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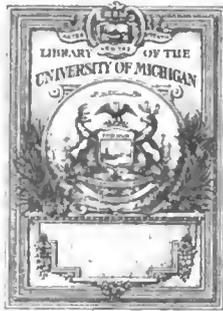
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And an Eight-Page Supplement, on glazed paper, with sixteen New Photographs from Soviet Russia.

New Buffer States in 1921?

IN OUR first issue for 1920, in an article entitled "1920 and After—A Promise and a Prospect", we pointed out the likelihood that during the year 1920 counter-revolution would be driven to find seats more and more to the westward, as the former bases of hostile military action against Soviet Russia would become more and more disinclined to be used as tools in the hands of the Western European imperialists, particularly French and English. At that time the public interest was centered chiefly on the sufferings of the population of the little republic of Esthonia, to which the Supreme Council of the League of Nations had granted autonomy, hoping that it would reward this distinction by consenting to be forever used as a reservoir of man power and as a foothold of intervening armies against Soviet Russia. But a few months earlier, Yudenich, preparing for the spectacular dash on Petrograd (which succeeded splendidly in its main objective—driving the ruble quotations in European and American foreign exchange markets to the "high" of six cents), had forced little Esthonian boys of fifteen into his army, after his and other similar enterprises had already wiped out most of the able-bodied males in the population of the little country. We then predicted that while Yudenich (who had been disastrously ejected from Soviet Russia in October, 1919) would make repeated efforts to involve the country in further operations against Soviet Russia, he would fail in all these, and the people of Esthonia would ultimately force their government—reactionary though it was, and still is—to make peace with the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and that after Esthonia, all the other so-called marginal states would, one by one, find it advantageous to pursue a policy which whereupon the Allies would be

obliged to undertake to embroil other countries, lying to the westward, in the fratricidal conflict against the workers of Russia.

It is clear that the history of military operations on the Russian western front, as well as their diplomatic consequences, have followed the course indicated a year ago. Esthonia made peace with Soviet Russia in February, 1920, and during the summer she was followed by Latvia and Lithuania, who also signed complete peace treaties with Russia. The full texts of these treaties have already appeared in this weekly. In the fall, Finland followed (we shall print a translation of the treaty of peace with Finland this month). Rumania was on the point of signing a peace treaty with Soviet Russia, in spite of the furious threats and protests of all the reactionary powers in Europe, when suddenly unusual pressure was applied by France, and General Joffre himself was sent as an emissary to Rumania, bearing an ultimatum that seems to have destroyed all immediate hope of peace between that country and Soviet Russia. Allied machinations having been relatively successful in Rumania, Rumania is now even farther from peace with Russia than is Poland, which very probably—all Allied assurances to the contrary—will never again raise the cudgels in the service of the world reaction against the Russian workers.

While we have every reason to rejoice, therefore, in the fact that the general movement of counter-revolution during the past year has been westward, we are also obliged to record the fact that the second half of our prophecy has also come true. Counter-revolution, defeated in its effort to capture and exploit the first line of buffers against Soviet Russia, seeing them all make treaties with Soviet Russia, has gone to work to try its luck again, on the

next layer of land and treasure that lies to the west of the first cordon. Scandinavia and the small states of Central Europe are next to be tried. (It is, by the way, a fortunate omen that no one seems to speak seriously of dragging Germany into the struggle: it would seem that the German workers are at last understood to have learnt which way lies their own good.)

Last week, in our editorial pages, we printed comments from two daily newspapers in Europe, one Swedish and one Norwegian, on the proposed plan to send a "police guard" of three hundred men to Vilna, to police the city during the plebiscite—one hundred Danes, one hundred Norwegians, and one hundred Swedes. Our readers will find, on referring to these quotations, how eager the Scandinavian populations are to remain free from the struggle against Soviet Russia, and how fully they understand that this proposed borrowing of a few hundred men is merely the beginning of a comprehensive plot to mobilize all the resources of the Scandinavian countries in an outright war against Soviet Russia.

We need not point out to our readers by what mode the sending of this little force to Vilna would assume, in a short time, the proportions of a real war: the history of the last few years—the experiences of the Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia, for instance, who were to "police" the Trans-Siberian Railroad—is rich in such devices. But we must emphasize the fact that the new war would be a serious one. There would be the great advantage, for the sponsors of the new puppets, of the fact that there would be no land frontier across which the Soviet Government could send its propaganda; there would be the splendid resources, then serving the Allies, of the Swedish metallurgical and munitions industries, the Norwegian bottoms, the Danish port facilities and foodstuffs. And a population of ten million literate and comparatively healthy people, who could furnish physically sound soldiers, of good mental calibre.

But, on the other hand, the masters of Scandinavia, if they should thus do the bidding of the Allies and make themselves the potential hangmen of the Russian Revolution, would undoubtedly dig their own graves. For nowhere in the world has the message from Russia penetrated so deeply and found so many adherents as in the Scandinavian countries. These countries will be made more wretched by their intervention as counter-revolutionary forces than were—and are—the Russian border-states, for their populations are more largely industrial and much better fitted, therefore, for military exploitation.

It may be, however, that the Scandinavian nations would not need to fight long alone against Soviet Russia. It is possible that the defeat of their first troops, if they should really be coerced into sending troops into Lithuania, could be played up in such a way as to induce certain governing sections in nations not yet exhausted by war, to plunge the populations of those countries into the counter-revolutionary campaign. The recent reports of a

commercial treaty between Great Britain and Spain, the terms of which are not communicated to (or by?) the newspapers, may have some connection with a new adventure in Russia. It will be remembered that Spain was one of the countries originally mentioned as a possible source for a few hundred soldiers to be used in the prospective "police" duty at Vilna. And another little diplomatic incident, to which the press has also given very little attention, is the reported abrogation of the commercial treaty long in force (we believe since 1885) between Spain and Sweden, Spain being, by the way, the party denouncing the treaty. It is not at present certain that Great Britain is using Spain as a whip to force Sweden into line against Soviet Russia, but neither is it impossible that concessions made to Spain by Great Britain in the reported new secret commercial treaty may be an effective means of inducing Spanish diplomats to use their influence on Sweden by threatening a withdrawal of privileges provided for in the earlier commercial treaty between Spain and Sweden. As for the proposition to send Spanish troops to Vilna, it has met with a very warm and unfavorable reception in Spain itself, and no more is at present heard of it. It has either been completely laughed down by the Spanish people, or is being put over in secret.

Soviet Russia has done everything in her power, not only to remain at peace with her Scandinavian neighbors, but even to open up trade relations with them. The last of the three Scandinavian countries to indicate its unwillingness to enter into such relations is Norway. Last week's SOVIET RUSSIA printed from an official Norwegian source the documents passing at Christiania between Litvinov, acting for the Soviet Government, and the Norwegian Department of Commerce, and our readers have therefore had every opportunity to judge how ready the Soviet Government showed itself, in these negotiations, to meet every suggestion of the Norwegian Department of Commerce more than half-way, and how persistently the Department of Commerce admitted that its intentions were to avoid anything that might have the slightest appearance of a recognition of the Soviet Government. When Litvinov left Christiania on October 6, it was after he had done everything a man could do to make possible the inauguration of the commercial exchanges so important to the healthy existence of both countries. But the tone of the documents emanating from the Norwegian Department of Commerce is such that the presence behind Norway of some great foreign power "making suggestions" to the Norwegian Government is distinctly felt.

