

SOVIET RUSSIA

Japanese Intrigues

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Norwegian Delegates on Russian Conditions

Christiania, October 10.

THE delegation of the Norwegian Metal Workers has made a report on its journey in Soviet Russia. The statements were made at the plenary session of the Norwegian Trade Unions by the two delegates Kristensen and Langseth, members of the Norwegian Workers' Delegation:

"It was already clear at our reception in Murmansk that we were in a country whose social basis was no longer capitalistic. It seemed as if capitalism had been swept away in Russia by the wind. Everything has been simplified and clarified, and even the uneducated workers can understand. The members of the delegation were permitted to go about everywhere, although special permits were required for the war zone. To be sure, prices have been raised immensely when goods are obtained by speculation, but otherwise all goods are distributed equitably and all speculation is disposed of in the most stringent manner, particularly if the guilty ones are Communists.

"I was particularly touched," said Kristensen, whose remarks are being quoted, "by the care for children. I am a member of the Christiania City Council, and I know what we have done for the children, and I must admit that it is a disgrace for us to consider how far behind Soviet Russia we are in this respect. The Russians give the children the best of everything. When the rations of adults between 25 and 50 years of age were reduced, those of the children were increased.

"It was difficult to explain the new order of things to illiterates. The eight-hour labor day was divided into two parts: four hours in the work shop, four hours at school. Ideal continuation schools were founded for instruction in practical matters and industrial arts. Parents were not

obliged to deliver their children to the school homes, and yet the homes were overcrowded. Children were taken away only from those parents who were incapable of bringing them up themselves. The same was done in the case of those families who made their children peddle things in the street. Every adult person who is able to read and write is obliged to impart this knowledge to two persons heretofore unable to do so. This is the explanation for the small number of illiterates in the cities.

At the Places of Work

"In the workshops and factories the conditions vary considerably with the various parts of the country. In the western parts, for instance, in Petrograd, you have about the same conditions as in Scandinavia. Farther to the east the situation becomes far less advanced. In the Ural regions, for instance, labor is by no means very intensive, for up to January of this year this was still a theatre of war. The Kolchak soldiers destroyed innumerable machines and inundated the mines. One of our interpreters had formerly been a director of an enterprise that employed 30,000 workers. This man is no Communist, but according to his view the present form of society will restore Russia industrially, which no other form of society could do. The form of management in the various localities is also different. In many enterprises there is a single trustee at the head, in others there is a workers' council; in some a director or an engineer. Wherever we went, the burning question was what is the best form of management.

The Founding of Garden Cities

"Housing conditions also vary considerably. In Petrograd there are enough dwellings; in Moscow

there is a lack of sufficient facilities. Great plans for the construction of houses have already been worked out, according to which the most beautiful garden cities of the world will be constructed in Russia within five years. The question of rent has been eliminated. Formerly there were often strikes. When we asked the workers, on this trip, whether there are still strikes, they answered: "Whom have we to strike against?" The people know very well that every product is being distributed justly, and once they know that, there is no trouble about their remaining at work." Kristensen closed his speech with the remark that only volunteers are now being sent out as soldiers, and that there are nevertheless so many soldiers that not all can be assigned to military work.

Haavard Langseth had a large amount of printed matter which he had brought back to Norway with him, all of which was confiscated by the Norwegian Government, and only a small portion was later returned. He discussed the economic changes that had taken place in Russia. "We live too much in a capitalistic frame of mind and can therefore little understand what is going on in Russia. In the year 1905 Russia was nothing else than an economic colony, but after 1907 there developed, in consequence of Witte's economic program, a very rapid industrial growth, with the result that the production of raw materials could hardly keep pace with the demands of industry. This unnaturally rapid development had brought forth a great economic crisis, so that only a revolution could save Russia. In consequence of Germany's invasion, industry had to be withdrawn more and more from the west of the country to the center and to the east. Not only were the machines transplanted, but also the class-conscious revolutionary workers, which had an advantageous influence on industry. Unemployment was imminent and production going down, but the greater part of the bourgeoisie was making great profits, as in other countries. The decline of production was the chief cause of the Russian Revolution. At the end of 1916 and the beginning of 1917 the workers in many places already were demanding the control over production in many factories. Councils of factory workers were being formed, in spite of the indignant resistance of the capitalists. The Mensheviks, who at first were the majority in the workers' councils, were unsuccessful in their work, and therefore the power over these councils passed into the hands of the Bolsheviks.

"The November Revolution made possible the completion of the necessary economic readjustment, so that there is already a certain activity in economic life. Organs were established for the control of the entire industrial production. The sabotage of the bourgeoisie involved an acceleration of the processes of socialization, which it had been originally intended to prosecute rather slowly. Foreign capital also began to become rather restive. In the midst of the most bitter struggle with the bourgeoisie, production had to be speeded up. A strong centralized leadership of production

was required. This centralization, which saved Russia, is a different thing from the trustification of capitalist society, because it may be supervised by the workers themselves. Russia is still suffering under the economic pressure, which is however only a consequence of external attacks. This is the manner in which we must understand the economic situation of the Bolsheviks, the institutions that gave them their strength, and that they will sustain with all their might. They recognize that they have made mistakes, but such mistakes can be remedied, for the system is a good one. We shall see Western Europe pass through the same transformation as Russia. Therefore we must learn to grasp the decisive and purposeful policy of the Bolsheviks in the economic field. For this policy is what has enabled Russia to stand until the present time."

Langseth further reported how economic life in Russia was being administered. "At the head is the Supreme Council of National Economy, consisting of 68 members, 10 of whom are from the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, 31 from the trade unions, 10 from the local economic councils, and two from each People's Commissariat. The trade unions have great influence all over. They are the representatives of the people in productive life; three great economic combines have been formed, and there are three different systems of organization: a collective (workers' council) administration, a financial administration (director), and finally, a private administration. The industrial councils represent the direct interests of the workers in the factories; they have supervision over each man's actual work, they control the dwellings, the hospitals, etc. Through the trade unions they also have influence on the administration of industry. Together with the People's Commissariat for Labor, they determine the various workers' tariffs, etc.

"The great problem of production can only be solved gradually. For the electrification of Russia a unified plan has already been worked out: in course of eight years it is to be carried out. In Petrograd alone there are 70 electric stations. These are being united into a great single gigantic whole, which will supply the whole city and its environs with electricity. The question of fuel is one of the most difficult ones. In the central portion of the country it has been nevertheless possible to gather 50,000,000 cubic meters of wood. After the occupation of Baku, the exportation of naphtha began immediately and was continued throughout the summer—6,000,000 poods were exported."

The speaker reported also on transport conditions and foodstuffs, and stated that nutrition in Russia was better than it had been in Germany during the war. He denied that there was any minority rule in Russia, since the whole centralized system is under the control of the working-class. "It is the only possible transition form, the capitalist tendency is becoming weaker and weaker, for centralization involves voluntary self-discipline. The

Russian Communist Party had to unite all the energies of the working class, and thus secure the victory of the Russian Revolution. The trade unions are maintaining peace within and protecting the

cities against any possible spasmodic efforts of capitalist restoration."

The reports of the two delegates were received with the greatest enthusiasm.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

WOULD the liquidation of the Crimean front put an end to the bloodshed in Soviet Russia? My answer is in the negative.

As things appear to me from a purely strategical standpoint, there is no chance for peace in Europe, in general, or in Russia in particular, as long as the capitalistic coalition of world imperialism does not desire peace.

We have many proofs of the peaceful attitude of the Soviet Government, and it is not necessary to repeat them here. Soviet Russia wants peace. The aim of Russian strategy is to force the numerous enemies of the Soviet Republic to conclude definite peace with the Russian workers and peasants; while the strategy of the capitalistic coalition, on the contrary, is based on a determination to destroy the established regime in Russia. In view of this state of affairs, there is nothing for the Russian people to do but to fight those who attack them.

Now let us calmly review the situation in Russia. The time has come when the truth must be told without fear of criticism by those who dwell in the morass of lies and calumnies so generously spread throughout the world concerning Russia. At the present moment the Red Army of the Soviet Republic for the sixth time in its three years of fighting against enemies armed and strongly backed by formidable capitalistic powers once again has completely defeated its southern foe, and we hear nothing in the capitalistic press of the superhuman sacrifices of the Russian people and the Red soldier.

Let us recall the Great War, the "heroism" of the Belgian bourgeoisie, which fled in panic before the Kaiser's legions. The Belgian "hero" manufactured by the capitalistic press of England is popular to this day among the ignorant classes, while the Belgians are now being chosen for a newly planned "pacification of Russia", and on a greater scale than in the past. Let us mention also the Serbian landowners who were turned out of their own country by the force of German militarism, in spite of all support of the Allies, and who have finally sold out entirely to British capital and have now been sent to fight the Russian workers and peasants. We know what a high tribute was paid the "brave little Serbians" who are recorded by bourgeois historians of the Great War and of the armed intervention in Russia as a heroic nation.

And what about Russia?—the Russia which, now destitute, starving, crucified, tortured and bleeding, the Russia which sacrificed on the altar of western "democracy" seven million workers and peasants, and is now entering her fourth year of fighting

a more formidable and cruel enemy than Germany, and is still strong and victorious!

Does it not deserve admiration—this heroic struggle of the Russian workers and peasants for the sacred right to organize themselves in the way they think is right? But the bourgeoisie of the world hates their bravery, hates their self-sacrifice, hates their ideals, and inflicts upon them a systematic destruction by means of starvation, epidemics and murder. Now that there isn't any doubt that the whole Wrangel adventure is a complete failure, now that his bands have abandoned to the victorious Reds their strongest strategical positions south of Perekop and in the Chongar Peninsula, with all their artillery, stores, concrete fortifications, and other booty, I find in the *New York Globe*, of November 10, a report from a "disinterested" military observer at Sebastopol, who says that "the recent retreat of General Wrangel's army into the Crimea was accomplished with notable success, it was said at the French Foreign Office today." "The morale of the troops," the report declared, "remained extremely high, and General Wrangel was represented as confident that, with proper material, he could reorganize his forces and maintain his position without great difficulty. It was the overwhelming number on the South Russian front which precipitated Wrangel's retreat, the general asserted." The readers of my military reviews may insist that the final victory will be with him who has a superior number of fighters. "La victoire est aux gros bataillons." That is my motto, and the western military organization, with all its destructive technical means, inspires me with no doubts as to the final victory of the Red Army, because Soviet Russia, while defending her gigantic battle-fronts, will always be numerically superior to her enemies.

In order to understand the absurdity of the above quoted statement by the French Foreign Office in Sebastopol, it is necessary to study the latest operations of the Red Army which has fought its way into Crimea. As we know, the last stand of the fragments of the beaten Wrangel forces was in the west, south of the town of Perekop. Here had been prepared several lines of modern trenches, protected by a wide belt of barbed wire entanglements. This narrow fortified front was closely watched by the Allied navy from the Gulf of Perekop in the west, and by Wrangel's flotilla from the so-called Sea of Sivash in the east. Several powerful batteries of siege artillery were placed behind these positions, which were in communication with the Simferopol railway, by a new-

ly constructed narrow-gauge railroad. French military experts considered these positions as impregnable. East of the Isthmus of Perekop, almost in the middle of the Sivash Sea, is situated a peninsula, Chongar, connecting with the mainland, and called "the bridge", because the Simferopol railway passes over it from Melitopol. This peninsula is the northeastern gate of Crimea, and was strongly fortified by reinforced concrete constructions and numerous armaments of the modern type.

The French General Staff made every effort to arm the Chongar forts and batteries in such a way that they they might definitely bar the entrance to Crimea. Besides this, the sandy Tongue of Arabat protects the Sivash Sea and consequently Crimea from the east; and it was said that Wrangel had at his disposal a strong detachment of destroyers and an armed flotilla in Arabat Bay, in the Sea of Azov. The eastern extremity of Crimea was protected by the fortifications of Kerch. The southern shores of the peninsula are guarded by the Allied naval forces, thus permitting Wrangel to get supplies and reserves without being menaced by his adversaries.

From a military point of view, the position of the anti-Soviet forces in Crimea may be considered as very strong; they could have offered resistance to an attack of an enemy of at least three times their strength, had Wrangel remained on the defensive.

But unfortunately for Wrangel, the French strategists interfered and made things easy for the Reds. A study of the reports from Moscow on the last victory of the Red Army in Crimea, leads us to conclude that General Mangin suggested to Wrangel absolutely the same tactics as were used by General Weygand at Warsaw. At the end of October, after a series of tactical defeats in the north, Wrangel, it seems, has determined to pass the winter in Crimea, under the protection of his strong advanced position at Perekop and Chongar. It may be that the hasty retreat of his hordes from his two northern fronts to the Crimean peninsula was partially due to the interference of the French command, which had in view a repetition of the mistake the Reds had made during their swift march on Warsaw. In fact, the advance of the Red Army from Alexandrovsk to Crimea was very quick and caused some anxiety. There already were some signs that the Red forces had not brought to the battle-line all the necessary reserves, for certain successes of the Wrangel bands, as shown by the number of prisoners taken, seem to indicate that Wrangel had seen a favorable opening somewhere.

