Committee. That corporation has two or three branches. It has a branch in Belgrade to watch the interests in Hungary. Naturally it is not in the interests of the British Trading Corporation that Bolshevism should spread to Hungary. It has another branch at Batum, and it has another branch at Danzig. It is rather curious that this great concern should have this branch at Danzig, and that after establishing the branch at Danzig the Allies should have declared that Danzig was a free port and maintained a free port at all costs, for the sake, I suppose, of trading relations with Eastern Europe. This same British Trading Corporation, which controls millions of pounds, also controls the National Bank of Turkey, whose headquarters are situated at Constantinople, and here again we find that Constantinople is in the hands of the British military. There is hardly a single headquarters of these big financial interests which are not being protected by British soldiers and British blood. The next thing is the Turkish Petroleum Company at Mosul, an-

other outpost of Bolshevism which we have to protect. That company is controlled jointly by three companies—the British Trading Corporation, the D'Arcy group and the Shell Company. The Shell Company has vast interests in Russia. These are some of the interests which the Shell Company, with a nominal capital of £23,000,000, has in Russia—the Ural Caspian Oil Corporation, the North Caucasian Oilfield, the New Schibareff Petroleum Company, Limited, and many others. It is quite obvious to any common-sense individual that these great financial interests are going to do everything they can to fight against Bolshevism. It does not matter what the Prime Minister says here. The War Minister and his organization is supreme, and whether or not he comes to the House and tells us he wants peace, every effort will be made openly or secretly to carry the war on, even if they have to use black troops from Madagascar or elsewhere. When you have £1,600,000,000 invested in Russia it is not likely that Hon. Members opposite, who largely control it, are going to risk losing it. I bring this point out so that people may know the influences that are behind the present movement; so that they may know what is going on, and why the people who are sitting here cheer anti-Bolshevik action. Does the House imagine that Hon. Members behind the Prime Minister who cheer his rhetoric, who cheer his Socialist bosh, do so with any feelings of humanity in them? Do they want to save life, do they want to have peace in Eastern Europe? No, they want to save their bonds and their dividends in their pockets. (Hon. Members: "Names!") If Hon. Members want names they can look at the directors of these companies. The book of directors is a cheap book to purchase. The British Trade Corporation might form an interesting study in other parts of the world. A study of its ramifications in the Levant Company, in which it holds large stocks, and in Syria and the Balkans might also provide useful information as to many of our commitments, naval and military, in different parts of the world.

The case before the country today is whether or not peace is to be established in Eastern Europe, or whether these dividends are to be made up again. Those are the alternatives. Is peace to return to Eastern Europe or are the profiteers who support the government to continue to get their profits out of the Russian workers? What I do object to, and what I do think is despicable, is that any member of the government should be connected with this business; that a member of the government should have financial interests in Russia. (Hon. Members: "Name!") I have already spoken about the Shell Company. I know it is a very delicate matter, but this is a very serious business, and it is very necessary that the people should know all the facts about the Russian business. Let us put all the cards on the table. Let us know all the facts, and let everybody in the country know exactly who is getting money out of Russia. I find that in the Shell Company the Prime Min-