This Norwegian experience is all largely a repetition of what Litvinov had already had to face in Denmark. In that country he was able to work unmolested only so long as the British Government (represented by Mr. O'Grady) found it necessary to negotiate with him for the exchange of Russian and British prisoners, as well as other matters of interest to Great Britain and Russia. Denmark responded even more readily than Norway to pressure from without, and the r-

Litvinov left Denmark for Norway last summer there was no diplomatic officer of the Soviet Government in Copenhagen to represent Soviet Russia.

Not dissimilar has been the case with Sweden. Already in 1918 some trade had been effected between Russia and Sweden, some of it carried on across the solid frozen ice between the various parts of the Aland Islands. The Swedish Government, which had begun to look upon this trade with increasing disfavor, finally instructed Vorovsky, who then represented Soviet Russia for all the three Scandinavian countries, at Stockholm, to leave Sweden, which he did (January 30, 1919). The Soviet Government was obliged, after Vorovsky's departure, and after the duty of representing Soviet Russia in Sweden had devolved, unofficially, on Frederik Strom, a prominent Swedish Left Wing Socialist, to make frequent protests to the Swedish Government on such matters as propositions from the Entente to have Sweden take part in the blockade of Russia, attempts to recruit counter-revolutionary armies in Sweden, etc. With some of these expressions our readers are already acquainted. But very powerful voices against any use of Swedish means to frustrate the Russian workers and their government were raised within Sweden, by the Swedish workers themselves. Our columns, even in our first volume, have frequently reported such open protests from the Swedish people. One of the most characteristic bits of this kind, interesting also for what it disclosed of the attitude of the Swedish Government at the time, is the following, which we reprint from SOVIET RUSSIA of October 25, 1919 (Vol. I, No. 21):

A private telegram from Stockholm, dated September 1, is printed in German newspapers of subsequent dates. It runs as follows:

"As was reported some time ago, many hundreds of Swedish working-class families declared themselves ready to shelter undernourished Russian children, from Soviet Russia, in their own midst. The Swedish Red Cross also was prepared to dispatch a steamer to Petrograd for the purpose, and the Swedish Government gave the necessary permission for this transaction. Now the Ministry of Foreign Affairs declares that the English authorities have strictly prohibited the voyage of this steamer to Russia. A similar answer was given by the Government to the dele-

gation of the metal workers' union, who had requested a reopening of the commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hellmer, declared that if any effort should be made from the Swedish side to break the blockade or to send ships under military escort to Russia, the Entente would frustrate such an effort. It was therefore impossible, for the present, to reopen relations with Russia."

The report which Soviet Russia recently printed (SOVIET RUSSIA, No. 16) of the latter incident was taken from a Swedish newspaper, and represented the minister as having declared that any effort to break the blockade of Soviet Russia on the part of Sweden would involve the country in war with the Entente.

We are firmly convinced that Mr. Hellmer spoke the truth: that Sweden was being prevented by England and France from opening up trade with Russia, even though Swedish metal workers were unemployed and their factories idle. And the situation at the opening of 1921 does not seem to be much different. England and France are preventing Norway and Sweden and Denmark from trading with Soviet Russia, even though England and France themselves are daily reported to be more ready to undertake exchanges of a commercial sort with Soviet Russia themselves. In fact, from the hazy way in which the newspaper reports (including the *New York Times*, Special Washington Article of December 19) now treat the Commercial Agreement between Soviet Russia and England, it appears very probable that the document has already been signed by both powers.

But the lesser nations may still earn approbation from their strong masters by keeping up, or entering, the fight. Accordingly a militaristic king has been restored to his throne at Athens, who will comply with the wishes of the Allies, and Rumania has been "permitted" openly to propose to equip an army for operations against Soviet Russia through Rumania. The southern "buffers" are preparing to be rebuffed (much against the will of their population, by the way), and the northern nations will not be permitted to live at peace unless they display a readiness to obey orders. But it is possible that events in 1921 may yet be such as to be ultimately of advantage to the working classes of all the small nations concerned.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

INTO 1921, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic enters strategically victorious, in Europe as well as in Asia. Politically, the Soviet Government may be considered very powerful because its diplomacy is strongly backed by the formidable force of the Red Army, which in spite of the lull in the military operations on all engaged fronts still holds very favorable strategical positions, and is reinforced by fresh reserves instead of being demobilized. The latter decision of the Soviet Government is due to the bitter lesson which it learned in 1919 when, after the defeat

of Kolchak and Denikin, a part of the Red Army was demobilized as a fighting body, and turned into a labor organization. The result of this transformation was the sudden attack of imperialistic Poland in March, 1920, when there were not sufficiently strong reserves at hand in Soviet Russia to prevent the invasion. It was therefore necessary to form a new fighting body in Russia, not only in order to meet the western invaders, but also to put an end to their supporters in the south under the leadership of reactionary Wrangel. The lack of sufficiently strong reserves, fully equipped and sup-

plied, caused the suffering which the population of Southern and Western Russia, as well as Ukraine, had to endure. Carefully watching events in Western Europe, and far from thinking that the present cessation of hostilities is a sign of an approaching permanent peace, the Soviet Government knows well that the capitalistic coalition of world capitalism is by no means prepared to establish sincere friendly relations with the victorious Soviet Government. It is also fully realized by the leaders of the Russian proletarian republic that the danger threatening the Russian Revolution is still in existence and will menace Russia as long as the Allies, directly or indirectly, support the reactionary adventurers who are very eager to make a new attack against the Soviet Republic. B. Bakhmetiev, Balakhovich, Wrangel, Sazonov, Savinkov, Shkuro, and many similar to these usurpers and adventurers are still alive, they are enjoying the sympathy of their mighty protectors who approve their plans to overthrow the Soviet Government; and as long as there will exist in Europe the present rulers of the imperialistic countries inspired by such men as Winston Churchill, as long as the great powers, instead of keeping their repeated promise to decrease their military and naval forces, on the contrary strengthen and reinforce their army and navy, Soviet Russia must be and will be *en guard*.

The Great War which, it was said, had to crush forever German militarism, in reality not only did not put an end to it, but on the contrary created a new militarism throughout Europe and Asia.

Those who believed, at the time of the armistice, that the formation of the League of Nations would be succeeded by a general disarmament, are now very much disappointed at the way the league itself is busily arming its own; a very amusing army from a military standpoint, but still an international "army". The small states of Europe are rapidly increasing their military forces, and are easily obtaining, for the purpose, from the Allies any support for their fight against Bolshevism. The danger of Bolshevism which, as it is alleged, is menacing the whole world is a very comfortable camouflage for the great imperialistic powers to mobilize a new coalition of smaller states which, as they suppose, will support a new attempt at a counter-revolutionary attack on Russia.

Mr. Paul Scott Mowrer, the correspondent of the *New York Globe*, who recently finished a tour through eight states of Europe, firmly stated that "the military idea rules" in the southwestern part of that continent. Being very frank in communicating his observations, Mr. Mowrer offers a military observer very interesting material in estimating the real military strength which the Allies undoubtedly tried to create in Europe for a new war against Soviet Russia.

Fortunately for the Bolsheviki, the leading powers are acting as usual without any harmony at all, and instead of consolidating the small states into one strong military coalition which might serve capitalistic imperialism as a powerful fighting

body, they have produced such an atmosphere among the smaller nations of Europe that each of them has at last lost its faith in its protectors, and is looking with suspicion upon the others. For instance, in the Balkans, every country is armed against the possibility of attack from its neighbors. Such a situation rises from the fact that the larger powers can at present accord the smaller no real guaranty of safety, and, therefore, the latter have to look to themselves as best they can.