A strong counter-attack by a mass of freshly concentrated reserves, having in their rear some such fortified position as was at Wrangel's disposal, might easily have ended in a victory over an enemy whose operative lines extended over a rather long distance, and suffering a shortage of railway communications as well as of mechanical transport.

Therefore two big counter-offensives were planned by the French command against the Reds, who

had already occupied the town of Perekop and in the northeast were in possession of Salkovo and Genichi, thus being at the gates of Crimea.

According to the military communique from Moscow, of November 8, which was sent from London to the *Christian Science Monitor*, "in the Perekop region, enemy attacks on Bolshevist positions east of Perekop were successfully repulsed." Later on it became known that the famous entrenched lines south of Perekop, after a stubborn fight, were broken through by the Reds, and Wrangel's demoralized bands were forced to fall back in complete disorder, being menaced from the rear. This was the result of the failure of a second counter-offensive which Wrangel undertook to a northwesterly direction from Chongar.

"The enemy," says the same dispatch, "forcing his way toward Salkovo and Genichi, was energetically pursued by Bolshevik troops, who on November 3, as a result of a rush attack by cavalry and infantry, captured the station of Rykovo and Novo-Alexeievka, and further developing their successes, broke into the Chongar Peninsula, overcoming strongly fortified positions near Dzhinbuluk station and near Chongar." "On November 4," this dispatch continues, "Bolshevist light cavalry detachments (the Red Cossacks), continuing their advance, were forcing their way into Sivash. In the course of November 3 and 4 the Bolsheviki captured a large number of prisoners and booty. Of the latter, 22 guns, three armed trains and 40,000 shells have so far been counted." It is very characteristic that the British censor carefully omitted to allow the fact to pass through that Wrangel's troops were defeated by the Reds, nor is it explained in the dispatch what kinds of guns were captured, and how many Whites were made prisoners. After having crossed the narrows between Chongar and Crimea by the Simferopol railway, the advance Red detachments took, some of them, the direction of Shankoi, a strategical railway junction of the Perekop-Kerch and Simferopol-Melitopol railways and particularly, westward in order to cut off from communications with their rear the troops which fought the Red attack directed against the entrenched positions of Perekop. As far as I know that last movement decided the fate of Wrangel's Perekop front which has finally collapsed.

But rejoicing in this important victory of the Red Army we must not be too optimistic. We understand clearly that even the complete defeat of the forces of the Crimean Baron, and even his death or his reported retreat to France on a French warship will not put an end to the sufferings of the Russian people.

There is another bloodthirsty bandit in the west who has already started a new campaign against the Soviets, a campaign which like those in the past is being carefully planned by the Entente. Balakhovich in company with Savinkov, Guchkov, and other traitors are ready to try a new march on Moscow. There is no doubt that energetic concentration of the Polish forces on the Russian frontier

is in full progress. The appearance of the Belgian troops in Lithuania proves that the capitalistic coalition has not abandoned its aim to crush the proletarian republic of Russia, and is organizing a new combination for a new sudden attack.

The support from the Polish shliakhta, which the bandit Balakhovich is enjoying in Minsk, as well as the fact that the Polish Government is helping Simon Petlura, the Ukrainian usurper, to join Wrangel's bands, sufficiently prove that the present Polish rulers are prepared to use the arm-

istice with Soviet Russia as a blind to prepare for a new war. I do not trust the Polish shliakhta, the most chauvinistic, most ambitious and bellicose class in the world, and a peace signed with a proletarian republic by their representative they will always consider a scrap of paper to be torn to pieces at the first order from London or Paris.

A real peace with Poland, I repeat once more, can be established with Soviet Russia only if the Polish people liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialism.

Moscow in 1920

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(*Eighth and Last Instalment*)

Krzyzanowski

The office of the Electrical Section is in a street on the other side of the Moskva. There is no bustle, no bee-like activity (from the outside) in these rooms. It is much quieter here than in the building of the Textile Central or in that of the Supreme Council of National Economy, which is one uninterrupted swarming mass. Here Krzyzanowski works, Lenin's friend. He is an elderly man, perhaps even an old man, in years, perhaps sixty. Hardly of medium height, slight of build, somewhat the privy-councillor, somewhat professor. But he is a man that still has fire, a man who burns, a man with cerebral muscles. A practical man, sublimated by theory, a man who plans on the largest scale.

I had two heart-moving experiences in Moscow, as I have already mentioned: My session with the Factory Committee of the Prokhorov establishment, and my visit to Krzyzanowski.

He is a friend of Lenin. He has a direct telephone wire into the Kremlin, into Lenin's office. I believe Lenin takes his advice on economic matters, and he is not making a mistake in doing so. For this man, as it were, is a Stunkel raised to the highest degree. He is more sinewy, more brilliant. He is older than Stunkel, not so obviously energetic, but his brain is much more delicately articulated.

He had an interpreter with him, an electro-technician who had studied in Germany. Krzyzanowski speaks German too, but not well enough for all purposes.

They were both enthusiastic about Germany. Both hoped for the organizing assistance, the technical assistance of Germany. Both were trained by association with the plans of Klingenberg (of the General Electric Co., *Allgemeine Elektrizitaets Gesellschaft*). But, as Krzyzanowski says, the plans cannot be carried out under capitalism; they must be carried out under Socialism. For electricity is the power of Socialistic society, while steam is the power and was the power of capitalistic society. The new era of electricity has come.

He then outlined his plans for me. He gave me a map, which I shall publish later. For it is

not only a map showing the transformation of Russian economy; it is a map showing the alterations in world economy, if its lines are prolonged to cover the rest of the world. It is a wonderful map, and you may well have high hopes for it. He developed his plans before me. Russian industry traveled, settled down, was transplanted, went from the north to the south, to the east, to the Urals, to Siberia. Electricity drove it on, drew it, encircled it, enflamed it, gathered it, organized it.

Riches of which I had no suspicion rose before me. The master key had been found. Minerals were pressing their way through the crust of the earth, gigantic yellow fields of grain extended before us. Immense power stations shot their currents through a systematic web of wires. I understood the sense of rational distribution of points of vantage, the sense of new shifting. This was really a new economy.

He spoke of the nitrogen plans, of the phosphate deposits, of a Siberian region that offers nourishment to 40,000,000 people; a Canada of the East was revealed. He spoke of investigating commissions who are examining Russia's riches. He wielded, as it were, an immense divining rod, a Paradise opened before me, an orderly paradise, with well-equipped trees, with neatly-stoned roads, with well-fed people, people with lots of time, people who idle in God (to use an expression of my friends Matthias and Dengel).

He said: "Now the economic errors of the old era are coming out, the errors of extravagance. Now these things that were hidden by the old era are becoming clear. The never revealed is assuming form, the never raised treasure, the forgotten Paradise."

He was full of enthusiasm. He had his doubts, he knew how long it would take. He knew the difficulties, he longed for help. But he was all enthusiasm, full of courage. The designs could never be lost again. They had been conceived even before the war. But their practicality, their definite formation, their concretion is the problem of today. It has nothing to do with politics. It is non-political, non-partisan, free from party strife, for this is the new era. It is not Russia, it is the

world, the new world. It is the beginning of the new world.

Palaces glittered, the homes of the people glowed with a new light, potash poured from the mines, piled up, vitalized the fields, and made the sap rise and swell the heart of the grain. Life became a swarming ant-hill, the golden age had come.

I became breathless, my breath ran short in my attempt to absorb so much new material. Here was a strategist completely different from the strategists at the front, or from the political strategists. This was the new peace strategist, the power directing strategist. I think there are such strategists in Germany, too. Happy the people who are being guided by such strategists. For guidance of this kind is the basis of the new era. No partisan croakings, no violent slaps in the face, no mud-throwing, no disgusting crimes and penalties, no sitting in judgment, no stale legal quips, but the new era, with its peace, its joy of life, its clear vision of a definite goal. May our children enjoy it.

Plavnik

Glav-Textile (Textile Central) was formerly a sub-division of the Chemical Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy. It is now an independent department; for the textile industry is one of the greatest industries of Russia.

Plavnik is a member of the presidium of the Textile Central. He is in charge of the financial bureau, of the accounting, of the treasury of this giant combine. He is a man 34 years old, tall, narrow-cheeked, with very quick movements. On holidays he wears a white Russian blouse with red embroidery.

I worked with him every day for four weeks. Or rather for four weeks he gave me a daily lecture, for my benefit, on the organization of the Russian textile industry. It is to be the main chapter of my book on the industrial organization of Soviet Russia.

He showed me the beginnings of the Soviet textile industry, its development. He showed me the conflicts, the difficulties, and their successful elimination, showed me the compulsory labor system and its application.

He explained the system of state control, of socialization. I began to comprehend through him the production system, the new budget, the Socialist budget, the budget that is no longer based on a capitalist money system, on the profit system. I learned to comprehend the universal moneyless system, the currency system without currency, payment without means of payment, the universal system of accounting. The socialist system of accounting which is so different from the accounting under the system of private property.

He had sketches made for me illustrating the system of socialization of industries, and statistics showing the control of production. He explained to me the financial sheets and the proof sheets. He took me through the different sections and departments, and through the offices of the textile union.

Plavnik is not unknown in Germany. He was in

Germany in 1918. He was on the staff of the Russian Soviet Embassy in Berlin, and occupied previously one of the most important administrative posts in the German textile industry.

Plavnik is appreciated as a man of clear intelligence. He is an energetic man, a man of quick decisions, a busy man. He has other duties besides, for men, leaders, are scarce in Moscow, and the individual is overburdened with offices and responsibilities.

He longs to be in Germany, he would like to work there negotiating and promoting Russian industrial affairs. He has the necessary qualifications, there is no doubt of that.

I became acquainted with the entire system of state owned industries. Managers from factories in the provinces came and submitted their wants, orders were issued to employes, disciplinary measures were arranged, tests were made with the help of charts, and proofs taken.

Very often there was a veritable attack upon the office in the great trust building, by complainants, men with new projects, people ready to explain budgets, and people demanding budgets. They were quickly dispatched. A small, red-globed electric lamp was behind me. If it was alight it meant: I am busy. But this did not keep all the intruders away. I have already mentioned the abominable Russian custom of breaking into a conference.

The telephone was never at rest. Often Plavnik worked with two telephones at once, both with the inter-office phone and the outside wires. Apparently, here was organization, present and in the making. The Russian textile industry is almost entirely nationalized, almost completely socialized. It is hemmed in by organization, it cannot escape any more. That much has been accomplished, and is an irrevocable fact.

Plavnik is a master of German. He is also a master of Hebraic scripture. He is one of the foremost writers of Hebrew in Russia. If I remember rightly he edits a Hebrew periodical. I promised him an article for this magazine, but I lacked the time to keep this promise.

He is a shrewd man, an efficient business man, a business man of the new order, a business man with ideas. Socialist industry, too, needs business men. Not business men for profit, not business men trained to the scent of competition, not dealers or salesmen, but business men of a different type. Plavnik is such a business man.

Landa

Landa is a blond Jew, 26 years old. Perhaps a little older, but not much. I have already spoken of him, of his leather suit, of the toes surrounded by Moscow air, and of his *Everclean*.

But that is not the most essential part of Landa. The most essential thing about him is his almost incredibly clear comprehensive vision of the whole, his fabulous gift of summing up, his unparalleled penetration.

In May, 1920, he was head of a department in the Foreign Office of the Supreme Council of National Economy. He worked with me daily, often for

many hours together. He explained to me the organization of the local Soviets. He explained to me, further, the nature and the organization of the Russian retail industry, and many other things besides.

He had been head of a government Soviet in the Ukraine. He knew the economic psychology of the Ukraine like a leather pocket. Through him and through his pointing out the details to me, I began to realize why it was that the Poles were bound to lose the war.

In May, 1920, he was living in a dark room of the Metropol. He is a man with few wants. He is almost unbelievably modest. He is satisfied with everything. His room is so dark and scantily furnished that he is forced to work on a bench in the little garden in front of the Metropol.

One finds many Landas in Russia; Landas hidden away from the beaten path, overmodest but still fiery of soul. People who do not know themselves, with the strength to move mountains, but who sit in unfurnished rooms from sheer diffidence.

I do not know whether this fine man, this man of almost universal knowledge, is an administrative head. But at the time I was there he was in the wrong place. Such people have to be pushed, their eyes have to be turned inward. They do not know themselves, they have to be forced to self-study, so that their forces may be turned to advantage. There are many such Landas in the world. They are full-blooded violets, people who dissipate their strength here and there, timid and shrinking. They become beasts of burden when they should be leaders of the herd.