ister's secretary holds 9,861 £1 shares. (An Hon. Member: "Lucky dog!") In connection with another person, whose name I need not mention, because he is not a Member of this House, he also holds 11,500 shares. There are distinguished naval and military officers whose names also appear on this list, but I am going to observe the ordinary courtesy of this House—which I must say is not always extended to me—by declining to give the names. I will read out the names of the gentlemen who control the British Trading Corporation, the Supreme Council which dictates its policy, the people who control hundreds of millions of pounds. (An Hon. Member: "What has that to do with it!") It has this to do with it, that if these men do not look after their interests they ought not to be there. There is Sir Vincent Caillard, who is one of the chief directors of the largest armament concern in this country, Messrs. Vickers, and its associated companies. Naturally a big firm like that are not disinterested in a little war in a country like Russia. There is Sir Dudley Docker, who is chairman of the Metropolitan Wagon Company, and also, I believe, chairman of the Federation of British Industries. This shows that all these big interests are interwoven one with the other. They are all interested in keeping the war going with Russia. Not a single one, with the exception of a few trading companies and a few exporting companies, are really interested in stopping the war. Behind these interests and behind the financiers who sit on the other side of the House are the newspapers and the other influences which go to make up public opinion in this country. In addition to the directors mentioned, there are in the British Trading Corporation Sir Hallewell Rogers, of the Birmingham Small Arms Company, Mr. J. H. B. Noble, of Armstrong, Whitworths, Sir J. Hope Simpson, and Sir Algernon Firth, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Great Britain and Ireland. That shows how the big interests are concerned in keeping the war going with Soviet Russia.

Murder of Baku Commissars

[A report of the execution which was published in the Socialist press of the Trans-Caucasus and reprinted in the Vladivostok "Krasnoye Znamya".]

As has become generally known in Baku and far beyond it, in September, 1918, a group of commissars who had come to Krasnovodsk from Baku completely disappeared, under puzzling circumstances, on the territory of western Turkestan (in the Trans-Caspian region). A number of contradictory, gruesome stories originated in connection with the disappearance of these men, who had been officially arrested by the Trans-Caspian authorities when they landed near Krasnovodsk and were afterwards locked up in the local jail. There were rumors that all twenty-six commissars had been taken to India; or that they had been killed during an attempt to escape; or

finally, that these men, as adherents of the Bolshevik rule with all its peculiarities and extremes, had been sentenced to death by an unknown tribunal and that the sentence was carried out.

Despite all the horrors of the implacable internal war which has dulled the senses of the people, there was no end of surmises and suppositions.

In reality the hideous action of cold-blooded decision concerning the life or death of over a score of people, and their removal and murder occurred in the following manner:

1. About the middle of September, 1918, the representative of the British Military Mission at Askhabad, Captain Reginald F. Tig-Jones, having been informed of the capture of twenty-six Bolshevik commissars on the Krasnovodsk banks, communicated with the head of the Trans-Caspian Criminal Bureau, Semyon Lvovich Druzhkin and with some members of the Regional Executive Committee, stating that, in accordance with the plans of the British Mission, he would like to have these commissars in India.

2. Fully agreeing with the reasons which Reginald F. Tig-Jones advanced in favor of the removal of the Baku commissars from Krasnovodsk to Meshed, and thence to India, S. I. Druzhkin, on his part, urged upon some the members of the Executive Committee of the Trans-Caspian region the necessity of assisting the execution of the plans and designs of the chief of the British Military Mission.

3. At the same time, however, Tig-Jones and Druzhkin informed the said members of the Executive Committee that they considered the removal of the commissars to Meshed and to India insufficient in many respects, and that all the commissars should be shot on the journey from Krasnovodsk, which was also fully in accordance with the designs of the British Military Mission in Askhabad, but that it should be arranged with certain "formal guaranties".

4. Specifically, Tig-Jones' and Druzhkin's plan provided for a fictitious receipt stating that the Baku commissars had been turned over to the British military authorities at Meshed, though in reality they were to be shot during the journey on the railway, between the stations Krasnovodsk and Askhabad.

5. The receipt of the British military authorities at Meshed to the effect that the twenty-six Baku commissars had been turned over to them, was intended, according to Tig-Jones and Druzhkin, to explain to the public the disappearance of the commissars, and so to put an end to all rumors of their death, murder, or escape.

6. However, assuming naturally that some public organizations, or the relatives and friends of the victims would sooner or later demand that the ultimate fate of the removed commissars should be ascertained, Captain Tig-Jones told Druzhkin—who in his turn told the members of the Executive Committee who had been informed of the plan on foot—that in due time official certificates

would be issued at certain intervals of the death of the twenty-six commissars, to which effect "any required medical certificate can be obtained."