Studying the new military map of Europe with the change in the frontiers of the smaller states of Europe, as well as of Austria and Hungary, it is difficult to pass unnoticed the fact that only two countries, namely, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia, possess defensible frontiers, from a military standpoint, and still they are far from satisfied, and show their hostile attitude towards their neighbors. The other countries, Greece, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Austria are practically separated only by artificial frontier-lines, which were only preliminarily traced either by the Peace Conference or by the "League", and in several cases by the respective countries themselves, in accordance with the strength of their armies at the actual moment.

Consequently, as Mr. Mowrer points out very aptly "they endeavor to conclude alliances with their neighbor's neighbor and for the rest, they build up their armies, gathering arms and material wherever and however they can" (*New York Globe*, December 9, 1920).

There are two classes of states among the smaller nations of Europe. Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia (Serbia), and Greece, considered members of the Entente, are allowed to develop whatever military system they choose, and are assisted materially in every way by the Great Powers, namely, Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States. France, from the military standpoint considered the leading power of the Entente, was entitled to organize the armies of these countries, and is practically guiding their strategy. This activity of French officers in Europe was very important for the French Government which did not know what to do with demobilized troops after the great war, who sought employment. A great number of French officers and technicians are still serving with the Polish colors. The Polish army is purely a creation of the French who, after the inspection of the Polish volunteer forces raised during the Russian Revolution, finding this army too weak and imperfect to meet the Russian Red armies introduced, to the Poles, the conscript army suggesting two years of service, a plan rejected by the conservative militarists of the French War Office. It was a rare opportunity for the French experts to test that method in Poland, and they did it. The Polish army numbers about 600,000 men perfectly equipped, and well supplied with ammunition, artillery and other technical means for modern warfare, but suffers from a great lack of technicians, and, especially, of experienced superior officers, most of whom perished or became disabled

during the Russian campaign. The superior Polish command, when left to themselves, always suffered most tragic defeats, and appealed to the French General Staff for help. There was never full harmony between the French superior officers and those of Poland. Most bitter jealousy and discordance ruled them, and, on each occasion, when the Poles attained considerable success in the field, the Polish high command claimed absolute independence, and asked the French generals to withdraw, while at dangerous moments, excuses were sent to Paris and they begged for new moral support from the French strategists. The officers of the Czar's army, of Polish origin, played the most important part in the Polish command, and these are the bitterest opponents of the French methods of warfare and organization. The Polish officers of the German school are opposed to both French and Russian scholars, and there are a number of admirers of French military methods among the young Polish military elements. These three groups cannot agree with one another, and, consequently, cause great difficulty to the high command. Finally, the foremost military experts of the Entente came to the conclusion that the Polish army is far inferior to the Red Army of the Soviets, and that, in case of a new war between Poland and Soviet Russia, the Polish armies, if they were not supported by a powerful military alliance of certain bordering states, situated on the Russian frontier as, for instance, Rumania, they would be completely defeated by the Reds in spite of the moral and material support which Poland might expect from the Allies.

Czecho-Slovakia claims to be keeping a standing army of 150,000 men. This army arose under very exceptional circumstances, and its first deed was its unforgettable flight in Siberia before the victorious advance of the Russian Red Army during its dash on Kolchak. The part which the Czecho-Slovaks played in the Russian counter-revolution remained like a black spot in the history of the new republic, and is condemned by most of its population. We must not overlook the fact that the soldiers of Czecho-Slovakia are allowed to vote and that, in general, they are far from being extreme militarists. The Czechs and Slovaks are severely criticizing the two year's military system of service introduced among them by the French, and they are looking forward to the organization of a kind of people's militia. Present conditions in this republic indicate that it will not be long before events there will remove every possibility of any alliance with countries hostile to Soviet Russia.

Rumania also possesses a standing army of 150,000, but due to the necessity of keeping troops of occupation in Transylvania, the Banat, Bukovina, and Bessarabia there are now about 350,000 Rumanians under arms. As an organized body, the Rumanian army may be considered of very high standing. There exists the two year conscript method of service also, but the Rumanians are educated along the principles of so-called "easy wars". During the Russo-Turkish War, in 1877-78, their

famous entry in Plevna was a result of the superhuman sacrifices of the Russian army.

"The Rumanians," said the celebrated Turkish General Osman-Pasha, "entered Plevna by the open gates." During the Balkan War in 1912, the Rumanians attacked Bulgaria, at the moment when Bulgaria was defeated by her allies, and without any resistance marched on Sophia. Their invasion of Hungary and occupation of Bessarabia were accomplished in the period when the Hungarians and the Russians were struggling against their own counter-revolution. There was no opportunity for the Rumanian army to show its military quality except that it put up very feeble resistance to the Austro-Germans during the Great War. As an ambitious country, entirely under the influence of the imperialistic coalition of the west, and very faithful to the Roman Catholic Church, Rumania may join the Poles in their further possible aggression against Soviet Russia.

The Greek army numbers about 250,000 at the present moment, and can be considered an able fighting organization, well equipped and perfectly officered; but the interest which Greek policy took in Asia Minor enticed Greek strategy into such difficult positions that being confronted with its old enemy, Bulgaria, on one hand, and the Turks on the other hand, the Greeks have to fight for themselves, and will scarcely be able to sacrifice their military strength for any country whose actual interests differ from their own. The internal reaction in Greece, which is far from being in the interest of the Allies, and will bring serious troubles upon Greece, prevents this country from joining a campaign which the Allies may organize in Europe against Soviet Russia. Greece has lost her game in Anatolia, and after her army evacuates Smirna, the Greeks will be entirely preoccupied in organizing their state. It must not be forgotten that the shadow of revolution is already threatening the newly created Greek Empire.

The strongest and most dangerous nation among the smaller states of Europe is certainly Jugo-Slavia, under which name now is known the artificially enlarged Serbia. About eight years of continuous warfare created among the Serbians experienced military leaders who, even before the Great War, thanks to the exceptional geographical and political conditions of Serbia, were of very high standing, from a purely military point of view. The quality of the Serbian soldier has been well proven. The strength of the Serbian army presents about 150,000 well-trained, highly-disciplined and fully-equipped, permanent troops, led by excellent officers. The system of service is that of conscription for two years in the cavalry and artillery, and a year and a half in the infantry. In addition, in the new provinces, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Dalmatia, and the Banat, all men up to 33 years of age are being conscripted for two months' periods to accustom them to the Serbian method. Being disciplined on purely imperialistic lines, the Serbian farmers, like the German burghers and peasants, are extremely conservative and are entirely in the

hands of their military leaders, who they believe have reconquered for them their lost motherland. Had Jugo-Slavia been in a different geographical situation instead of being surrounded by enemies, the Serbian army would have been the first sent to Poland in order to fight Soviet Russia. The Serbian troops have shamelessly supported Russian counter-revolution, and we have heard nothing about Serbian soldiers having joined the Reds. Barred from Poland by Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, in the presence of the neutrality of Rumania, the Serbian imperialistic government was absolutely unable to support the Polish campaign against the Soviet Government. All the efforts of the Allies to force Rumania to enter the conflict ended in complete failure. But had the intrigues of the imperialistic coalition succeeded, and had the Serbian army, together with the Rumanians, supported the Polish advance, the situation of the Red Army would have been very critical. Summing up the old situation of the smaller states in Europe friendly to the Allies, I arrive at the conclusion that the Entente may try to repeat its attack on Soviet Russia in the near future using for the purpose Poland, Rumania, and Jugo-Slavia, a military force representing about two and a half million men. But, fortunately for the Soviets, there exists the second group of smaller nations in Europe, namely Bulgaria, Austria, and Hungary which are considered enemy countries of the Entente. These countries, though they became the object of forcible disarmament and limitation of their military strength numerically, as well as by the method of volunteer enlistment, still represent a considerably strong fighting body in case of emergency.