I know such a Landa in Germany. What became of him? Just now he is a Democrat. But he is not yet lost completely. Perhaps he will be shoved to the front some one of these days; when he looks around he will realize that his place has always been at the front.

A Woman

A woman wished to see me. A Jewess. In Landa's dark room in the Metropol. A solid woman, they told me, solid of mind, unyielding.

She talked with me about the German revolution, about the level of development of the German revolution, about the problem of leadership, and other important points.

I do not remember her name. She is considered somebody in the party, they told me. She must be, for she is a solid rock.

I struck out, I analyzed, I pulled, I tried to mould, it was of no use. She interrupted my flow of language only seldom, but she hurled heavy rocks, giant boulders when she spoke.

I had never met such a woman. Charming besides. Her dark head with the parting of hair gleaming down the center was slightly lowered toward me. There was no wrath, but a stony suffering, a rock patience, a smiling rock.

That was a woman in politics, a woman with a mind, and a woman at the same time. I never knew before that there were such women. Women in politics had been night-mares to me. I never

went to hear women politicians speak.

This woman, in the dark-room of Landa's in the Metropol, was a politician. A lovely rock, who spoke square boulders. I am still surprised that such women exist.

She was no Rahel, or a Frau von Stein, but an entirely different type. Her words were solid rocks and she was lovely at the same time. A marvel, a wonderful miracle.

In the Office of the Supreme Council of National Economy

Formerly there was much drunken revelry in this place. It was the Siberian Hotel. An immense box of a place. Here the champagne bottles crashed against the mirrors, the gipsy fiddle and the gipsy girls whirled on and on, and the traders piled up millions. Of course there were establishments in Moscow where the art of mirror crashing was a science all its own, and where drinking champagne was a sacred duty. I have already mentioned that one of the greatest of these revelry palaces is now being used as a prison for profiteers and speculators. A convent has also been turned into a prison. A beautiful convent. A guard is stationed in front, and barbed wire threatens the intruder. Here, too, they tell me, speculators are imprisoned.

The giant box is a primitive ark. Very sober and staid. Everywhere partition walls of rough boards. It is plain to be seen that it was built in a hurry. The small vestibules speak of better days. The sofas have toned down, the chairs do not curve so boldly. Here and there a larger hotel mirror remains.

It is like a beehive. A constant stream from the street to the upper story never stops. The chain is broken. For here the industrial forces of Russia meet, here the national economy is administered, this is the center of apportionment of the national income. This administration of national economy is the most important function in a country where national economy is so sorely tried. But the people who come for concessions and to submit claims are not the same as formerly. They are no longer pot-bellied dealers and traders, the thousand ruble note barons. They are for the most part Soviet workers or Soviet officials, wearing the simple cap with the Soviet emblem, which is worn by all Soviet employes.

Through a roughly-boarded partition one gets to the Central Office. Here is the office of the President of the Supreme Council of National Economy. At the time of my visit Milyutin was substitute chairman of the committee. Rykov, the chairman, was in Baku at the time. Baku is now a very important place, it is now the naphtha center of Russia, and naphthá is the principal food of Russian industry and of Russian locomotives. The naphtha reservoirs of the Prokhorov factory were empty. Most of the reservoirs in the vicinity of Moscow were empty. It was necessary, therefore, for an authority, like Rykov, to go to Baku. They told me that the naphtha supply reaches as far as Orel now. But that is not sufficient, Baku must send streams of naphtha through the whole

of Russia; Baku must relieve the transportation system, must fill the naphtha reservoirs. Baku is the great hope. (However, coal must not be forgotten.)

Milyutin is still a young man, with great black eyes and a small black mustache. A telephone exchange is in his office. It is used sometimes by him, and sometimes by his secretary, a man with sharp eyes, wearing a Russian blouse. It is a great corner-room with many windows. There is a constant stream of papers being deposited upon Milyutin's desk for his signature. There is an atmosphere of respect, of reverence. Just like the atmosphere in the office of a cabinet minister, or of the head of a great industrial plant. Perhaps a bit livelier, not so secluded.

Milyutin (possibly 40 years of age) did not begin as a national economist. There is a certain look of astonishment in his eyes. I had a vivid interview with him, with the help of an interpreter. We spoke of the emigration of German workmen to Russia, of my studies of the Russian economic system, of the impressions I had gathered in the light of these studies. Discipline, he supplemented, after I had enumerated for him the main basic factors. There was an air of great respect in this office, nor was there any breaking of threads, only orderly sequence.

In front of Milyutin's office there is a crowd of claimants, during the entire office day. Two girls with short hair flash back and forth: from the reception room to Milyutin's office, from Milyutin's office to the ante-room. Next to the ante-room is a small room, where the flitting girls rest, and where tea is made. For tea is still being served in Russian offices. Burning hot tea in burning hot weather. Boiling hot tea. A ghastly thing for a stomach from the tempered zone, which on red hot days is accustomed to imbibe cold water with syphon-like rapidity, or absorbs cooling seltzer or lemonade; that sips ices and longs for cold showers. In Moscow they drink boiling hot tea under a broiling sun. A ghastly affair. But they tell me that it is the best thing against the summer heat. Sasha laughed at me when I diluted the boiling tea with cold water.

There are long corridors with numbered doors, just as in European bureaus. But no arm-chairs in the offices. Only here and there a great chair with a comfortable back. For the rest simple wooden chairs before simple desks. It is no place for people from the war benefit societies, or for a moving-picture director. The finance department where I worked with a very intelligent man is a mere shack, from the standpoint of a war benefit society. If the seat of the government were located in Petrograd it would be more comfortable. Moscow is no city for government offices. There are no government buildings, no office buildings. The hotels of the city had to be used for the purpose, adapted, rearranged, reorganized. But even so, they will do, with the help of frequent shifting, with board partitions and a little good-will.

All the ante-rooms are constantly occupied. Oc-

cupied by people with all sorts of desires. Girls who act as office boys are stationed in all the ante-rooms, and often brew the official tea also. In every office there is a Russian calculating machine; it belongs to the Russian like his blouse. They are in every store, in every private house, everywhere. The little balls jiggle back and forth, they arrange themselves in a jiffy under the quick fingers. Revolution: excellent; mental arithmetic: poor, thought I.

A guard stands in the main entrance. A guard shouldering a rifle as in front of all government offices and all hotels. But this guard is milder, than for example, the guard in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, or perhaps the Kremlin guard. The Kremlin guard is the most severe of all the Moscow guards. The guard before the building of the Supreme Council of National Economy will not ask to see your *Propusk*. The stream passes, unhindered, divides in the various stories, flows into the corridors, and trickles into the offices. It does not whirl in confusion, there is no disorder. It is a giant stream, but everything runs smoothly. Already this stream runs back and forth more smoothly than the national economic system. Designs, statistics, drawings, and descriptions of the economic condition are hanging in every office. They are debit drawings, debit statements, . . . : credit drawings and credit statements are unfortunately still lacking. But they are in the making, and some day credit and debit will balance.

In the Glav-Textile

One day Plavnik asked me into his office, in order to show me the office administration. From here we made the rounds through the Central offices. It is an immense building, a former textile storehouse. It had belonged to one of the textile kings, one of the cotton kings of Russia.

First we go through the accounting center. It gives the impression of a bank. Here over two billion rubles are paid out or handled per month. Most of the payments are made by check on the government bank. A woman bookkeeper showed me the ledger, the check forms, the process of payment and accounting. Everything proceeds very businesslike, everything runs smoothly, quickly and promptly. I believe that the moneyless system works faster than the currency system in Germany. The German banks, the German savings-banks operate with maddening snail-like slowness. There is a clumsy form worship, a silly red tape timidity. No courage, no telephonic presence of mind, but a sticky rotation of bookkeeping gestures. The officials have no choice, they are chained to the system. Such a capitalist bank is about the most idiotic piece of machinery imaginable. A meaningless mechanical device, a magnetic power, which draws business without soliciting it, with a board of directors which scribbles signatures and draws profits. At the same time there is an atmosphere of pompous importance, auto-speeding and fat-necked indulgence, of marble stairs, overbearing manners and overstuffed armchairs, to fairly make it hum.

This kind of thing has been nationalized out of Russia. No more overbearing officiousness, or loling in overstuffed armchairs, exuding pomposity and absorbing profits. There is no more busy unproductive laziness, no more bluffing with bankers meetings and moral lies. One has to work now, has to fit in, one is a tiny wheel now rather than a democratic trumpet. It was a lightning change. In one day the lordly tones had vanished. No greater fraud, no more disgusting fraud has ever been practiced on the defenseless world than the fraud of the national banks, of the great savings banks, the banks sapping the life of the communities, and the pennies of the poor and making usurer's profits from them. Germany will only be able to breathe when these secret pocket-books have been closed. It is a glorious sight to see the empty bank buildings in Russia, the beautiful dust on plate glass windows in the buildings of the great banking institutions of Russia. They have already become chambers of horrors from the middle ages, chambers of torture for the tourists to visit. Germany will not be happy until the rude and overbearing pocket-book has been shut up. They will not be happy until they have eliminated this slinking fraud, this technically cunning fraud, this circulating fraud, this patented and government protected fraud.

However, this is merely by the way. I had to let off steam, I was at the boiling point.

There are many imbecilities, stupidities and perversities left in Russia, but there are no more national banks. Imagine a country without national banks, without the disgusting paper swindler and speculation tricks, without the usage-sanctioned pompous brokers' fraud. That alone is a glorious fact to contemplate.

I had to repeat myself, my blood boiled up once more.

Plavnik took me through all the offices. Through the office for the distribution of raw materials, through the department of statistics, where one of the most famous of Russia's statisticians has his office. (The Lord punish those statisticians!) Then through the office of the presidium, the office of the general presidium and of the sub-presidium. Through the textile exhibition, which is in the Central buildings, and is very diversified. He took me to the door of the technical training-school. There the most expert faculty on textiles is training textile workers, aspirants to managerial posts, men and women. Entire Russia is to be technically trained. Technical training-schools are everywhere. The Commissar of the Supreme Council of National Economy has charge of a technical scientific training department. It is a center from which exhibitions of new inventions, exhibitions showing the possibilities of production in Russia, new institutions and organizations for Moscow and the country at large are constantly being sent out like rays of light. This is only a beginning, like almost everything else in Soviet Russia, but it is a beginning at least. I saw Russian soil there, Russian acids, mineral products, substitute materials. Every-

thing merely a beginning, but one must begin sometime.

And then Plavnik took me through the offices of the industrial union. I had an interview with the leaders of the textile union. They explained to me the tariff system, especially the bonus wage system. There is a long table of bonuses. The various points of efficiency are being rewarded by measure, so to speak.

In the agricultural department of the textile union the cultivation of the factory ground is being regulated. In the Prokhorov factory I saw and heard an agricultural meeting. An expert gave a lecture to the men and women there, just before they went out to the grounds, on potato planting. The people had the implements already at hand. In a large shed the seed was piled up. Everything was ready to begin, but first there had to be expert instruction.

Plavnik led me further, through the editorial room of the trade union paper *The Textile Worker*, and from there into the department of working clothes distribution. The garments are furnished to such workers who are engaged in occupations damaging to their clothing.

There is order, exactness, a sense of proportion. A love of order, a love of regulated activity. There is no doubt of that.

In the German Council

In Moscow there is a Hungarian Council, an Austrian Council, a German Council, etc. They are concerned mainly with affairs of prisoners-of-war, and of travelers returning home.

The German Council has a neat office and a neat home. Telegrams, statistics, pictures are hanging in the vestibule of the office building. Above is a large office where the typists are busy, and adjoining it is a spacious administration office.

This office slaves until late at night. There is much to do. The returning travelers are constantly passing through Moscow now, come to the German Council, register there, and are taken care of in the hospital of the German Council.

It is very clean in the German Council. The meals are excellent. I still think with delight of a dish of lentils, a glorious dish of lentils, and with equal delight of a dish of mashed potatoes with brown gravy and roast beef.

Home-Going Travelers

Just before a departure of a shipload to Germany there is a festive meeting. There are speeches, music, and songs. The announcement is made in the *Rote Fahne*, the weekly paper of the German Council.

The chairman asked me to speak at one of the home transport meetings. I spoke to these comrades who wanted to hear about Germany; reliable live and interesting news. People who knew very little of Germany recently. Many of them had not seen their home for over six years, and still retained their old ideas of Germany. Others did not remember it clearly. They, too, could not quite

understand the present Germany. I told them of the German national economy of the present. They stood still, men and women, for women who had married their husbands in Russia were going to Germany. One and a half hours I spoke, until dusk fell. But they remained quiet, absorbing Germany of today, the new science. They stood transfixed, they were deeply shaken. It was no longer the old Germany, which they saw now. It was a different Germany, a difficult Germany, a convulsed, a deeply suffering Germany. I had to show them German conditions as I see them, and as they undoubtedly are. It is no good lying to these people drunk with the longing for home, giving them bright colors. They had to see the country as it is. It is no good telling untruths. There never was any good in that. Why should I lie to these poor people?