7. All these reasons and the "formal guaranties" of Tig-Jones and Druzhkin convinced the members of the Executive Committee who had been taken into their confidence, and who at first were undecided, that the murder of the twenty-six Baku commissars was practicable, expedient, and necessary, and as a result they gave their consent to the plan and to its immediate execution.

8. To effect this plan, the aforementioned members of the Executive Committee and some other persons arranged to go to Krasnovodsk, and in the evening of September 19 a special train arrived at the Krasnovodsk station for the purpose of removing towards Askhabad the commissars who were to be shot.

9. Late in the night of September 19 they applied at the Krasnovodsk jail to take the twenty-six commissars to India through Meshed, and the jail administration gave its consent without any particular formalities.

10. The same night, the special train left Krasnovodsk with the commissars, the persons in charge of the removal, a guard, and continued on the way toward Askhabad for about seven hours, with but few stops.

11. At about 6 A. M. the train, having run 200 versts, stopped on the road between the stations Pereval and Akcha-Kuima.

12. Here those in charge of the removal and the execution informed the twenty-six commissars of their fate and began to lead them out of the car in groups of eight or nine.

13. All the commissars were overcome by the announcement of their fate and were absolutely silent, with the exception of one sailor, who exclaimed loudly: "I am calm. I know that I am dying for freedom." To this one of the men in charge replied: "We know that we too will sooner or later die for freedom. But we understand it differently."

14. After this a group of the commissars were led out of the car into the morning twilight and were at once shot. The second group when led out—apparently noticing the character of the locality which is covered with gray sand mounds, and which may have aroused in them some hope of finding cover from the shots—made an attempt to escape, but were riddled by the bullets from repeated volleys. The last group made no attempt to escape.

15. After shooting all the commissars, and making sure of their death, the executioners hastily buried the corpses in the sand (about 200 feet from the railroad bed) and burned a part of the belongings of the victims there. Most of their belongings were burned in the train itself.

16. After this the train went back to the place from which it had started.

Such, in brief, is the story of the execution of the twenty-six Baku commissars.

Wireless and Other News

THE COTTON CAMPAIGN IN SOVIET RUSSIA

A recent issue of *Pravda* reports very satisfactory results for the last cotton campaign. The cotton spinneries of the Moscow district are now supplied by Caucasia, Persia and Turkestan, by way of Astrakhan and Samara. From August 20 to September 20, 1,000 carloads of cotton were loaded for Samara alone. Since the beginning of this year 2,000,000 poods of cotton have passed through Samara on their way to the spinneries. The Russian cotton spinneries are now supplied with cotton in sufficient quantities to enable them to work without interruption for one year.

RADEK ON FRENCH IMPERIALISTIC POLICY

Moscow, October 17 (*Rosta*).—In *Izvestia* Radek outlines a series of attempts by French imperialists to create an anti-English outpost all over the world and thus secure for itself a position of European hegemony. One instance follows: The Franco-Belgian military convention was concluded outside of the League of Nations. Other instances are: The German policy pursued by France, the aggressive measures in regard to Lithuania, and the alliance with the Hungarian Government of Horthy. In the Near East France not only supports Kemal Pasha, but is deliberately creating an Assyrian kingdom headed by a French general.

CZECHO-SLOVAK DELEGATION IN MOSCOW

Moscow, October 15 (*Rosta*).—Part of the Czecho-Slovak Delegation of Trade Unions has left Petrograd for Moscow. Their aim is to study the Russian labor movement. The delegation will also inquire into the conditions for the admittance of Czecho-Slovak trade unions into the Moscow Labor International Councils and the Communist Internationale.

Moscow, October 17.—The Czecho-Slovak Trade Union Delegation arrived in Moscow on October 15. At the same time representatives of the Roumanian labor movement, headed by Popovitch. Green, Secretary of a Chicago Labor Council, also arrived.