Bulgaria, which is allowed a maximum of 20,000 soldiers and 10,000 military police, Hungary with about 35,000 soldiers, and Austria also with 35,000, are practically in possession of armies of much larger size. Bulgaria, for instance, gradually becoming revolutionized, is putting into effect a scheme of universal labor, which is nothing other than a military organization, stronger than it was in the past, and can mobilize a force equal in number to that of Serbia. Bulgaria, Austria, and Hungary never have surrendered their surplus arms to the Entente. The Bulgars and Magyars, faithful to their old traditions, are still hiding arsenals and weapons throughout their mountainous and woody country.

During my sojourn in Bulgaria, when I fought the Turks in Macedonia, being a leader of a Macedonian "cheta" of "comitajies" in 1903, then later during the Balkan War, I had several opportunities to inspect some of these secret arsenals, and I am sure that the ablest detectives in the world would be unable to find them without the help of one who knows, and if he succeeded, his discovery would be useless—he would never return from the place.

Jugo-Slavia and Rumania have to keep an eye on their neighbors who, though humiliated and vanquished, will have strength in case of emergency. More than half of their actual forces have to watch the frontiers of these neighbors, and, there-

fore, in joining the Poles, in case of a new war between Poland and Soviet Russia, both Jugo-Slavia and Rumania would scarcely be able to put in the field an army of one million men, which together with all the Polish military resources would present a force of two millions, a number scarcely to be compared with the five millions in the Red Army of the Russo-Ukrainian coalition.

On the other hand, in case of such a campaign in the west, Russian strategy would again be purely on the defensive, as it was in the past, with the difference that the rear of the Soviet Army is now in perfect order because the counter-revolution which existed at the time of the Polish war of 1920, is now completely beaten in Russia, while the rear of our possible enemies cannot be considered in a perfect state and fully guaranteed from turmoils.

In case of an unsuccessful campaign at the beginning, Russia can suffer only a series of tactical reverses, and finally would be strategically triumphant, first because of her numerical superiority over the enemy, and, secondly, because she can dispose of enormous space in order to accomplish great manoeuvres while retreating.

Quite the reverse can be said in regard to the enemies of Soviet Russia. A single tactical defeat inflicted upon them by the Reds would have fatal consequences for their imperialistic regime, namely, a revolutionary uprising in their respective countries which means a definite victory for the strategy of the Soviet Government.

In repeating their attack on Soviet Russia once again, imperialistic Poland, when in alliance with Rumania and Jugo-Slavia, would only hasten the establishment of the Soviet regime among the smaller states of Europe.

The Great War was the immediate cause of the Russian Revolution. The armed intervention of the Allied nations further strengthened the Soviets. The Polish war, backed by the powerful coalition of the leading imperialistic countries, increased the military force of the Russian proletariat.

Further intervention will leave Soviet Russia unshaken and can only give impetus to the revolutionary movement throughout all Europe.

Soviet Russia

will continue publication; we make this statement in answer to several inquiries on the subject. Continue to send us lists of your friends who might appreciate sample copies. Subscription remittances should be made payable to L. C. Martens.

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New York, N. Y.

A Bibliography of Soviet Russia *

By A. C. FREEMAN

IT IS no longer accurate to say that judgment on Soviet Russia must be suspended for lack of reliable information. It is true that the censorship and passport restrictions imposed by the Allied governments have made communication with Russia difficult, and at times almost impossible. It is also true that American public opinion has been to some extent confused and misled by a vast amount of false propaganda, which has been circulated by interests hostile to the Russian Soviet Republic. This propaganda, however, has been pretty effectively refuted by the refusal of the Soviet Government to stay overthrown, by the refusal of Petrograd to stay burned, and by the refusal of various "famous revolutionists", supposed to have been shot by the Bolsheviki, to stay buried. Moreover, the very novelty and daring of the social experiment embodied in Soviet Russia has attracted a number of competent and impartial observers, who have recorded their impressions of various phases of the Russian Revolution in many books and articles.

For bibliographical purposes the history of Soviet Russia may be divided into three periods. During the first period, from the November Revolution to the late spring of 1918, we have an abundance of information from various sources. It is possible to construct a full and accurate picture of the first six months of the Revolution on the basis of books and articles which have been published in America. The next period, from the spring of 1918 to the fall of 1919, is distinctly barren. During this time the Allied governments enforced the policy of the *cordon sanitaire* in its utmost rigor. They apparently cherished the rather metaphysical conviction that they could annihilate Soviet Russia by simply refusing to acknowledge its existence.

The obvious power and stability of Soviet Russia, the decisive victories over Kolchak and Denikin, induced a considerable modification of this policy. The British Government especially relaxed its passport restrictions. From the fall of 1919 to the present time our knowledge of the workings of the Soviet Government has been freshened almost every month by the testimony of some new witness. Of late Russia has been almost overrun with "investigators", whose good intentions, in some cases, have surpassed their capacity to form objective judgments.

John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World" (Boni & Liveright) is undoubtedly the best book dealing with the early days of the Revolution. Combining literary brilliance with historical accuracy it gives a detailed, vivid, unforgettable picture of the notable events which attended the establishment of the Soviet Government. The author was in Petrograd and Moscow during these historic days; and his impressions are those of an eyewitness. At the same time he makes full use of newspapers,

documents and other sources of information in checking his personal observations. The work is crowded with valuable facts; and it describes the birth of the Russian Soviet Republic with the picturesque genius of a Carlyle.

A very fair and able interpretation of the Soviet Government is to be found in "Raymond Robins' Own Story", by William Hard (Harper's). Colonel Robins has absolutely no sympathy with Socialist economic philosophy. All the more impressive, therefore, is his eloquent testimony about the efficiency, good faith and representative character of the Russian Government. Inasmuch as it is a familiar fiction of reactionary propagandists that the Soviet authorities revel in breaking agreements with "bourgeois governments", it is interesting to learn that Colonel Robins never met with an instance of evasion and deception in all his dealings with the Soviet Government as head of the American Red Cross Mission. Colonel Robins also very effectively explodes the authenticity of that extraordinary collection of material commonly known as the Sisson Documents, and published for the purpose of branding the Bolsheviki as German agents. Colonel Robins testifies that Lenin offered to use his influence against the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Peace, if Russia were given security against Japanese aggression and some reasonable amount of economic aid by the Allies. Further refutation of the Sisson Documents is contained in a *Liberator* pamphlet by John Reed, and in Santeri Nuorteva's "Letter to American Liberals" (Socialist Publication Society). In this connection it may be observed that Mr. H. E. Wilcox, an English correspondent of rabidly anti-Bolshevik sympathies, scouts the Sisson Documents as clumsy forgeries and presents conclusive evidence in support of his viewpoint in his book, "Russia's Ruin" (Scribner's).

An interesting philosophical commentary upon the early experiences of the Soviet Government is furnished by Etienne Antonelli, a French sociologist, in "Bolshevik Russia" (Knopf). M. Antonelli visited Russia as a French officer; and he can never altogether repudiate the Allied military prejudice against revolutionary Russia. Yet his whole attitude is generally sympathetic. The reasoned, farsighted conclusion of his book is worth quoting:

"I believe that Bolsheviki Russia will prepare for humanity the spectacle of a singular democracy, such as the world will not have known until then, a democracy which will not be made up of gradual conquests plucked by shreds from a plutocratic bourgeoisie, but which will build itself up out of the very stuff of the people, a democracy which will not descend from the powerful ones to the people, as in all present forms of society, but which will rise voluntarily and surely from the unorganized and uncultivated folk to an organizing intelligence."

* See also lists in *Facts and Fabrications About Soviet Russia*, by Evans Clark, New York, 1920.