I passed through groups of people in the assembly garden at the German hospital. I passed through groups of many colored uniforms. All the various regiments of peace times were represented. There were hussar braidings, lancer's jackets, light-blue dragoon cloth, dark-blue infantry coats with red collars, medium-blue transport uniforms. Only a few in service gray. They were almost all soldiers who had been captured during the first months of the war. At last I began to realize the full meaning of the thing. Human beings are caught, put in cages, fenced in, guarded and spied on, treated like a herd of cattle. People are deprived of their freedom. So long as it is permitted to catch human beings, so long is the world in bondage. To capture human beings is to hunt them, to flog them, to imprison them. All that is an outrage to humanity. We still belong to the middle ages, to antiquity, to barbarism. We are not yet in the new era.

I spoke to a German soldier whom I met in a Moscow street. He was returning home from Tashkent. We spoke, not of hunger, not of lack of food. There are other hardships that beset a man, which are more horrible than the pangs of hunger.

One hears hundreds of diverging opinions as to the treatment of prisoners. Some of them had become contented colonizers in Siberia, others had been dragged from one prison to another, were starved. Many thousands died of epidemics, of undernourishment. Since the November Revolution the prisoners ceased to be prisoners. They were free. But even things were not always as they should have been. For the will of the Soviet Government did not yet influence every individual brain. There were still camp troubles and grounds for complaints. But since November, 1917, the prisoners were prisoners no longer. I spoke to no one who did not gratefully acknowledge this fact. Many worked hard and earned much money. In Moscow many German workers, who had been former prisoners of war, had made good money.

Wherever I could I spoke to the home-going prisoners. In Moscow on the streets, in the offices of the German Council, and on the return journey even, in the prison camp at Narva.

In the prison camp at Narva, a building surrounded by the thick walls of the German monastery, I talked with returning prisoners for hours. They represented all kinds of human beings: the good-humored and the quick-tempered, the melancholy, the modest and the self-important ones, all were represented. I got the impression: Russia is large, and since Russia is so large, since Russia is such a giant country with so many and varied conditions, and so many and varied types of human beings, no two people will have had the same experience or the same reactions. Some of them mourned their dead comrades, others told of the horrors of epidemics, especially the typhus epidemic with cold-blooded indifference. They told me of acts of unfairness, they scolded and grumbled, they recalled pleasant memories. They told me of their acclimatization, of how they adapted themselves to the new living conditions. They told me how they built their own houses, how they became peasants, tradesmen, speculators. They complained of the high prices, or praised the low prices of the district where they had lived.

But they were all longing for home, they thronged together with a glad feeling for home. Many had almost ceased to believe in the reality of it, and were inclined to take the ship which was to take them tomorrow away from Narva as a fairy tale. They wanted to stand with both feet on their home soil before they would believe that they were home again. Mothers awaited them, wives were waiting, children were waiting.

It was a depressing thing, a heartrending thing. It was hard for one who had just arrived from Germany to come before these poor people. There was grey hair, there was white hair among them. Bright soldier caps rested on a father's brow, soldier caps sat on white hair, and on bald heads. These last stragglers, who had been detained by "diplomatic negotiations" and suchlike stupidities, who really were not human because they were not allowed to leave as free men, these ragged ends remaining from the world war, were a sorry sight and a warning. This bestiality must not be repeated, never again shall the diplomatic heroes capture men and drive them to prison, never again shall these organized man-hunts be perpetrated. This beastly business will at last have to come to an end. This hullabaloo, this flag-waving madness, this trumpeting and manly bosom mania will have to stop.

To have been three years, four years, five years, six years in a country against one's will! Every man has the right to live where he wants to, and that mania for pigeon-holing is unspeakable presumption.

Say what you will about Soviet Russia, but it must be acknowledged that from the day of the revolution there were no more prisoners, only free men. Human freedom, freedom from bondage was proclaimed on that day. I know what you would say against that, I know that too was only a beginning. But the Russian revolution has begun. That remains to its undying credit.

How can you hold back, even for one day, people who do not want to remain in your country, who want to return to their home? How can you bear to force people to remain in a prison camp even for one day longer? Can you bear to breathe, eat and drink while men are still lying in prison camps?

We want the free man, the man whose home is the world. Wherever he goes there shall be his country, and should he desire to return to the place of his birth, he should not be held back for a moment. You have no right to shackle human beings. Only the gods have the right to shackle them. And there are no gods.

Return Journey

At the Nikolai depot officials from the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs took leave of the members of the English delegation, Shaw and Turner. I believe they brought also a farewell note from Lenin. I believe it was not a very flattering letter. It was a curious farewell note, a Lenin farewell note, with some blunt unvarnished language. Perhaps the English told their people of this farewell note on their return home. It was not a polite note. But it is Lenin's conviction that in times of such impetuous world upheaval one cannot be polite, one must be truthful. To be truthful is to be simply as one is, is to say what one thinks. To be truthful, therefore, means not to be a diplomat, quite the contrary. Lenin is not without diplomatic ability, and yet he is no diplomat.

Again our journey passed by the wooded slopes, the green domes, a thousand villages hidden among the oaks, passed by the pine forests and the beech wood, by the green pastures, the miraculous pastures between Moscow and Petrograd. Again we drank milk at 125 rubles the pint, again we slept in the Soviet car, in the comfortable government car furnished with a bed and table, and without being in a constant driving hurry. Again we made about 20 to 25 kilometers per hour on the way toward Petrograd.

But now our tempo changed. For we were coupled to an express freight. A parlor car was added, and we sat, talked and drank tea with Russian railroad workers. One of them was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Railroad Workers' Union. He sent greetings to the German comrades. I hereby deliver these greetings from the Russian colleagues and comrades to the German railroad workers.

After a seven hour journey we reached Yamburg. There our troubles began, pass troubles, vise-troubles, officious troubles, political red tape troubles. Our passes were not in order, and the Estonians would not admit us into their country. The local Soviet in Yamburg consoled us with a sumptuous dinner, and one of the railroad workers served us potato pancakes. But we wanted to go home, we stamped the ground, we were tired of the sleeping car. I wanted sea air, I wanted to begin work at home, I wanted to get away from the East.

I wanted to leave the East because I had indigestion. Not from the meat diet or the kasha diet,

but it was a mental indigestion. My nerves were overworked. I was too full of material, was ready to burst, I had to get out of the East. I wanted to be delivered, I wanted to bring forth book children. It was high time.

At last we got through. In the port of Reval our good ship was waiting for us. It had a new captain, Kolbe was his name, the name of the sailor through mines and dangerous cliffs. Mamsh is the name of the head steward; Mamsh is his name, but he isn't like that. He is a fanatic about cleaning silver, he is an expert in the art of balancing, he is an artist with the dishes, a magnificent provider. We sailed via Helsingfors to Stettin under Kolbe and Mamsh. The English sailed via Stockholm. They were in a hurry. They wanted, without loss of time, to submit their demands for Russia to a great congress of workers, they wanted to have a resolution passed, and to persuade the government to show its colors. But I sailed with Kolbe and Mamsh via Helsingfors to Stettin. Filled to the brim with knowledge of Russia, pressing for home, already in labor, pawed and sniffed over at Helsingfors. Again there are some curious ship companions and several adventurers, of whom I will write later.

We sailed through white nights.

We sailed through the white nights of the cliffs of Finland. Do you know the white nights of the cliffs of Finland?

They are not nights, they are miracles of gauze, they are eternal light, it is a milk light, a very delicate opaque window light. A gull, one single wide-winged gull is hovering over the foamy trail of our ship. The stillness becomes more still. You lose yourself, you cannot remember whether the ship is going forward or back. There is a murmuring ripple against the ship's sides as though the ship were standing still. All around, in the straits, beyond the straits, thickly huddled or strewn afar, now in the sea, now in the bays, in canals and in the by-streams, there are the miracles of stone, and pine, placed there by a long forgotten builder's art. With silent white stones, silent dwellings, and silent pilot flags.

But now the sun shoots up out of the cliffs. It does not rise, it shoots up like a giant glowing red finger. It is there, all at once, with a sudden jerk. It surprises you, suddenly the ship's trail has become a long trembling path of gold. And now the sun rises slowly, the red sun rises at last out of the crags of Finland.

Thus I sailed through two white nights of Finland, two glad nights, world-forgotten nights, delicate opaque nights, warm northern nights. Twice I saw the great glowing finger, the glittering golden path in our wake. Twice I saw the seagull, the wide-winged seagull, the slant-swaying seagull, the proud white seagull, saw the delicate white veil of the Finnish night edged with red as the sun flared up.

And then I had another vile case of denunciation to face, in Stettin, and then I wrote this book.

THE END

SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the

RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

RED CROSS organizations seem to take sides rather vigorously as soon as they come into contact with Soviet Russia, in spite of the much-vaunted and long-observed political neutrality of such bodies. It will be remembered that Danish Red Cross officials had to be expelled from Soviet Russia because they had developed counter-revolutionary activities rivaling even those of the Danish Consulate General in that country, and that long after their expulsion from Soviet Russia they continued to act in a manner extremely hostile to citizens of that country who happened to fall into their clutches, which was particularly observable in their treatment of the unhappy Russian war-prisoners who had been entrusted to their care in Vienna. But not only do certain Red Cross organizations refrain from giving any assistance to citizens of Soviet Russia—while others, like the Danes, make life in Soviet Russia as miserable as possible by extending aid to counter-revolutionists—but no assistance is given to the Soviet Government to repatriate and thus ease the lot of the many former war-prisoners of the Russian Empire, citizens of countries once hostile to Russia. As the conditions among the prisoners in Siberia really need attention, and as the Soviet Government is being permitted to do nothing to aid them, we herewith bring the matter to the attention of our readers by printing in full an editorial that appeared on this subject in *The Japan Chronicle*, Kobe, Japan, October 14. The editorial runs as follows:

"It is now just upon a year since we published an account of the sufferings of 200,000 prisoners of war in Siberia. The facts were news to most people, and to those with any human feelings came as a shock. It is true, there were such cases as that of a lady of Allied nationality in Japan who wrote and said that it was very difficult to know what conditions really were in Siberia, and that anyhow she really could not feel particularly distressed about the condition of Huns and Turks. We believe that some of that sort of feeling has evaporated by this time, but although the matter has got as far as questions in Parliament, practically nothing is done. In our daily issue of the 7th instant* we published a report written only in July last by a lady who has been working through Siberian horrors for the Swedish Red Cross. It is to be observed that she gives the same number—200,000—as the approxi-

* But we are quoting from the Weekly Chronicle.—Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA.

mate total of the men still suffering destitution and exile. Probably our previous account gave an underestimate of the numbers, for some have been taken away since last year and many have died, yet there is still this appalling amount of unrelieved misery. The representative of the Swedish Red Cross describes in eloquent terms to which it would be idle for us to add anything, the terrible conditions of the forgotten prisoners. These conditions have been known to all the world for the past year. Yet what has the world been doing? It was months before the Powers allowed anything to be done and then there was talk of American ships, but the talk came to nothing. There was not even talk of British ships. It was hurriedly announced that Japan had no ships to spare. But we were told of camps taken charge of by the Japanese military authorities and of the great gratitude of the prisoners therein. At last Germany was permitted to do something, and the German Red Cross has managed to charter a few ships, at enormous expense, and do a little repatriating.

"It appears from the Swedish letter that the continuance of the present trouble is partly due to the confusion and destitution in Siberia. The Allied attacks on European Russia have left the Soviets with neither time nor resources to see to the welfare of prisoners in Siberia, though apparently in European Russia the prisoners are in a position to look after themselves. There are constant attacks on the Russians on the Siberian front, and intrigue for power occupies the exclusive attention of the military authorities of all parties to the exclusion of humanitarian considerations. Had Siberia never been invaded the troubles of the prisoners would have been long since alleviated, and the Allies who organized the invasion of Siberia are as directly responsible for the continuance of the sufferings of the prisoners as though they had deliberately inflicted them. Confusion is purposely maintained, so that it is impossible for the German Red Cross or any other body to negotiate for the removal of the prisoners. As for the Japanese Red Cross, with its boasted millions in membership and funds, it is a purely military body and has never thought about this need. Perhaps if it tried the Russians would refuse to negotiate with an auxiliary of the army that has invaded their country and inflicted such awful sufferings on it. Yet if any organized Western body, provided with funds, made a serious attempt to rescue the prisoners, there would be only easily surmountable difficulties in the way. The Swedish letter calls for ships, and ships, and more ships. But ships lie idle by dozens in Japanese harbors and nothing is done by way of using them for the benefit of the prisoners. There are ships to carry Sunday School delegates to Japanese picnics, but none to repatriate men who have been parted from their families and all that home means for six years. There is ample money to build halls and make bonfires for visiting foreigners whose goodwill may have some political value, but there is none to rescue the dying in Siberia's wastes. Yet another winter is coming on and nothing will be done. Men will die in filth and starvation and madness and despair for want of the money and ships and food and trouble expended on holiday-making."