PROGRESS IN RECONSTRUCTION WORK

Moscow, October 15 (*Rosta*).—An electric train invented by Engineer Makhonin arrived in Moscow on the evening of October 12, having left Petrograd at eight o'clock that morning. It ran one hundred and fifty versts without interruption and covered the whole distance from Petrograd

without recharging, thus beating the world record as German electric trains can only travel three hundred and fifty kilometers without recharging.

The first Russian vessel of reinforced concrete was launched at Samara a few days ago. Such vessels will gradually replace the wooden barges of the Volga fleet.

VOLUNTARY LABOR

Moscow, October 17 (*Rosta*).—Moscow factories, shops and individual artisans are frequently applying voluntary increase of working hours, besides extra Saturday afternoon labor to prepare clothing for the Red Army.

ADDRESS TO RUSSIAN WOMEN

Moscow, October 3, 1920 (*Rosta*).—*Pravda* publishes an address by Clara Zetkin to Russian working and peasant women. The concluding words of the message follow:

"Your example inspires us. Our victory will be your victory too, for the union of Soviet Russia and Soviet Germany will make both proletarian states invincible, and will immeasurably facilitate our common task of creating a new economy and culture. All hail to you, Russian working and peasant women. Your struggle is our struggle, the struggle of world revolution against world counter-revolution, and we proletarians of the world shall prevail."

POLES DESTROY BRIDGES

Moscow, October 6, 1920 (*Rosta*).—According to careful estimates the number of bridges destroyed by the Poles in their retreat reached the total of 109, large and small. This considerably exceeds the number of bridges destroyed by the Germans in 1914, and by the bands of Denikin, Petlura, and other counter-revolutionary leaders that have held sway over the southwestern part of Russia.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

Moscow, October 17 (*Rosta*).—Provision work in Central Russia, as well as in the western provinces is proceeding successfully. Passenger train traffic in Russia is rapidly approaching normal. At present direct fast trains are run: Moscow to Kharkov, 24 hours; Moscow to Archangel, 50 hours; Moscow to Omsk, 119 hours; Moscow to Saratov, 23 hours; and Moscow to Petrograd, 15 hours.

PEAT PRODUCTION

Moscow, October 7, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Official statistical data show that the peat production program in the Ural peat works will be fulfilled almost to the full amount of the proposed output, about 60,000 cubic fathoms.

FLAX PRODUCTION

Moscow, October 7, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Flax production in the current year is estimated to amount to four million poods. It is about half of the normal output. The government proposes to introduce premial system of rewards to increase the productivity of lint culture.

PRESS LIES REPUDIATED

Moscow, October 5, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Rumors about alleged revolts in Russia are absolutely false. The spirit of the people is most resolute for defence. In these days, every town and every village in Russia shows an extreme readiness to help the Soviet Government in its struggle for freedom and peace. Strikers on the northwest railways and in Semionov's factories, who are falsely reported to have killed commissars do not exist. Rumors as to the wounding of Trotsky are also false. The temper of the Red Army is magnificent and a campaign is in progress behind the front to supply troops with enough materials to finish with Wrangel during the winter.

Moscow, October 8, 1920 (*Rosta*).—In view of the malicious anti-Soviet propaganda abroad alleging unrest and uprisings in Russia, and particularly among sailors in the port of Petrograd, Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs issued today the following statement: "Petrograd is absolutely peaceful as is the rest of Soviet Russia's territory. There is no unrest among sailors, on the contrary their morale is excellent, and fancy stories spread in western Europe giving revolts and unrest among them only provoke mirth. The internal position of Soviet Russia is unshakable. As a result of the determined stand of peasants in southern Russia in favor of the Soviet Government the initiative on Wrangel's front is getting into our hands. Wrangel's rear is badly harassed by green partisans. A symptomatic incident is that Makhno has come over to our side and is now operating under our command. In the Kuban district unrest which first arose in conjunction with Wrangel's offensive has entirely been done away with. Stories abroad alleging weakening of Soviet authority are unmitigated lies calculated to confuse the situation in order to prevent the establishment of peace with Soviet Russia.

CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST YOUTH

Moscow, October 3, 1920 (*Rosta*).—The Third All-Russian Congress of Communist Youth opened at Moscow. About 600 young workers and peasants came from all parts of vast Soviet Russia as delegates to this congress. Lenin, greeted by stormy ovations addressed the congress, dwelling on the task of upbuilding the new Communist life. After the conclusion of the address, Lenin answered a series of questions put by the delegates. Lunacharsky greeted the congress in the name of the Commissariat of Public Instruction. Podvoisky explained to the congress the aim and significance of military training of youth. Preobra-

zhensky and Bukharin welcomed the congress on behalf of the central committee of the Communist Party.

ALLIED IMPERIALISM AND UKRAINE

Moscow, October 3, 1920 (*Rosta*).—*Izvestia*, in a leading article points out the important role played by Ukraine in revolutionary plans of all imperialists ever since the establishment of Soviet Russia. First German imperialism supported Skoropadsky and occupied Ukraine in order to deprive Soviet Russia of this fertile land and its rich resources. Then the Entente did the same supporting Denikin. Now France does the same in openly supporting Wrangel and covertly inciting Poland to come to terms with Petlura. France hopes to kill two birds with one stone, namely kill Bolshevism (one word out) to French imperialism and capture Ukraine's rich stocks of raw materials. After peace with Poland the South Russian front will remain the only front of the world bourgeoisie against Soviet Russia. There the long battle between Soviet Russia and world capitalism will come to a final issue.

PROLETARIAN CULTURE

Moscow, October 8, 1920 (*Rosta*).—In yesterday morning's session of the First All-Russian Congress of "Proletcult" (meaning proletarian culture establishments) Chairman of the Congress and the Central Executive Bureau for Proletarian Culture, Lebedev Poliansky made a report which stated that in spite of manifold unfavorable conditions of work, proletarian culture establishments had increased in number and now amount to three hundred. They are scattered throughout the central regions of Siberia, Ural, Ukraine, the Caucasus, and even Georgia. The "Proletkult" idea is spreading even in Western Europe and now notably there exists an international board of "Proletkults". Russian "Proletkults" did great work in the army on various fronts having organized concerts, meetings, lectures, theatrical performances, etc. In the domain of art "Proletkults" actively struggles against cubism, futurism, and other morbid forms of bourgeois art. The working class of Russia has already its own musicians, composers, sculptors, and painters as well as writers and poets.

Moscow, October 7, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Yesterday the Second All-Russian Conference of the Proletarian Culture Association opened in Moscow. There are more than 100 delegates representing one half million associated workers of 350 sections. The elected chairman is Lebedev Poliansky, vice-chairman, Member of the International Bureau for Proletarian Culture, John Reed.*

SPANISH SOCIALIST DELEGATION

Moscow, October 8, 1920 (*Rosta*).—The Spanish Socialist Party is sending a delegation to Moscow to study the economic and political situation in Soviet Russia.

* John Reed has since died of typhus in Moscow.

A Letter to Lloyd George

The following letter from Krassin to Lloyd George, in regard to trade with Soviet Russia, is taken from the "Daily Telegraph", London, October 6, 1920:

Sir.—The Russian Trade Delegation arrived in London at the end of May of this year, and for over four months has been endeavoring to come to an agreement with the British Government as regards the fundamental conditions which are to govern the resumption of economic and trade relations between the two countries. During its stay in Great Britain, the Russian Trade Delegation, with the help of its experts for various branches of trade and industry, has acquainted itself with the position of the English market, and has planned out a number of definite transactions and trade contracts, which could be carried out immediately after the conclusion of a commercial treaty between the two governments. The theoretical anticipations as to the extensive orders which it was thought could be placed with the British trade, have now become a definite assurance borne out by the knowledge of the British market, which knowledge has been secured as the result of direct communications with various mill and factory owners, and the visits paid to some of the largest industrial undertakings in this country.