An excellent, authoritative account of the problems which Soviet Russia was compelled to solve in the early days of its existence is contained in Leon Trotsky's work, "From October to Brest-Litovsk" (Socialist Publication Society). A large amount of informative historical material is also included in three pamphlets by M. Phillips Price, an English correspondent: "The Old Order in Europe and the New Order in Russia", "The Origin and Growth of the Russian Soviets" and "The Soviet, The Terror and Intervention" (Socialist Publication Society, New York).

The human side of the Russian Revolution is emphasized in the works of two American women: "The Red Heart of Russia", by Bessie Beatty (Century); and "Six Red Months in Russia", by Louise Bryant (Doran). Miss Beatty and Miss Bryant give a vivid, sympathetic picture of the life of the people in Petrograd and Moscow and of the soldiers at the front. They also describe their experiences during the November Revolution. Their works are full of fascinating, revealing sketches of Russia during her period of revolutionary travail.

Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, the well-known American sociologist, gives an intelligent, objective, impartial account of conditions in Russia at the time of the November Revolution in "Russia in Upheavals" (Century). Professor Ross traveled very extensively; his observations cover a wide field.

A distinctly specialized subject is admirably treated in "The Russian Theatre Under the Revolution," by Oliver M. Saylor (Little Brown). Mr. Saylor, who was formerly dramatic editor of the *Indianapolis News*, went to Russia in order to study the effect of revolution upon the drama. He arrived in Moscow on the day of the Bolshevik revolution; and remained in Russia for several months. His work reveals the extraordinary creative activity of Russian dramatists and producers under the regime, despite the handicaps imposed by war and blockade. Mr. Saylor is the author of another work, "Russia: White or Red" (Little Brown). This is an impartial account of general conditions in Russia. It includes a full explanation of the origin of the absurd "nationalization of women" canard.

A mass of documentary material is assembled in "Russia and Germany at Brest-Litovsk", by Judah Magnes (Rand School).

No bibliography of the first months of the Soviet Republic would be complete without a reference to Arthur Ransome's "Open Letter to the American People," originally printed in *The New Republic* of July 27, 1918, and subsequently reprinted in pamphlet form. Mr. Ransome defends the Soviet Government against the attacks of its critics with remarkable logical power and with passionate eloquence. His letter will remain a powerful testimony to the heroism and nobility of the revolutionary movement which inspired it.

It is Mr. Ransome again who relieves the barrenness, as regards historical material, of the period which sets in with the summer of 1918. His "Russia in 1919" (Huebsch) is a classic. With rare

insight and literary skill he sketches the condition of Russia in February and March, 1919. The book includes interviews with the Soviet leaders, descriptions of Moscow and Petrograd, vignettes of the life of the people. No book that has yet been written about Russia gives so human and lifelike a picture of the situation.

"The Bullitt Mission to Russia" (Huebsch) also reveals Russia in 1919 from the inside. This mission, consisting of William C. Bullitt, Lincoln Steffens and Captain Walter W. Pettit, went to Russia in order to investigate conditions and to open up tentative negotiations with the Soviet Government. The mission found the Russian Government eager for peace and willing to make considerable sacrifices in order to obtain it; but the negotiations broke down on account of the pertinacious hostility of the French and the irresolute attitude of the other Allied Powers. Aside from its diplomatic revelations the report contains valuable information about the situation in Russia in the early months of 1919.

The ill advised intervention of the Allies in northern Russia finds an able chronicler in Ralph Albertson, author of "Fighting Without a War" (Harcourt, Brace and Howe). Mr. Albertson was a Y. M. C. A. secretary attached to the forces in the Archangel district, and received several decorations from British and counter-revolutionist Russian officials. His exposure of the interventionist fraud is vigorous and convincing. He shows that the whole affair was carried out in British, not in Russian interests. He tells of many cases in which prisoners and suspects were shot by the British, and contrasts with this fact the excellent treatment which British prisoners were always given by the Bolsheviks.

With the fall of 1919 the Chinese Wall about Russia begins to break down. People are able to enter and leave the country with somewhat less difficulty; and the number of books steadily increases.

One of the first Americans to avail himself of the opportunity to visit Russia was Isaac McBride. Mr. McBride was compelled to enter Russia literally by "going over the top", as he was compelled to cross the battlefield of the Russian and Lettish armies. His work, "Barbarous Soviet Russia" (Seltzer) gives a spirited account of the courage and devotion of the Russian people, and of the herculean efforts of the Soviet Government to achieve at least a minimum of reconstruction in spite of the war and blockade. Many laws and decrees of the Soviet Government, together with other interesting documentary information, are included in a long appendix.

Several English observers went to Russia in the fall and winter of 1919-1920. Professor William T. Goode, in "Bolshevism at Work" (Harcourt, Brace and Howe), gives a brief but scholarly and highly valuable survey of the structure, aims and ideals of the present Russian Government. "The Russian Republic", by Colonel Cecil L'Estrange Malone (Harcourt, Brace and Howe), corroborates Professor Goode's impressions, and adds various original observations. Colonel Malone was espec-

ially impressed by the successful functioning of the Soviet program of social reform.

Another valuable witness is George Lansbury, editor of *The London Daily Herald*, who describes his Russian experiences in "What I Saw in Russia" (Boni and Liveright). Mr. Lansbury is a Christian and a pacifist; but he found a good deal of humanity and idealism in the leaders of Soviet Russia, even though most of them were atheists and unable to subscribe to his non-resistant views. His book very effectively refutes the silly counter-revolutionist story that he was hoodwinked, shown special favors and kept away from the masses of the people. He shared every discomfort that is characteristic of modern Russia, from short food rations to crowded railroad trains. He talked with opponents, as well as with friends of the present government. He saw a great deal of suffering; much more, for instance, than Mr. Bertrand Russell saw, or cared to see; but he justly ascribes it to its true causes: war and blockade. It is certainly not the fault of the Soviet Government that patients in hospitals are compelled to submit to operations without anaesthetics. Like other observers, Mr. Lansbury was profoundly impressed by the farsighted humanity of the measures taken by the Soviet authorities to ensure equal distribution of the scanty stores of food and clothing, with preference only for children and invalids.

Our knowledge of Soviet Russia during 1919 and the early part of 1920 is further enriched by the newspaper correspondence of Mr. Isaac Don Levine and Mr. Lincoln Eyre. Mr. Levine, whose articles appeared in the *New York Globe* and the *Chicago Daily News*, collected much interesting information during two flying trips to Russia in 1919. At a time when most of the American papers were putting Yudenich in Petrograd and Denikin in Moscow, Mr. Levine proved his capacity as a reporter by sending over despatches asserting that the majority of the Russian people were supporting the Soviet Government against the attacks of the counter-revolutionists.

Mr. Eyre's articles, describing life in Petrograd and Moscow, and general conditions in Russia, were justly celebrated by the *New York World* as a noteworthy journalistic achievement. Mr. Eyre showed little sympathy with the economic philosophy upon which the Soviet Government is based; but he gave a favorable account of its working out in practise. His despatches included interesting interviews with Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev.

A work that has been praised by journals of all shades of opinion for its accuracy, completeness and impartiality is "Russian-American Relations" (Harcourt, Brace and Howe). This book, which includes all available material about the diplomatic relations between Russia and America during the years 1917-1920, was compiled by C. W. Cumming and Walter W. Pettit under the auspices of the League of Free Nations Association. The case of the Soviet Government is greatly helped by this unbiased presentation of the truth.