From what is said above concerning the Japanese Red Cross it would appear that it is a belligerent organization, observing no neutrality between counter-revolutionists and partisans of the Soviet Government, in which respect it strongly resembles those other national Red Cross bodies that still receive and entertain representatives of the Czarist Red Cross, representing no country at all, and refuse to negotiate with officials of the Red Cross of Soviet Russia, now representing—since the capture of Crimea—the whole population of Russia, except the border-states, whose autonomy Soviet Russia recognizes. But then, the present government of Japan, and its various belligerent and propagandist organizations, can never be friendly or neutral toward Soviet Russia.

HOW refreshing it is to turn from pseudo-neutral organizations to frankly hostile ones! At least Mr. Elihu Root is not neutral. Mr. Root belongs to a society called the "American Central Committee for Russian Relief", which held an annual banquet at the Buckingham Hotel, New York, on November 11. This organization is not a neutral Red Cross Society; it is frankly an organized form of opposition to Soviet Russia, as Mr. Root, who was the presiding officer at the banquet, explained in his speech (quoted by the *N. Y. Times*):

"The original idea of the society," said Mr. Root, "was to give relief in non-Bolshevist Russia—that was the object named in the charter. The extension of power of the Bolsheviki soon became, however, so great that there was little field for relief in the territory of Russia. Sending supplies was attended by too great a probability that they would go to supply the Bolshevist Army. But as the Bolsheviki spread out, the people for whom the relief was originally intended were gradually pushed out of the country into the Baltic provinces, Poland, Serbia and Turkey, and all along the borders of Russia there came to be hundreds of thousands of these people, destitute. Undoubtedly many valuable lives have been saved and much terrible suffering has been alleviated by the work of this association.

"How important it is that there shall be saved the valuable lives of Russians who are waiting for the opportunity to return to the services of their country—that is what we are doing. We are saving the seed corn which will bring forth the future harvest of real freedom and security and peace and prosperity to Russia."

An "Assistant Red Cross Commissioner to Europe" (including Soviet Russia?) was also present, and so was Mr. W. W. Bouimistrow, "Russian Red Cross Commissioner." But the latter did not represent Soviet Russia.

For the information of those of our readers who may wish to know the latest guess as to the probable duration of the Soviet Government, we quote that of Mr. Root, made at this banquet:

"The end of Bolshevist rule in Russia is approaching. There is merely a question as to how much longer the Bolsheviki can continue. I think it is only a matter of a comparatively short time."

Mr. Root's prophecy is fortunately not too definite. And, geologically speaking, there are epochs by the side of which the lifetime of the Soviet Government will appear "comparatively short".

* * *

AMERICAN Red Cross workers were recently reported in the American press as having been killed by "Bolsheviki" in Southern Russia. As the later denials of these killings were hidden in most of the papers in spaces affording a singular contrast to the heavy headlines that had heralded the original fabrications, and as many persons have therefore seen the charges and not the denials, we reprint for their benefit the statement that appeared in the *N. Y. Globe* on November 12:

PARIS, Nov. 12.—Washington reports that Captain Emmet Kilpatrick, an American Red Cross worker in South Russia, was not killed by the Bolsheviki, but is being held a prisoner, were confirmed by a telegram received at the Paris branch of the American Red Cross from Sebastopol today. The telegram was filed in Sebastopol on Nov. 8.

FIRE accidentally destroyed the "highly valuable stores of the American Red Cross at Sebastopol" (*N. Y. Times*, November 16) when the Soviet troops were entering that city, while "a portion of the goods of the American Foreign Trade Corporation and other foreign firms was saved." This news will make the record of the American Red Cross in Soviet Russia more than complete. Had the fire not occurred, Soviet Russia might have been enabled, by the fortunes of war, to come into possession of at least some quantities of American Red Cross supplies,—supplies which the American Red Cross was using to alleviate the lot of counter-revolutionary refugees from Soviet Russia, and of counter-revolutionary armies attacking Soviet Russia. But the fire occurred, and even accident prevents the American Red Cross from giving involuntary aid to Soviet Russia.

* * *

WRANGEL is more than disposed of. The former procedure with counter-revolution in the South was to drive it so far back that it had only a small foothold, and to devote the military energies thus released to the resistance against intervention in other parts of European Russia or Siberia. But this plan was pursued less because it was a plan than because it was a necessity. Had the complete elimination of all outside counter-revolutionary forces from Ukraine been possible under then prevailing circumstances in Russia, there is no doubt this elimination would have been carried out. But the fact now is—and it is a serious cause for congratulation—that such elimination is entirely possible, and Wrangel has accordingly been not only defeated, but driven completely off the map. The situation of Russia implied in this accomplishment is therefore immensely better than it has ever been before. For the first time in the history of intervention, Soviet troops have been engaged on one front only, and have been able to pursue their hard-won victories without apprehension as to the fate of other fronts. For on every other front, intervention is now quiescent to such an extent that no blows of any kind can be expected for some time. The Polish front, until recently a grave danger, because of the apparent determination of Allied statesmen to push Polish troops far into Russian territory, has ceased to be a front for the present. No doubt Allied influences will again attempt to throw Poland, as they are now working to throw Lithuania, into the unequal conflict with Soviet Russia. But increasing misery and decreasing production will be rendering the Polish population less and less exploitable in aggressive warfare, while Soviet Russia will enjoy peace—not enjoy it in the sense that her population will be consuming great plenty, but in the sense that the undisturbed work of reconstruction will make it possible to prepare means for producing more foodstuffs and munitions when the next clash with intervention is forced upon us.

Japanese Intrigues and Propaganda

by MAX M. ZIPPIN

ON OCTOBER 13 there appeared a Washington correspondence in the *Public Ledger*, signed by Mr. William Wile, raising a cry against the Chinese local authorities in Manchuria for their "playing into the Bolsheviks' hands in a manner that may shortly call for international protests." It goes on to tell that "reports current for some time, to the effect that Russian officials and officers, who had taken refuge on Chinese soil from Bolshevik terrorism and persecution, were being delivered up to the Reds, have just received confirmation in one important and specific case"; the important and specific case being that of a "distinguished" Russian naval officer, Captain Besoir, and that of the Russian Consul at Kirin, who were allegedly smuggled out of Kirin, "in the dead of night," and sent toward Blagovieshchensk, that is into the very hands of the Reds. The correspondence adds that Mr. Roland S. Morris, American Ambassador to Japan, who is still at Washington "cooperating with Secretary of State Colby," has cabled instructions to officials in Manchuria to cooperate with their foreign colleagues in the matter.

On the same day all the newspapers carried an *Associated Press* dispatch from Tokio, announcing that "the Japanese Government had proposed to the powers joint action to check the rise of Bolshevism on the Asiatic continent" because of the repeated raids of numberless bands of bandits and "Red" bodies in Manchuria, as well as because "there is an apparent tendency for public sentiment in the north of China to become infected with Bolshevism." Also because "moreover, Eastern Siberia has been completely converted to Bolshevism, and the presence of a Japanese army there is useless."

Now let me state at the outset, on the strength of the Siberian press, that this "playing into the hands of the Bolsheviks by the Chinese Government that may call for international protests," which is merely an allegation, and the bandit raids to overcome which the Japanese Government is asking the powers for concerted action, which is a gruesome fact, are two parts of the same Japanese conspiracy, a conspiracy to despoil both China and Russia. Because at the hands of the Chinese Government, and likewise that of the Vladivostok Government—the most timid, amiable, and anaemic little government on earth, which is actually eating out of the hand of the Allied governments from under the hills fortified by Japanese militarism—there has been accumulated an enormous mass of evidence of this conspiracy.

First, as to the specific case of the "distinguished" Russian officer and the Russian consul at Kirin. On September 7, the Siberian press carried two telegrams from the Japanese Kokusa agency, dated Peking and Mukden, where the story is related in an altogether different light. The notorious bandit chief Kalmikov, after being defeated by the Russian partisans, sought refuge on Chinese territory, where

he continued his activities, committing, with his bands, a number of robberies and murders in China, whereupon he was arrested by the Chinese authorities and confined in the Kirin prison to await trial.

On the night of September 4, a band of Russian officers organized a jail delivery, freed Kalmikov and hurried him to the office of the Russian consul at Kirin for "diplomatic" safety, but the Chinese authorities surrounded the office, and rearrested Kalmikov, who, while being led to the railway station to be transferred to a Peking prison, wounded two of his guards and was killed by a third. The governor of Kirin then telegraphed to the Peking government for instructions and received orders to deport the Russian "diplomat" together with the Russian officers who had taken part in the jail delivery. The names of the officers are not given in the dispatches, but it stands to reason that the "distinguished" Besoir was one of them.

The whole specific proof that the Chinese authorities play into Bolshevik hands simply reduces itself thus to a case of deporting, and not smuggling out, a band of jail deliverers and bandit conspirators. Concerted action by powers and international protests in such cases is a thing not uncommon in international "policy" in the Far East. International opium smugglers and white slavers are thus always enabled to continue their illicit traffics. But the United States has always kept aloof from this contemptible business, and one can only throw up his hands when he reads that Ambassador Morris has instructed the American officials at Manchuria to cooperate with their colleagues in this matter.

As to the "robber bands" and the "rise of Bolshevism on the Asiatic continent," against which the Japanese Government is seeking joint action by the powers: For the last few months the Siberian press of all political shades has been overfilled with this "story", which turns out to be a plain Japanese conspiracy to grab all of Manchuria, together with the Chinese Eastern Railway, for the protection of which President Wilson had once sent something like ten thousand American soldiers and officers. And the "robber bands" are the substratum of this conspirative plan, since by them the Japanese militarists proposed to show that the Chinese Government was too weak to stop the "tide". Furthermore, the Russian officers and officials that "take refuge from Bolshevik terrorism and persecution on Chinese soil" are brought into Manchuria by the Japanese militarists to organize these bands, and to "organize" themselves into such "bands".

The story of this conspiracy is being printed not only in the Russian press of the Far East, but also in such reliable Chinese newspapers in the English, French, and Chinese languages, as *Journal de Peking*, *Peking and Tientsin Times*, *Peking Daily*

News, Go-Di-Boo, and many others. Certifications as to truthfulness are given by Mr. Simpson, an adviser to the Chinese Government, the Director-General of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Governor of Kirin, members of the Vladivostok Government, and many other prominent Chinese and Russian officials, as well as American observers. Among the documents published to prove the conspiracy and intended to be secret, are the following:

1. A telegram in code sent by the Japanese Commander at Vladivostok, General Takenake, to the head of the Japanese military staff at Harbin, and dated May 20, where the whole plan of seizing the Chinese Eastern Railway for Japan, with the help of the Russian "nationalists", through an organized system of raids by robber bands, is "laid bare". "In accordance with the instructions of Commander Modji," reads one passage, "we herewith advise you that the designated plan can be executed successfully." After saying that Khunkhuz bands have been already organized at Dairen and other places in Southern Manchuria, and that they are being scattered all along the Chinese Eastern Railway, the telegram states: "You will have to inform yourself on the activities of these bands and call the attention of the Chinese officials to them. On our side we shall flood Peking with protests against the unsafe state of the road until we shall be admitted to the administration of the road."

2. A telegram received by the Chinese Government from its officials in Manchuria, stating that a considerable number of Semionov officers have been sent to Harbin, on direct orders from Japan, for the purpose of arresting all the members of the conference of labor and democratic organizations there, but the local Chinese authorities in proper time prevented the accomplishment of this plan.

3. A telegram sent by a well-known Japanese general to Semionov, which reads: "The Japanese Government will, in the interests of humanity, continue to pursue its policy without taking note of the opinions of other governments. The Japanese Government will never suffer the establishment of an independent government in the Far East, will never recognize the Vladivostok Government, but will always support your 'staff'. And with your help, our Chief Commander, Suzuki, will be able to continue the war against the Bolsheviks for the purpose of guarding the borders of Mongolia and Manchuria."

4. A telegram sent by the Japanese War Ministry to the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, Suzuki, ordering him to advise Semionov that the latter's proposition to organize newly formed volunteer corps for Manchuria has met with the approval of the ministry. The new volunteer corps, the telegram states, must be organized secretly and held at certain strategic points, ready to invade Manchuria at a moment's notice, while the following significant advice is given by the Japanese War Ministry to Semionov, "We entreat him to take all necessary precautions and to admit to these corps only ex-

perienced and trustworthy officers and soldiers."

5. A document proving that under the direct tutelage of Japanese officials, a Russian "nationalistic" headquarters was established at Harbin for the purpose of organizing the "volunteer corps" as well as the Khunkhuz robber bands. Twenty-four Russian brigadier generals and fifty staff officers were sent out to various stations of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and from eight to nine hundred officers, in civil clothing, were assigned likewise to enter diverse services in the stations, mostly as agents, but frequently as plain watchmen.