The preliminary negotiations have established the possibility of exporting from England to Soviet Russia finished locomotives for the Russian railways, this being conditioned only by comparatively slight modifications in the present organization of locomotive works. Having regard to the fact that Russia's demand for new locomotives will grow on an ever-increasing scale with the economic rebirth of the country, and that this demand for new locomotives can be fully satisfied only in the course of several decades, the placing of orders for a considerable number of new locomotives of the same type with English producers should, it would seem to us, be of especial interest to those producers, and particularly to those amongst them who are now interested in making full use of the powerful plants which were erected during the war for the production of munitions. Certain locomotive and engineering firms in England have shown interest also in the work of repairing Russian locomotives, for which a special organization is proposed, so as to bring over on specially-fitted steamers the locomotives in need of repair, and to carry from England to Russia on their return journey those repairs which have already been completed. The annual demand of Soviet Russia in materials for railway transport (tires, pipes, forgings, boilers, etc.), which is estimated at the sum of over £10,000,000, could also in its greater part be satisfied in England, as the metal works here have sufficient stocks of metal and a large margin of unused productive capacity. There is also a possibility that in the near future the Russian railways will place orders for carriages and sets of wheels, particularly of the newest types, with a greater lifting capacity, as well as for special carriages with automatic fittings for unloading coal and ore.

As regards the general engineering trade, orders could be placed for heavy lathes for metal work and complete outfits for locomotive and railway repair shops. A special department is engaged in drafting orders for electrical appliances, varying from complete turbo-generating sets for the equipment of electric power stations, to ordinary standard types of motors and dynamos, measuring instruments, telegraph and telephone installations, etc.

The delegation has already entered into negotiations with large English firms with regard to orders for motor trucks, and these orders could be actually given in the shortest time possible. Orders for chemicals and medical supplies on a small scale have already been placed by the delegation, but they could be considerably increased with additional orders, such, for example, as for aniline dyes could be given as soon as normal trade relations between both countries are established. Various metal articles, steel for tools, files,

drills, various tools for metal and wood work, are obtainable here in large quantities, and could be delivered within the shortest possible time. Orders for a quantity of such articles have already been placed by the delegation, but considerably bigger purchases could be made in the near future, provided regular shipments could be secured.

Soviet Russia, on account of the limited paying resources which will be at its disposal during the next few years, cannot become as great a purchaser of English cloth and textiles as would be commensurate with the actual needs of Russia and the size of its population. But already the Russian Trade Delegation has received instructions from its government to place orders for textiles amounting in value to several million pounds, and has actually done so with regard to some orders; whilst with regard to others negotiations are being carried on with a number of textile firms. Soviet Russia stands in need of considerable quantities of raw materials and semi-manufactured articles required by various branches of the Russian industry; orders for such materials could also be made in London, which is the world market for goods of that kind. Purchases of Egyptian cotton, rubber, Colonial products, such as coffee, tea, and tanning extracts, could be effected soon after the conclusion of the commercial treaty.

The Russian Trade Delegation during its stay in London has been conducting negotiations, and partly, has actually signed agreements with a number of English firms with regard to the export of goods from Russia to this country. Preliminary agreements have been entered into for export from Archangel and Petrograd of timber to the amount of several tens of thousands of standards, and also for the delivery of two million sleepers for the English railways. An agreement has been concluded, and is already being carried out, for the delivery of various kinds of plywood, more especially as material for manufacturing boxes. Soviet Russia could make immediate deliveries of considerable quantities of fine sorts of wood, and particularly of oak for cabinet-making and carpentry. The export of flax, hemp, leather, fur, carpets, peasant "kustar" products, bristle, hair, tobacco, manganese ore, and certain other goods is held back solely owing to the impossibility of free sailing between Russian and British ports, as well as conducting regular trade operations, until an agreement between the two countries to this effect has been arrived at.