As yet the Russian Revolution has not inspired

many biographies. There are two lives of Lenin which may be commended to the attention of those who are interested in the personality of this statesman. One is by Zinoviev, Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, who was associated with Lenin throughout his years of exile. Zinoviev gives an excellent sketch of Lenin's career, emphasizing the development of his thought and his place among the great revolutionary thinkers and leaders of Russia. A more personal, anecdotal method is employed by Albert Rhys Williams in "Lenin: The Man and His Work" (Seltzer). Mr. Williams, an American correspondent in Russia during the period of the Revolution, relates a number of characteristic incidents which reveal various sides of Lenin's personality. Mr. Williams' book also includes the impressions of Lenin conceived by Arthur Ransome and Colonel Raymond Robins.

There are a number of books suited to students of the historical and sociological background of the November Revolution. Lenin himself is undoubtedly the foremost theoretical exponent of the movement which he led. In "The State and Revolution", written just before the November Revolution, he states his conception of the Marxist revolutionary theory and outlines the tasks which await the proletariat after it has attained power. "The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade", Lenin's side of a long-range debate with the well-known German Socialist on the respective merits of evolutionary and revolutionary Socialism, is intensely interesting, not only for its theoretical arguments, but also for its practical illustrations, drawn from the actual experiences of the Russian Revolution.

"The Proletarian Revolution", by N. Lenin and L. Trotsky, is an interesting collection of articles setting forth various aspects of Bolshevik theory, compiled by Louis C. Fraina. Trotsky's "A Paradise in This World" is an eloquent statement of the ultimate goal and ideal of the Soviet Revolution; while Lenin's "The Land Revolution in Russia" is a penetrating analysis of the agrarian problem. Two English works which present the underlying theoretical concepts of the Russian Revolution with measurable accuracy are "The Bolshevik Theory", by R. W. Postgate (Dodd Mead), and "Creative Revolution", by Eden and Cedar Paul (Seltzer).

By far the most significant literary product that has yet come out of Soviet Russia is Alexander Blok's poem, "The Twelve". Characterized at once by intense realism and high imaginative genius, it presents a most vivid interpretation of the wild, turbid, heroic early days of the Revolution. The poem is translated into English by Abraham Yarmolinsky and Babette Deutsch. Originally published in *The Freeman*, it is now available in the form of a pamphlet, printed by B. W. Huebsch.

Among magazines SOVIET RUSSIA may be recommended as a constant and reliable source of official and unofficial information about Russia. It has printed a large number of Soviet decrees, including a complete and accurate transcription of the much discussed Labor Laws of Russia. It has

also given the full texts of the peace treaties with Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, together with the preliminary peace treaty with Poland. It has printed "Moscow in 1920", the book of Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt, of the German Independent Socialist Party delegation, the stories of McLaine and Clarke, and of other visitors to Soviet Russia. The military situation on the various revolutionary fronts has been accurately analyzed by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek, the military expert of SOVIET RUSSIA. Moreover it contains a large amount of up-to-date news from Russia, gleaned from wireless despatches and other sources.

During the last two or three years *The Nation*, especially in its International Relations Section, has contained a fund of Russian material. It has reprinted the Russian Constitution, the Land Law and other important legislation of the Soviet Republic. During the last year it has also printed several instructive articles by Mr. Henry G. Alsborg, describing conditions in Russia and other parts of Eastern Europe.

Much valuable information about different phases of the Russian Revolution is also to be found in *The New Republic*. During the summer of 1919 this journal printed a number of well-informed and cleverly written articles by Mr. William Hard, in which the reasoning and characteristics of such well-known anti-Bolsheviks as Mr. Spargo, Mr. Sack and Mr. Bakhmetiev were analyzed. Mr. Hard's article on Spargo was a particularly illuminating exposure of some of the more glaring misrepresentations which appeared in Mr. Spargo's first book, "Bolshevism", and which he has repeated, with more or less variation, in his numerous subsequent publications. At the same time *The New Republic* printed an article by Dr. Joshua Rosett, entitled "Kolchak: Autocrat and Tyrant", which most effectively revealed the brutally despotic character of the Omsk government, so mendaciously praised by its partisans in this country as an experiment in pure democracy.

The New Republic made another valuable contribution to an understanding of the Russian problem by publishing an extensive analysis of the policy followed by the *New York Times* in handling Russian news. While it would require a work of encyclopedic proportions to correct all the prevarications and inaccurate reports about Russia which have appeared in this newspaper, *The New Republic's* supplement performed a useful service in showing how completely the news columns of *The Times* have been biased and colored by its editorial viewpoint. The policy of *The Times* has been imitated, in this respect, by the great majority of American papers. *The Springfield Republican*, *The Chicago Daily News*, *The New York American*, *The New York Globe* and a few radical journals stand out as honorable exceptions. Apparently *The New Republic's* searching critique stirred the slumbering conscience of *The Times*: for since it was published *The Times* has carried as prominent features the fair and interesting comments of Mr. H. G. Wells and Mrs. Clare Sheridan, even if it did

attempt to neutralize the effect of Mr. Wells' testimony by invoking the ponderous wit of Mr. H. A. Jones and new misrepresentations by Mr. Spargo.

The New Republic's last and most significant journalistic achievement, as regards Russia, is its publication of the articles of Mr. H. N. Brailsford. Mr. Brailsford stands head and shoulders above all the other foreign observers of Soviet Russia who have set down their observations in English. His technique of investigation is well nigh perfect. His articles are crammed with minute details of Russian life in town and country. At the same time he is fully capable of comprehending the Revolution in its broader aspects. He never commits the unpardonably stupid and unfair blunder of judging present conditions in Russia by English or American standards. Using the only approximately reasonable basis of comparison, the condition of Central Europe after the armistice, he asserts that there is less suffering from malnutrition in Russia than in Germany and Austria; although the latter countries, during the last eighteen months, have not been harassed by blockade and subsidized civil war. There is not a trace of bias or propaganda in Brailsford's writings; he presents a view of modern Soviet Russia that combines accuracy and impartiality with sympathy and discernment. More of the "truth about Russia" (a phrase often advertised but seldom realized) is to be found in Mr. Brailsford's account than in anything that has yet appeared in English. It is certainly significant that Mr. Brailsford, easily one of the best reporters, economists and historical students who have entered Soviet Russia, should have come back with such favorable impressions. The first of Mr. Brailsford's six articles appeared in the *New Republic* of November 24; anyone who wishes to gain a clear conception of what is going on in Russia today should read them all.

Before it eschewed politics and devoted itself exclusively to arts and letters, *The Dial* printed a number of interesting articles about Russia, including "A Voice Out of Russia", by Professor G. V. Lomonossov, who is now in charge of the task of reconstructing the Russian railway system. *The Liberator* may also be referred to for useful material, including correspondence from John Reed, and articles by Albert Rhys Williams, Mrs. Gertrude Tobinsson, and others. For those who read Russian a number of magazines and newspapers which have arrived in this country from Russia are available in the Slavonic Department of the New York Public Library.

So, by piercing together, comparing and correlating the testimony which already exists in English, it is possible to attain a fairly comprehensive view of the various stages of the Russian Revolution. Of course there are gaps in our knowledge, which can only be filled by freer communication, or perhaps by actual observation. But the books, pamphlets and articles mentioned in this bibliography provide abundant raw material from which to shape a reasoned, well informed judgment of the aims, ideals and achievements of the Russian Soviet Republic.

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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.