6. The plan, which is, in short, thus: The Khunkhuz bands, together with the Semionov "volunteer" bands, are to start their activities at the very moment the Japanese Government begins to evacuate its forces from Transbaikalia. These forces are to take passage on the Chinese Eastern Railway, and the bandit bands must put all kinds of obstructions in the way of their movements, by attacking the military echelons, by invading the stations, by assaulting and robbing the population near stations, and, lastly, by blowing up railway bridges and beds, and derailing the trains. Some of the Semionov officers are to allow themselves to be caught and arrested and to "confess to being Reds," since a "perfect case" against the Reds is to be established. The Japanese military echelons thus being detained, the Japanese Government is to demand of the Chinese Government the right to repair the roads (the plan calling for the slowest possible progress of the repair work) with its own men, and also, that the policing of the road be given over to the Russian volunteer corps, since the Chinese are "unable" to give proper protection. Having accomplished the removal of the Chinese guards and officers from the whole of the Chinese Eastern Railway territory, the robber bands are to continue their "assaults" for a short while, in order to "compel" the Japanese Government to take the territory and the road under its protection, "in the interest of humanity, etc., until the Bolshevik tide will be stopped."

7. A telegram from War Minister Tanaka to the Commander-in-Chief at Vladivostok, dated July 14, instructing the latter to place a sufficient number of Japanese military telegraphists on the Chinese Eastern Railway for the purpose of taking possession of the telegraph stations at a moment's notice.

8. Another telegram from the same source, dated July 19, instructing the Japanese authorities at Harbin to send in daily telegraphic reports of the movements of Chinese military forces in the given territory together with their exact number.

9. A telegram from the Director-General of the Chinese Eastern Railway to his Government at Peking, stating that he had received an ultimative demand from the Commander of the Japanese armies; (a) that he allow the enlargement of Japanese forces in the territory; (b) that he permit the placing of Japanese gendarmerie on the stations; and, (c) that the war against the Khunkhuz bands

be made a joint affair. And an answer by the Chinese Government that it rejects all these demands.

The Japanese Government had decided upon the evacuation of its forces from Transbaikalia, as the official explanation goes, because the Czecho-Slovaks have left Siberia and there was no longer a need of protecting them. But the real reason for this will be found in a saying that has become very popular now in Siberia. "Siberia is too large, the summer too short, and the population too democratic." Which, in actual figures, gathered and disclosed by American and other Allied representatives, amounts to this: Out of a Japanese expeditionary force of about forty thousand, there were killed on battlefields six thousand, while seven thousand died of wounds and sickness, with an unrevealed number of wounded, likewise of "lost", that is those Japanese soldiers that took to the Russian hills. The Red Army stopped at the west shore of Lake Baikal, by orders from Moscow, and has never as yet met the Japanese in open warfare, but the local Russian partizans were there with the above-mentioned results. No wonder the Japanese Government finds now that "Eastern Siberia has been completely converted to Bolshevism, and the presence of a Japanese army there is useless."

As far as the success of the "plan" goes, it will be sufficient to state that at several stations such as Imanpo, Manchuria and others, there are regular "regiments" of Chinese Khunkhuz robber bands, consisting of from 2,000 to 3,000 men, officered by Russian "nationalistic" officers, tutored by Japanese officers, and full armed, even with machine guns, armored cars, and a number of big guns, all of Japanese make. And so far the only ones to suffer from the hands of these pseudo "Reds" were the Russians. Russian stores and houses are looted, Russian businessmen are being kidnapped and made to pay millions of rubles in "contributions"; Russian passengers are assaulted and robbed of all their belongings, and Russian officials are brutally murdered.

Just a few instances out of a great number on hand, by way of illustration:

The peace delegation of the Vladivostok Government, consisting of Utkin, Grazhevski, and Kagoda, is held up on the way back from Vierkhnieudinsk, at the station Iman, by three members of the "bandit bands", all Russian officers, robbed, stripped naked, and then brutally murdered in burning daylight. Robbed and murdered in the car belonging to the Commander of the 14th Division, General Sirooda, under whose protection they traveled. A similar fate was met by the Vladivostok Government representatives, also traveling under the protection of the Japanese military authorities, Andreyev and Kustavinov.

The editor of the labor newspaper *Vperiod* of Harbin, a young student by name A. Chernyavsky, is murdered in "international" quarters of that city on a crowded street at noon.

A service train with Russian workingmen is derailed near the station Silinche and fifteen murdered.

The Chairman of the Railroad Union of Czit-zikar, Trofimov, is taken off a train, killed and his body thrown under a speeding train.

Eighty-seven Russian railroad workers are arrested by the Japanese authorities at Nikolsk and sent as prisoners to a camp near Vladivostok. Near the camp the train is held up by "robber bands", all eighty-seven men stripped naked, then stood up against a wall, and shot.

The Chinese Government—the Chinese Government and not the local Chinese authorities in Manchuria, as Mr. Wile would have it—are doing their best to overcome this newly created allied "difficulty", and to undo the Japanese-Semionov conspiracy. All the Semionov officers "evacuating" in the tail of the Japanese forces from Transbaikalia, are disarmed as soon as they cross the border, and those of them that are caught in the act of robbery, spoiling the road, blowing up bridges, etc., are deported, but only to be befriended across the border by the Japanese, again armed and equipped, and sent back to help in the successful attainment of the "big plan".

The Japanese Government is organizing the brigand bands in Manchuria, and by all logic should propose to the powers joint action against . . . the Japanese Government.

In all his official declarations on the Siberian policy in the Diet, the Japanese foreign minister has assured the members of that body that all the actions of the Japanese Government in Siberia are in strict accordance with the united policy of the Allied governments. The most proper thing for the Japanese Government to do would then be: to propose to the powers joint action . . . against the powers.

Bound Volumes for 1920

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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The Food Policy of the Soviet Government

By A. SVIDERSKY

(Continued from SOVIET RUSSIA, October 30, 1920)

The chief attention of the People's Food Commissariat and its organs is the collection and concentration of food and other products. Of the products which the organs of the Commissariat are endeavoring to obtain, the most important is, of course, grain, which is obtained on the principle of state monopoly.

The state monopoly has evoked sharper criticism than any other economic measure of our revolutionary epoch. That is, of course, quite obvious. The bread monopoly shakes the economic basis of bourgeois society, and affects strongly those social groups which build their welfare upon speculation at the expense of the starving population.

The bread campaign of 1918-1919 began under most unfavorable circumstances. On the one hand starvation in the capitals and in the large industrial centers had reached its height, and to appease the starving population it became necessary to permit the free purchase of sixty pounds of flour, which was carried out by the system of each man making his own purchase; this of course was ruinous to the whole activity of the food organs; on the other hand the 1918 harvest began just at the time when the Red Army suffered a series of defeats on the various fronts with the result that many fertile gubernias were lost to the Soviet Republic. The comparatively small territory over which the rule of the Workers' and Peasants' Government extended was expressed in the modest figure of 667,807,000 poods of grain collected whilst the annual needs of the population even for the supply at a hunger ration was not less than 706,661,000 poods; an obvious shortage of 40,000,000 poods of grain.

At the outset the storing of grain gave rather insignificant results: August gave just a little over one million poods, September a little over 6,000,000 poods. Further, in October, as a result of the military position changing in our favor and the consequent consolidation of the Soviet Government in the localities, the grain storing rose to 24,000,000 poods; it maintained the same level in November and only in the subsequent months, which are generally months of poorer supply, the storing of bread began to decline giving only 14,000,000 poods in December, and ten and a half million poods in January, 1919. An improvement was justifiably expected in February, but was not realized, as a result of our defeats on the eastern front; during the following period from February to August the decline was perceptible. For all that, in accordance with incomplete data in the possession of the People's Food Commissariat the fertile gubernias alone of the Soviet Republic realized a grain-storing amounting to 110,000,000 poods.

If all the grain which had been stored on various

occasions in the war areas of the Urals and the gubernias of Ufa and Orenburg is to be excluded, it will appear that in the twelve gubernias in which the supply is chiefly being carried on, namely in the gubernias of Voronezh, Viatka, Kazan, Kursk, Orel, Penza, Riazan, Samara, Saratov, Simbirsk, Tambov, and Tula, altogether there was stored 99,980,000 poods, of which 69,514,000 is grain proper, the remaining 30,466,000 forage. The following table indicates the manner in which the plan drawn up for the storing of the different kinds of grain has been carried out by the People's Food Commissariat.

Name of cereal	To be stored by levy (in thous. of poods)	Obtained	Per cent Obtained
Grain and flour.....	154,000	61,885	40.0
Groats and pulse.....	8,700	7,629	87.7
Forage.....	96,600	30,466	31.5
Food grain total.....	163,500	69,514	42.5
Food grain and forage.....	260,100	99,930	38.4

Thus in 1918-1919 the food organs succeeded in obtaining more than one-third of the grain surplus, both for provision and for forage, as regards groats and pulse the full amount was obtained.

The following table represents the percentage of the food obtained in the individual gubernias:

Gubernia	Per cent grain levy	Per cent forage levy	Per cent obtained
Voronezh.....	21.1	50.2	31.4
Viatka.....	29.4	19.9	24.7
Kazan.....	74.0	47.2	61.1
Kursk.....	22.1	33.0	25.3
Orel.....	158.4	41.5	54.8
Penza.....	102.9	5.5	28.1
Riazan.....	—	—	61.5
Samara.....	37.4	—	38.3
Saratov.....	41.8	15.5	44.3
Simbirsk.....	57.9	20.2	39.1
Tambov.....	49.9	29.2	39.5
Tula.....	84.1	31.5	38.3

The People's Food Commissariat is not in possession of exhaustive figures relating to the food campaign for 1917-1918. According to the incomplete data it succeeded during the ten months of 1917-1918 in obtaining only 30,000,000 poods of various kinds of grain. Considering the above-mentioned figures relating to the 1918-1919 food campaign the conclusion may be drawn that during its second year of existence the food organs of the Soviet Government were much more successful, although they have by far not fulfilled all that was expected; this in its turn proves that under the present conditions the Soviet food policy is the only rational one, and that the extremely complex apparatus which has been established for the storing of bread has justified itself. If we draw our attention to the data characterizing the current food campaign (the unfinished campaign of 1919-1920), we shall be forced to the conclusion that the improvement of the Soviet apparatus is fully confirmed. Out of the plan for the year for the storing of 296 million poods, 160 million poods, that is to say, more than a half, has already been obtained. During the remaining months before the realization of the new harvest it is likely that

not less than 20 to 25 million poods more will be obtained, so that it is presumable that the whole quantity will amount to 180 to 185 million poods or 60 to 61 per cent of the whole amount required for the year.

As to the conditions which facilitated a more successful development of the grain campaign for the current year it is particularly necessary to point out the method of storing adopted in 1919-1920, namely, the method of raising by levy the exact amount established by the organ of the Food Commissariat of the grain to be transferred by the village population who are possessed of a surplus, into the hands of the state. This method of extracting the grain surplus has proved most acceptable to the peasant population which is considering it in the light of loaning grain to the state to supply the hungry workers of the town population, which loan will be repaid by the state with manufactured goods as soon as the workers' government, having withstood and defeated its various enemies, will be in a position to devote itself entirely to work upon the economic front.

The difficult conditions under which the food organs had to carry on their past campaign was unfavorably reflected also upon the output of other agricultural products. The food organs succeeded in obtaining for the whole year 20 million poods of vegetables and greens, or approximately one fifth of the amount needed by the population. The small amount of potatoes and vegetables obtained is, apart from the general conditions, due to the weakness of the food organs, and it became necessary to permit various organizations to procure these products in accordance with the decree of the 21st of January, 1919, concerning the supply of non-controlled products.

The comparative success of the grain levy suggested to the Soviet Government the application of the same method to other products impossible to purchase for ready cash owing to the extreme devaluation of money. A recently issued decree has established a levy on potatoes, meat, eggs and dairy produce. In order to make delivery of these products not oppressive to the rural population, the food organs have established a standard of levy which is far less than the amount of food exported in the pre-war period. It may be stated with confidence that henceforth the supply of products will be more successful, thanks to the measures adopted, and that therefore the population will be assured of provisions as far as possible under the circumstances.

The result of the supply of meat and fats was also far from being satisfactory. The food organs have supplied only the following quantities of meat: October, 1918, 35 per cent; November, 26 per cent; December, 25 per cent; January, 1919, 16 per cent; February, 13 per cent; March, 22 per cent; April, 15 per cent; May, 11 per cent. The results of the butter and oil supplies are still poorer. It is obvious that under the conditions there can be no question of a regular supply to the population of meat and fats. The amount ob-

tained hardly sufficed for the needs of the hospitals and the Red Army.