A very important and immediate part in the export trade of Soviet Russia could be played by naphtha, kerosene, benzine, lubricating oils, and other products of naphtha, the stocks of which, both in the Baku and the Grozny districts, are very considerable, viz., about two million tons.

The above brief enumeration of various branches of the import and export trade shows that even before the navigation season is over, a considerable exchange of goods could be effected, thus serving to relieve the grave economic situation in which Europe has found itself since the conclusion of the world war. The Russian Trade Delegation regrets to state that the best part of the navigation season of this year has been lost for the resumption of trade relations with Russia which could have supplied considerable quantities of raw material. This delay in the resumption of trade relations between Russia and Western Europe is to be all the more regretted as it would seem the principles which were to form the basis of the agreement between Russia and Great Britain in the main outlines have been fixed in the negotiations which during the last four months have been taking place between the representatives of both countries. There seems to be every reason also to assume that no irreconcilable differences of opinion exist between the two governments with regard to the details

of the trade treaty. It may be considered, therefore, that nothing actually stands in the way of bringing the negotiations to the speediest issue embodied in a trade treaty, so as to make possible the carrying out of the proposed transactions for mutual exchange of goods before the present navigation season is over.

In bringing the above to your notice, I beg to add that I have received instructions from my government to take all such possible measures as would lead to the speediest conclusion of the trade negotiations, and, as far as possible, the immediate signing of the proposed agreement.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully.

(Signed) L. KRASSIN.

BRITISH AND RUSSIAN PRISONERS

A Note forwarded to Lord Curzon by Mr. Krassin deals exhaustively with the exchange of prisoners. In this Note Mr. Krassin states that he is instructed by his Government to state that the Russian Government is prepared to start immediately the exchange of prisoners and is in a position to deliver the English prisoners very soon across the Finnish frontier, for which purpose the British Charge d'Affaires in Finland should be instructed to act on behalf of the British Government.

Instructions have already been sent to the Russian Government representative at Tiflis to deal with the question of the repatriation of the Baku

prisoners on the lines agreed to by Lord Curzon in his Note of October 9. With reference to the Russian prisoners in England, the Russian Government expects the delivery of Mr. Babushkin's party to meet the first consignment of British prisoners on the Finnish frontier, and expects the delivery of Russian prisoners in Egypt and Constantinople, and especially representatives of trade unions arrested by the British military command at Batum during their occupation of Batum.

Allegations are made in this Note that a Russian citizen at Constantinople was kept in a wooden cage for two months, badly fed and maltreated and that the prisoners' trade union leaders at Batum are kept under bad conditions, not sent to hospitals when ill, maltreated when refusing to work, not supplied with underclothing, and kept with ordinary criminals.

The Russian Government, the Note adds, expects that the British Government will carry out its undertaking to release its citizens suffering in such a way, not only in the letter, but in the spirit of Lord Curzon's Note of October 9. Meanwhile, the evacuation of British citizens from Russia is going to be carried out without delay.—*The Manchester Guardian*, October 16, 1920.

THE NEXT ISSUE

SOVIET RUSSIA

Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:

1. JAPANESE INTRIGUES AND PROPAGANDA, by *Max M. Zippin*.
2. NATIONALIZATION OF WOMEN, by *Leon Trotsky*. *An interesting exposure of the falsehood of the nationalization decree attributed to Soviet officials.*
3. NORWEGIAN DELEGATES ON SOVIET RUSSIAN CONDITIONS. *Report of the Norwegian Metal Workers recently returned from Russia.*
4. *Last Instalment of MOSCOW IN 1920*, by *Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt*. *Among other interesting topics Dr. Goldschmidt describes the following: the Supreme Council of National Economy, the Textile Central, the German Consulate, and the Return Journey.*
5. *Interesting BOOK REVIEWS*, by *A. C. Freeman*. *A review of several interesting anti-Bolshevik books, exposing their misrepresentations and exaggerations.*
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