EVERYWHERE in the world the nations are preparing for trade with Soviet Russia, and everywhere little makeshift devices are being set in motion to prevent the exchanges from beginning on a scale that would be commensurate with the great object pursued—the best interest of the populations of all the countries of the world. Norway discusses a draft agreement for trade relations with Soviet Russia, but suddenly discovers that she cannot continue the negotiations, and Litvinov leaves Christiania. German manufacturers are about to sell a large order of locomotives to Professor Lomonossov, Purchasing Agent for railroad material, but suddenly receive orders from somewhere that they had better find the objections as to prospects of payment a sufficient bar to further pursuit of the Russian market. English statesmen seriously take up with Soviet Russian representatives a draft agreement for commercial relations between the two countries, and meanwhile, even after probably signing the document themselves, continue in the most obstinate manner to aid in every way in rendering it difficult for other governments or financial interests to drive similar bargains with the Soviet Government. Even with the United States, which many persons had thought would be the first country to take up trade relations with Soviet Russia, the inauguration of the new exchanges has been proceeding with much slowness. But there has been some trade already between the United States and Russia, and Mr. J. B. Lewis, in an interesting article on the subject in the *New York Globe* of December 22, 1920, has this to say about the sales that have taken place:

"The American attitude, announced by Secretary of State Colby in his note to Italy on August 10, as being opposed to recognition of the Bolshevik Government, but in no way antagonistic to trading by private enterprise with Russia, is neither modified nor expanded by the action,* which is taken merely to facilitate commerce or exchange transactions. In the exchange market, the announcement did not even produce quotations on the dormant ruble.

"It goes without saying, however, that, in the interim since the American attitude was defined by Mr. Colby, there has been some new commerce between the United States and Russia. This has not been large and was undertaken by American dealers with trepidation, since Mr. Colby had emphasized that such transactions were at the risk of the trader, but some of these deals apparently have been so successful as to inspire the State Department to

* American permission to trade in rubles is meant.

make it specifically known that there was no actual hamper upon barter with Russia. What trading there has been has gone through Scandinavia, and some of it has been colored by the indirect system of consignment to Stockholm or Reval and reconsignment to the Soviet dealers."

MR. LEWIS' article, quoted above, is rather interesting also in what it says of the attitude of Italy. It is true that Italy has not much to send to Soviet Russia, and that England, in her possible eagerness to gobble up all of the Russian market for herself, would probably even go so far as to cut Italy off from coal and iron (of which Italy has none), in order to prevent her from becoming too active a rival in the race to be Russia's purveyor of manufactured products. Italy, by the way, has an economic and industrial capacity that may be of great value to Soviet Russia. It is a mistake to underestimate her productive capacity, just as it was a mistake, and still is a mistake, to keep on rehashing the old Menshevik argument that Russia's industrial development has not proceeded to the point where it would be possible to nationalize the industries and introduce a Socialist economy. Italy, like Russia, was both ruined and stimulated by the world war. Industrial establishments were developed in both countries during the war that far exceeded anything they had had before, and in many ways the new enterprises were of exceptionally large and efficient nature since they were established and expanded, in the respective countries, by the ablest Allied experts and engineers, with the purpose of enhancing the military power of the two countries for immediate use in the Great War. In the case of Italy, which depends more on foreign raw materials than any other country in Europe, the advantages of an adjustment to the Russian condition, which is just the opposite, are of course apparent. Italy, whether, as Mr. Lewis suggests, she is actuated by her Soviet sympathizers or not, is bound to become an important factor in the foreign trade of Soviet Russia.

SWEDEN is to have another opportunity to negotiate for Soviet Russian foreign trade. Professor G. V. Lomonossov arrived in Stockholm on Saturday, November 20, having come from Moscow, via Reval. He was accompanied by five prominent technical experts: the railroad engineers Filipov, Romanov, Professor Vladimir Fraehn, Lavrov, and Postnikov. Two of the latter are to remain in Sweden with Professor Lomonossov, to purchase locomotives and rolling stock in Sweden, while the remaining three have gone on to Berlin in order to supervise the execution of the contracts for the delivery of similar material by German shops which have signed such contracts. To pay for these deliveries, Professor Lomonossov brought to Sweden with him twenty tons of gold, on two small steamers chartered for the purpose. Later payments would be made with further consignments of gold, as well as of lumber and naphtha. In an interview given by Professor Lomonossov to a correspondent, short-

ly after his arrival in Stockholm (*Politiken*, November 23, 1920), the Professor said:

"But the deliveries indicated by us will depend entirely on a favorable course of the negotiations with the Swedish Government on the subject of the personnel of the Russian Trade Delegation.

"These negotiations between the Governments of Sweden and Russia have not a political character. Like any other business enterprise, however, the Soviet Government cannot send such great quantities of material to foreign countries without having an adequate commercial apparatus in those countries, and chiefly, persons who have its complete confidence."

The Stockholm office of Rosta (Official Russian Telegraph Agency) mentions in this connection the reports from London to the effect that Professor Lomonosov's gold is not pure, and again denies these reports. When the gold was shipped at Reval, the Rosta correspondent in that city had an interview with Gavrilov, Chief of the Gold Section of the People's Bank of Soviet Russia, who explained that when the ingots were made for the Siberian Bank, in Kolchak's regime, 0.25 per cent of bismuth was added to make the gold more workable, the necessary tools for such work being lacking; not 25 per cent, as was reported in the newspapers.

"This insignificant admixture of bismuth made the gold brittle, but did not in any way diminish its value. The Allies found it perfectly possible to receive it from Kolchak, but as soon as it passed to the Soviet Government, cries began to be raised over its '25 per cent' of bismuth, which, as we have said, is an outrageous invention.

"Equally untrue is the rumor, spread by a number of newspapers, to the effect that Soviet Russia's orders of locomotives in Germany have stranded. We have ourselves seen provisions of the Council of People's Commissars, proving the contrary to be the fact, namely, that the foreign orders for 1,200 locomotives are fully covered, and that payment for them by Russia is absolutely secured."

PROFESSOR LOMONOSOV had spent ten days in Moscow before his departure from that city for Reval and Stockholm. He was in Moscow while Mrs. Clare Sheridan was modeling busts, and left the city on the same train with her (November 5). Concerning general and other conditions in Russia, Professor Lomonosov had the following to say:

"A poor crop has hit the central and southeastern portions of Russia, but the fuel question, on the other hand, is incomparably more fully met than last year. The railroads are provided with naphtha, and wood, which was used for the railroads last winter, is being used now for the warming of houses only. All dwelling-rooms in Moscow are now heated.

"The crushing of Wrangel, which had already been accomplished while I was in Russia, opens up altogether new perspectives. There is no longer any such thing as a 'White' Russia.—It must be assumed that simultaneously with the insurrection of a new President of the United States, in March, 1921, commercial relations between that country and Soviet Russia will be resumed. This fact will change the entire economic situation of Russia.—To speak of economic bankruptcy in Russia, as is done by a portion of the press, is silly, for Russia's natural resources, her minerals, for instance, are inexhaustible. Soviet Russia's apparatus for foreign trade is improving day by day, and I am convinced that it will soon be as great a cause for pride in Soviet Russia as is already the Red Army, the world's first Socialist Army.

"The reports spread in the foreign press, to the effect that the Red troops crossed the Bay of Sivash over the ice, are

absolutely untrue, for the temperature in the Crimea is at present 20° Centigrade (about 64° Fahrenheit). Our troops waded across the Bay, sometimes up to their necks in the water, and some of them even had to swim. This heroic feat will go down as a landmark in the annals of war."