More favorable results were obtained from the 1918-1919 fish campaign, although the fish industry of last season showed a decline in comparison with the preceding season. Unfortunately even the stock of fish which was at the disposal of the food organs could not be utilized owing to the transport difficulties in consequence of which it was equally impossible to supply the population with fish regularly. One of the reasons which hindered the supply of the population with fish is, of course, the disorganization of transport which was the result of the absence of fuel, so that, finally a quantity of fish amounting to over five million poods accumulated in Astrakhan, whence it could not be removed.

It is essential to note especially the supply of the population with articles for general use. In this regard the following are the tasks with which the state is confronted: (1) the realization of goods exchange, (2) the supply of the population with both monopolized and uncontrolled goods. The goods reserve which is at the disposal of the state organs consists of goods manufactured and produced by the nationalized enterprises, as well as of goods which the food organs purchase either independently or through the cooperative organizations.

The principal goods at the disposal of the state in 1919 were textile manufactures. In drawing up the plan for 1919 the People's Food Commissariat took into consideration the stock of manufactured textile goods and the 800,000,000 yards of cloth which were to be manufactured during the current year, and the population of Soviet Russia numbering 80 million persons. This gives us a standard of ten yards per person which quantity is to be increased for the workers (sufficient for a worker's suit) and decreased to some extent for the agricultural population in view of the latter possessing homespun goods. According to this plan the whole textile reserve was to be exhausted by the end of 1919.

In reality, however, the People's Food Commissariat had not expended the whole of this reserve. This was due to various reasons: in the first place, to the inadequacy of the distributing apparatus and the disorganization of transport; secondly, to the fact that in some districts, occupied or threatened by the enemy, textile goods were not dispatched, and finally because the actual reserve of textile manufactures was greater than was generally calculated. It does not, however, follow that the state has at its disposal any considerable reserve of textile goods; figuratively speaking, Soviet Russia is wearing out its last textiles.

As regards other goods, the state reserve of these was still smaller. In accordance with the stock at hand the ration of matches was one and a half boxes per head for the civilian population with five boxes per head for the army, a quarter of a pound tobacco per month or 240 cigarettes for every

smoker; and twenty pounds of salt per person per annum. All these rations were constantly decreased during the last year.

We had at our state depots seven million poods of sugar at the beginning of the year; out of these four million poods were distributed prior to the autumn season; the remaining three million were left for the sugar season.

The supply of the population with foot-wear and leather was in a bad state. There was an abundance of soft leather, but the reserve of hard sole leather and India rubber soles was exhausted. Therefore, although it was proposed to supply the population during the year with four million pairs of boots, in reality it was only possible to deliver two hundred pairs monthly. The greater part of the foot-wear manufactured went for the needs of the army.

The distribution of galoshes was to be in the ratio of one pair to every three men of the town population and one pair for eight men of the agricultural districts. Actually here also the supply was far more modest as, due to the lack of fuel, the output of the factories was inconsiderable.

There was also a shortage of agricultural implements. Only one-third of the requirements could be satisfied by the goods in stock.

The stock of glass at the disposal of the state is rather small. Recently it became necessary to decrease greatly the supply of glass to the population in view of the great demand for glass by the military authorities. As regards glassware the stock was in a most satisfactory state, though the supply was impeded by the transport difficulties.

In a more critical state during the last year was the supply of the population with lighting materials. In 1919-1920 owing to the complete lack of paraffin and petroleum, the supply of lighting materials to the population had to be suspended entirely.

To sum up, the supply of the population with goods during the preceding and the current year was obviously unsatisfactory. The chief reason for this was not so much the shortcomings of the distributive apparatus as the lack of goods reserves at the disposal of the state. The general perspective of the supply graphically is as follows: until the present time we lived exclusively on the old stock and to some extent on that of the future, and it is only now when our forces are no longer expended on the needs of the war forced upon us, that we are beginning once again to create material values.

As regards the second important task with which the People's Food Commissariat is confronted, viz., the exchange of goods with the fertile gubernias, unfortunately, the People's Food Commissariat does not possess all the material needed for dealing exhaustively with this question. In addition to the above-stated decrees and acts defining the system of exchange of goods, the following may be added: altogether during 1918-1919 goods to the amount of a little over one milliard rubles were sent to the fertile gubernias for the agricultural

population; that is to say that during 1918-1919 about 55 to 60 per cent of grain which was received for the starving population through the state organs of supply, was paid for by an exchange of goods. Altogether during the existence of the Soviet Government goods amounting to not less than four to four and a half milliards of rubles have been dispatched to the agricultural districts.

The question now in conclusion is: did the People's Food Commissariat and its organs prove equal to the task with which they were confronted? From the foregoing it is apparent that the task of supplying the population with food products and articles of prime necessity remains unsolved. The state organs of supply have proved so far incapable of giving to the population even a minimum of what it requires and without which a more or less normal existence is unthinkable.

In considering the activity of the Food Commissariat and its organs the fact should not be overlooked that on the whole the food problem depends upon a number of questions without the actual solution of which the proper organization of the supply for the population is an absolute impossibility. The four years' world war and the proletarian revolution of 1918 had shaken the basis of the former economic relations; and so long as a new social edifice is not built up on the ruins of the old capitalist world, there can be no question of the full supply of all the needs of the population.

Unfortunately this aspect of the question is intentionally overlooked by the enemies of the Soviet Government and often also by the adherents of the proletarian revolution. The fact is overlooked that the problem of supplying the population is being dealt with by the People's Food Commissariat and its organs at an acute moment of blockade, at the moment when Soviet Russia represents a besieged fortress, cut off from the sources of grain and of fats, under conditions of tormenting travail, of social beginnings in production, under the natural decline of production of labor in all branches of production and under conditions of extreme disorganization of transport.

The activity of the state food organs is in some way explained by the data regarding the organs of supplying the public feeding which were given by Comrade Popov in the article entitled "The Consumption of the Town Population of Soviet Russia", published in the second supplement of the *Economicheskaya Zhizn* (Economic Life) for 1919. On the basis of a whole number of budget forms from Petrograd and Moscow and of almost all the gubernia towns and some of the uyezd towns Comrade Popov comes to the following conclusions: For nine producing gubernias at an average consumption there was 1.44 pounds of bread per person or what is the same 1.30 pounds of bread per adult. The People's Food Commissariat and its organs provided 52.4 per cent of the rationed bread. In the consuming gubernias in which it became necessary to bring bread from other districts the supply of the Commissariat was

much weaker. In 75 towns and settlements and in 20 consuming gubernias on an average there was 1.02 pounds of bread per person (fluctuating from 0.75 pounds per day for the gubernia of Cherepovetz to 1.28 pounds for the gubernia of Nizhni-Novgorod); in other words one and a third pounds of bread for every adult per day. The Food Commissariat and its distributive organs supplied the population on an average of 40 per cent, reaching to 71.74 per cent for the Cherepovetz gubernia and 95 per cent for that of Olonetz. In Moscow the supply of the People's Food Commissariat reaches the above mentioned figure of 38 per cent; it may be mentioned that the industrial workers and the railwaymen received 41 to 42 per cent while employes and others including bourgeois elements received 36 per cent.

The figures quoted speak for themselves. They prove that if the Commissariat does not supply the full ration of bread in its organization of public feeding under the existing difficult conditions it supplies at least a formidable quantity. The 40 to 50 per cent of the whole quantity of bread consumed which is supplied by the Food Commissariat would never have fallen into the hands of the workers and the poor had the population been driven to buy it at the existing exorbitant prices in the open market.

It is therefore not possible to look upon the activity of the Food Commissariat as unimportant. It is equally impossible to regard the Soviet food policy as incorrect and not answering the interests of the working masses. In the present transition period the main tasks of the state organs of supply is to give the workers and the poor at the expense of the rich the little that the state has at its disposal. From the above, apparently means of solving this question have been found; but they would not have been found had the government food policy been abandoned.

It is essential to mention a few measures in the sphere of food supply undertaken by the government. Being fully aware of the insufficiency of the goods supplied to the population, the state organs of supply assist the population in other ways. Thus, for instance, the decree dated March 17, 1919, establishes the principle of free feeding for children; this measure has so far been introduced in Moscow, Petrograd and 14 gubernia towns; by virtue of this decree the products supplied by the food organs are free to all children who have not reached the age of sixteen. In addition to this, in August, 1919, the decree followed, establishing an additional ration for those families of Red Army soldiers receiving pensions. Finally the state is taking energetic measures for the organization of public feeding, which are to improve public feeding at the account of economy effected in the products and materials expended.

The practical significance of the measures mentioned may be gathered from the data concerning the organization of free child feeding and of public feeding. Towards the end of 1919 Moscow children's dining rooms catered to 300,000 children

and Petrograd to 260,000 children; the half-yearly estimate for the second half of 1919 for child feeding amounts almost to three milliards of rubles. Moscow had public kitchens to serve 320,000 persons, Petrograd 322,464 persons; in other words Petrograd was in a position to feed the entire population in public kitchens.

During the present year the principle of free feeding generally, and of children in particular, has widened extensively. According to the state estimate for 1920 the annual expenditure of the labor government for the organization of free feeding of children, infants as well as of all homeless children, amounted to 51,306,100,000 rubles. In addition to this in the month of March the organization of free public feeding for all workers and other persons of Petrograd and Moscow was begun.

The increase of the food resources at the disposal of the food organs is to be explained by the successes of the Red Army, by the improvements of the state supply apparatus as well as the general consolidation of the Soviet Government; all this made it possible to put forward a number of important questions in the sphere of public supply. In the first place the questions have arisen of the improvement of the food position of mental workers and secondly of increased rations for workers employed in the more important state enterprises. The latter measures which are necessarily only taken gradually are already giving results, which take the form of an undoubted increase of the productivity of labor—both physical and mental.

Starvation has not yet been overcome in Soviet Russia. To defeat starvation it is necessary to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to build up the political and economic life of the country on new communist lines. The approaching victory over starvation depends upon the extent to which in spite of all the difficulties, Soviet Russia is achieving her aims.

With regard to the present difficult period which is continuing to demand, though less than formerly, ever fresh victims, it is permissible to put the following questions: What other government, with the exception of the Soviet Government, which has realized the dictatorship of the workers and the peasants, could possibly give to the workers and the poor that which the supply organs of the Soviet Government have given them? Would not any other kind of government have deprived the toilers of the little that they receive in order to enrich at the expense of these people all the parasitic elements and the bourgeoisie?

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Wireless and Other News

NEW LIES DENIED

Repeatedly it is necessary for periodicals desiring to restore some sort of truthful balance, in view of the flood of lies circulating about Soviet Russia, to print contradictions of individual misrepresentations. *Social-Demokraten*, of Christiania, Norway, prints in its issue of October 11 an item that is of interest in this connection:

Bourgeois papers today again print "sensational" telegrams concerning the "collapse of the Soviet Army" and a "serious conflict between the army and the Executive Committee." It was from the correspondent of *Dagens Nyheter* in Reval that these revelations came.

We have this day received the following official denial of these lies:

"RIGA, October 10.—Deny all absurd communications concerning mutiny in Red Fleet and other places. Likewise all reports of Soviet peace offer to Wrangel. This counter-revolutionary rebel shall share the fate of Kolchak and other traitors of the people." (Signed) Krichevsky.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND ARMENIA

Moscow, October 26, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Information about alleged menacing ultimatum of Russia to Armenia is erroneous. Soviet Russia is pursuing a policy of peace and is using its influence in the Near East for the purpose of establishing peace. Russia is not connected with any movements or eventualities of a military character. The Turkish advance on Armenian boundaries was in no connection with the Soviet Government's policy as the latter has no control over the Turkish Government. The Soviet Government is in full sympathy with the Turks' fight for independence against imperialism, but is not responsible for every movement of the Turkish troops. The latter's advance upon the Armenian border was an independent act of the Turkish national government. The Russian Government can do no more than propose mediation, but in this case it can expect from Armenia commercial facilities and the cessation of its participation in the aggressive anti-Russian policy of the Entente. Soviet Russia nurtures the most friendly feelings for the Armenian people, and is sincerely desirous of helping it towards a better future and toward establishing peace in the Near East.

BIG RUSSIAN PRINTING ENTERPRISE

STOCKHOLM, October 14.—A Russian publication house has been opened in Stockholm under the literary supervision of Professor Lundell of the University of Uppsala, and Professor Lyatskin, who is one of Russia's most prominent literary historians. A long time ago the first books resulting from the activities of the publishing house came

out, and in the last few days an additional series of books were furnished by the Stockholm company. In one year great preparations have been made in Sweden to provide Russia, as well as the numerous emigrants who are scattered all over Sweden and the rest of Europe, with Russian books in the Russian language. The books that have thus far appeared are a volume of stories by Chekhov and a few primers, and in the last few days there came out a large work of literary criticism by Professor Liatskin on Gontcharov, also a collection of old Russian popular epics, and a volume of Russian folk legends, etc.

MURDER OF RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN CRIMEA

Authentic news from Bulgaria has come to hand that 40 Russian prisoners, fully authorized by the French representative, left Varna for Odessa on the motorboat "Christo Botief" on June 22, but instead were brought to the Crimea and delivered to Wrangel. Thirty-two were shot, eight are still in prison in Sebastopol. This barbarous act of the most reactionary of governments, the French usurpers' government, deserves pillory.

TESSEM AND KNUDSEN

Some time ago SOVIET RUSSIA printed a short message from the Commissar of Foreign Affairs to the Norwegian Foreign Department, announcing that information had been received at Moscow of the death of Tessem and Knudsen, two sailors who had been left by Amundsen's ship, *The Maude*, at a point in northern Siberia, and who seemed to have perished at some subsequent date.

Social Demokraten of Christiania, Norway, September 11, 1920, now prints an account which seems to indicate that the Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has information tending to disprove its former communication. The item follows:

The Foreign Department (the Norwegian Foreign Department), as would be recalled, some time ago wired to the Russian Government for information concerning the report of the death of Tessem and Knudsen, as there was a possibility that this report might be the result of a confusion of these two names with two members of the Mili-kizky Expedition.

The Foreign Department has just received a telegraphic communication to the effect that the Russian Government has taken the necessary steps to obtain information on this subject. The Russian local authorities have furthermore received orders to grant all possible facilities to the Norwegian relief expedition.

Books Reviewed

THE BOLSHEVIK ADVENTURE. By John Pollock. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York.

INTIMATE LETTERS FROM PETROGRAD. By Pauline S. Crossley. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York.

Anti-Bolshevik books pass out of style very rapidly. The fictions of 1918 will not pass muster in 1919; the lurid tales seem pale and empty in 1920. It is easy to imagine how silly the *New York Times* weekly budget of propaganda, gravely marked "special dispatch from Washington", will seem in 1921. So Mr. Pollock's publishers have done him a very doubtful service in bringing out an American edition of his work, which was written and published in England in 1919.

Mr. Pollock is an Englishman, who spent some time in Russia during 1917 and 1918, ostensibly engaged in looking after a children's home in Petrograd. For some reason, not clearly explained by the author, his alleged charitable activities brought him into disfavor with the Soviet authorities, and he lived for some time under various disguises and false identities, finally leaving Russia surreptitiously by slipping across the Finnish border. His book is a truly extraordinary collection of wild and fanciful falsehoods about the Russian Revolution. He asserts that the Bolsheviks were German agents; that the nationalization of women was an accomplished fact in Soviet Russia; that people in Petrograd died at the rate of a hundred thousand a month (by this computation the city would have long ago passed out of existence); that the Soviet Government was maintained entirely by Germans, Letts and "Chinese mercenaries"; and that the aforesaid "Chinese mercenaries" did a thriving business in the sale of human flesh for food.

In fact, speaking with proper reserve, and taking full account of the fierce competition in the field, one is driven to the conclusion that Mr. Pollock's work contains more lies about Soviet Russia than any publication which has yet made its appearance in this country. In the very beginning we are given this definition of "Bolshevik":

"The word means a man who wants the big share, who will not be satisfied, one might say, with less than all the lot."

This rather extraordinary translation presumably indicates Mr. Pollock's degree of familiarity with the Russian language.

From the start to finish the book is filled with confident prophecies of the impending downfall of the Soviet Government, together with frantic pleadings for Allied intervention. The author sets down every reactionary canard with absolute credulity. He gravely asserts that the peasants desired nothing so much as the return of Czarism. Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel have testified, to their cost, the accuracy of this theory. According to Mr. Pollock, all classes of the Russian people yearned for the arrival of British troops "to restore order." The humane, altruistic, beneficent government of

Lloyd George, Curzon and Co. in Ireland and India is certainly calculated to inspire the workers and peasants of free Russia with an ardent desire to become subjects of the British Empire. This question has also been put to a very practical test—the Archangel and Yudenich fronts. By this time even Mr. Pollock must be convinced that British troops in Russia will be received not with flowers and speeches of welcome, but with the bayonets and machine-guns of the Red Army.

The author cannot be denied credit for distinct originality. He suggests that "the greatest blow against the Bolsheviks would be to send an aeroplane to bomb the mint at Petrograd." Apparently he does not realize that, whatever may be the case in capitalist countries, the center of power and prestige in the Russian workers' republic does not lie in the mint, nor in a stock exchange, nor in any similar institution.

Like many reactionary critics of Soviet Russia, Mr. Pollock is a violent anti-Semite. Like the amiable General Sakharov, aide to the late Supreme Ruler Kolchak, he complacently anticipates a great pogrom as the first step in the "liberation" of Russia from Soviet rule. Unfortunately for the predictions of Mr. Pollock and General Sakharov, the Russian people show no desire to overthrow the only government in eastern Europe which has kept itself quite free from the stain of racial and religious persecution.

Mr. Pollock's work is so full of gross misinformation and prophecies which have been definitely and completely disproved by the subsequent course of events that it is rather difficult to understand why the publishers should have decided to present it to American readers. Perhaps they wished to impart a vivid object lesson in the unreliable nature of anti-Soviet propaganda; and, upon this hypothesis, they are entitled to high praise.

The case of Mrs. Crossley is both simple and pathetic. The wife of an American naval attaché, she set out for Petrograd in 1917 in high hopes of enjoying the brilliant society life of the Russian capital. Her journey was marred by the constant intrusion of uncouth soldiers who boarded the train in large numbers and occasionally spat sunflower seeds on the floor. But she experienced her supreme tragedy upon arriving in Petrograd. Let her tell her woeful tale in her own words:

"Think of a country, a capital, in which it is unwise to appear on the street well-dressed. I suppose the war has made a difference in most countries, but it is a fact I have not seen a man wearing a silk hat in this large capital of a large country."

Of course something was radically wrong with a government whose officials did not make a practice of attending diplomatic functions garbed in immaculate silk hats and evening dress. Mrs. Crossley soon discovered other damaging facts about the Soviet regime. Soldiers no longer showed ser-

vile respect to their officers. A sailor and a workman actually participated in a reception to her distinguished husband at Sebastopol. The country was being ruled by plain workers and peasants, by men with no blue blood in their veins. When she cannot think of any more concrete accusations she imitates the exquisite wit of her Russian aristocratic friends by calling the members of the Soviets "Dogs' Deputies".*

Mrs. Crossley recounts a great many second-hand atrocity stories; but she is compelled to admit that she was never subjected to any personal molestation during the winter of 1917-1918, although her house seems to have been a sort of unofficial headquarters for counter-revolutionists.

In view of the hopes which were so cruelly dashed by the absence of silk hats on the Nevsky, one may readily forgive Mrs. Crossley her harsh words and her numerous misrepresentations, especially as the latter may be partially ascribed to her abysmal ignorance of Russian life. One can only feel pity for this fragile flower of capitalistic civilization, so unkindly exposed to the rude blasts of a proletarian revolution.

Механическое Черчение и Детали Машин, составил Преподаватель Технической Школы Российских Механиков, Инженер С. Кантор, при сотрудничестве И. Лошака и Инженера Ж. Лаукса. Mechanical Drawing and Machine Details, by S. Kantor, M.E., New York; published by the Technical School of Russian Mechanics, 1920.

It is gratifying to observe how much enthusiasm is being shown by persons and organizations sympathizing with the people of Soviet Russia in the work of reconstructing their country. Not only have we had occasion recently to note with pleasure the fact that many persons are actively working to gather funds to be spent in the purchase of medical supplies and surgical instruments, but also that large groups of Russian workers are devoting all their spare time to perfecting themselves in their various trades so that, when an opportunity is afforded to return to Soviet Russia, they may be able to be of real and efficient assistance to the people of that country, and to its government, in the great work of rebuilding that will require the application of so much skill and energy in the years to come.

The present little volume is issued by such an organization of workers who are preparing themselves for the new work that will be theirs after their return home. It is a series of instructions in Mechanical Drawing, accompanied by excellent illustrations and a clearly formulated text, together with useful tables to be used in the conversion of weights and measures from one system to another. No space has been wasted by inserting tables of too difficult a character for the use of common draughtsmen and workers, and some of the tables are particularly good for their simple and direct usefulness, such as the tables converting millimeters to inches, and *vice versa*. The illustrations that are intended to convey an idea of the concep-

tions of geometry, perspective, and projections that underlie the practice of Mechanical Drawing are calculated with great pedagogic skill and taste, and executed with neatness and due subordination of minor details. Altogether, this is a book that every Russian mechanic should possess, whether he intends ultimately to go to Russia or not.

The "Red East" Train

The propaganda train "Red East" began in August its second tour to Turkestan. The following appears in *Izvestia* on its first tour:

"In January the first propaganda train was sent to Turkestan, which only in July, that is half a year later, returned to Moscow. The area of Turkestan is four times that of France, but it is very thinly populated, four persons to each square verst. For this reason, our efficiency has had to be increased as well as methods of work better developed. Sixty-eight lectures with 7,453 attendants; 334 meetings with 106,080 Russian and 124,605 Mohammedan participants were held; 173 cinema productions were given, the number of those present being 153,330. Members of the political divisions conducted four conferences and took part in 14 party and trade meetings and conferences. The train visited 49 districts and 95 villages. In the internal parts of the country, work of instruction was carried on in five districts, 14 counties and 12 smaller localities. In the Board of Complaints, 938 cases were examined and sentence passed in 433 cases. Out of the book stock 3,073 libraries were provided with 186,431 volumes, 58,171 leaflets, 37,390 newspapers and 5,598 posters. 125,000 leaflets and 9,000 newspapers were distributed free. The "Rosta-Division", attached to the train, carried with it 24,500 copies of the publication *The Red East*, in the Russian language, 12,900 in the Tartar, Kirghiz and Sart languages; besides, 76,000 leaflets in Russian and 111,350 in Mohammedan dialects; 7,000 pamphlets in Russian; 4,600 appeals and placards in Russian and 4,300 for Mohammedans. There was also provided in the train a sanitary exhibition, which was visited by 34,767 persons.

These are only figures. The chief task of the train was to lay the foundation for a great and effective activity and to afford the working people a practical support in their struggle for their national independence and their right to self-determination. Thus far the Soviet organizations in Turkestan have reached only the preparatory stage, for as yet there is an absence of a unified plan and of a clear view of the tasks that should be performed in a country that was for decades a colony of Czarist Russia. For a year and a half or longer, a colonization policy has been pursued here, according to a Socialist plan, under the protection of the Soviet power. The Russian population was considered to be the sole support of the Soviet power, while the poorer classes of the Kirghiz, Usbek, and Turkestan population are suffering considerably from the deprivations inflicted by the

* Собачье депутаты, instead of рабоче депутаты.

most varied classes of adventurers, under the guise of requisitions and confiscations. We can speak to the population in their own language. Wherever there are no railroad lines the political section of the train sends its members into the remotest villages, often situated from 10 to 100 versts from the railroad line. Thousands of persons assemble who are eager to learn something about the real nature of the Soviet; in mosques, workshops, market places, and out on the steppes meetings were held; everywhere where the working people could be reached. *The Red East* has carried out not only a great labor of agitation and construction but also has gathered a large amount of technical material on Turkestan, as well as undertaken the inspection of thousands of Soviet institutions. This material and other labors carried out by the personnel of the train will later doubtless become a basis for estimating the Soviets and the work of education carried on by the Communist Party in Turkestan.

NORWAY FISHERMEN SELL TO RUSSIA

Yesterday negotiations which had been in progress between Litvinov and Manager Lorentzon of the North Norway Fishermen's Union, were terminated. Litvinov bought the fish now in the union's warehouses—200,000 kilograms at a price of 55 ore for dried fish and 45 ore for frozen fish. The minimum price of the Norwegian state are

45 and 37 ore respectively. Simultaneously Litvinov promised to purchase fish which the unions may be able to supply later in the winter for delivery in May, 1921. These negotiations concern 800,000 kilograms. These fish also will be paid for at the rate of 55 and 45 ore, but Litvinov has consented to raise this rate of compensation if the price of petroleum should rise during the winter.

Finally, both the parties have agreed on negotiating a series of fresh fish deliveries from Eastern Finnmarken to Archangel during the summer season of 1921.

The fish to be delivered will be paid for in cash as soon as commercial relations between Norway and Russia have been established.—From *Social Demokraten*, September 4.

INSPECTION

Moscow, October 8, 1920 (*Rosta*).—In number 113 of Burtzev's *Obshtsheye Dielo* Colonel Poradelov makes the allegation that Trotsky had been in Eastern Prussia in military consultation with Prussian officers. In answer to inquiries Trotsky makes the following statement: "There is not a word of truth in it. I was not in Eastern Prussia or in any other place. But I must say that, at any time, I am ready to hold conversations with any sensible and honest German officer who would offer his services for the fight against French imperialism which robs and oppresses Germany."

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