ENGLAND has or has not signed the Draft Agreement on Trade with Russia, of which the reader will find an older and approximate version in this issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*. It looks, however, as if she had. Even the *New York Times*, in its editorial, "Trading With Russia" (December 22) while retaining the original aloofness from the idea of a complete plunge into the new trade, has already made great concessions in "spirit". Except in mind, however, she is still pure. English newspapers are far more open, however, in admitting the extent to which matters have gone between England and Russia. We regret papers are coming so slowly from England just now, but the following little notes will show the reader how much more realistically the English press takes the thing than does the American press:

1. "Trade With Russia" (London Correspondence—dated December 5—of the *Manchester Guardian*, December 6):

I understand that the reply from the Soviet Government to the trade agreement passed by the government and telegraphed to Moscow has now been received. It must necessarily consist of commentary on the wording of the draft, and will probably include some suggestions for amendment in detail.

All the main principles of the agreement have, of course, already been accepted by the two Governments in the exchange of Notes at the beginning of last July.

2. "The Russian Reply" (London Correspondence—dated December 8, of the *Manchester Guardian*, December 9):

There have been rumors of serious difficulties raised by the Russian Government against the draft trade agreement submitted to them. This, I am sure, is a mistake. It is true, however, that the Russian Government finds certain difficulties in the agreement as presented.

For one thing, there is the political preamble to the agreement, which has been added since the original draft and which the Russians regard as going beyond the principles agreed to in the exchange of Notes on June 3 and July 7. Probably the question is purely one of expression and interpretation, and in that case it should cause no prolonged difficulty. The political provisions, of course, are those relating to propaganda and hostile action.

Another point upon which the Russians wish to be reassured is what is to happen to any gold that they may deposit here to get trade started. As the law and the regulations stand at present it is easy to bring gold into this country, but forbidden to send it out. Here it is only exchangeable for sterling at par, and as the one-pound note is only worth about fourteen or fifteen shillings reckoned by the world market price of gold, this means that any gold deposited here under the restrictions would at once drop 20 per cent or more in value. This is not a very important point, because, as I have already stated, the Government are quite aware of it, and can easily provide for it by Order in Council. As it happens, however, it is not provided for in the agreement, and naturally the Russians desire that it should be provided for.

They do not intend, of course, to conduct their trade by cash payments in gold. They only intend to deposit gold as security until the return trade in goods comes through to balance their purchases. The gold, however, is important as a means of setting the wheels of trade.

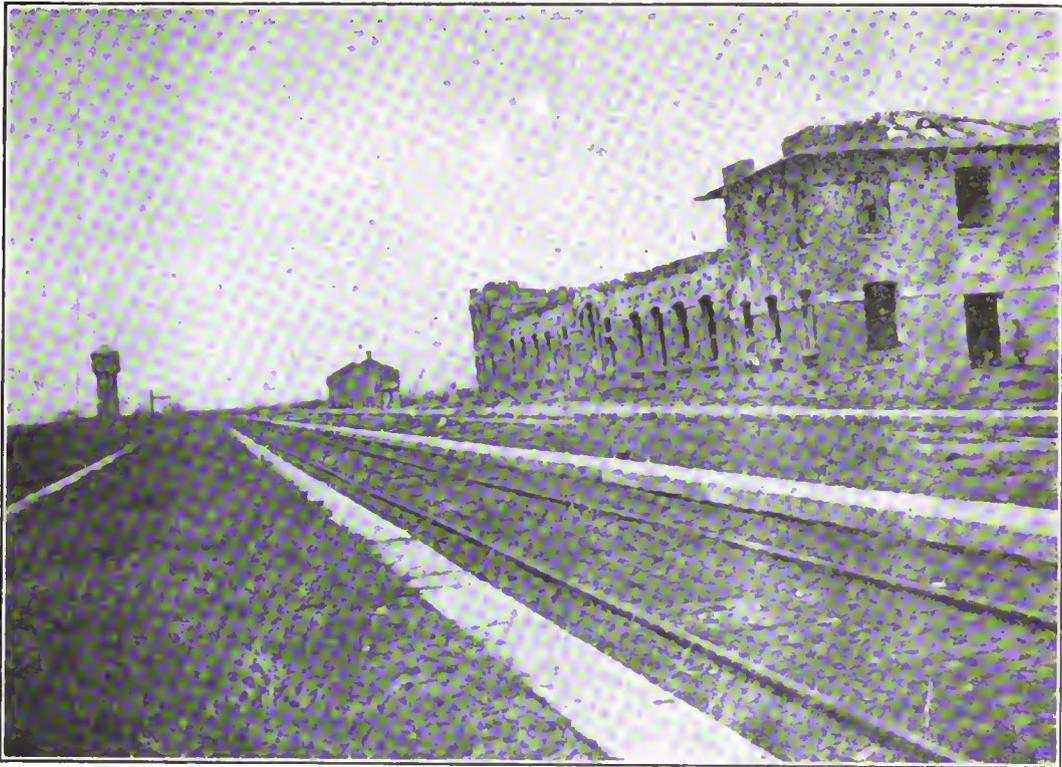


I. Electrical Power Station Destroyed by Denikin

The station is at Sarepta (near Tsaritsyn). A separate dynamite charge was exploded under each generating unit. The resulting destruction is quite complete. Note the steam cylinder blown up from within.

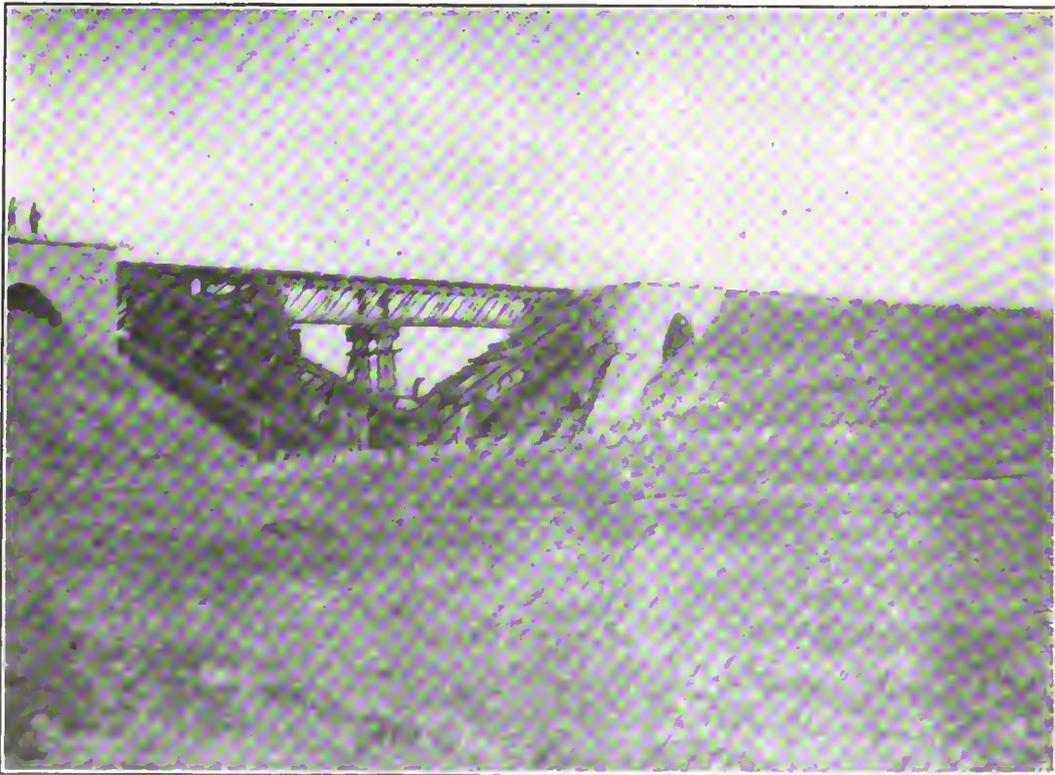
Destruction and Reconstruction in Soviet Russia

Professor Lomonossov, who was formerly with the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York, and who has recently again arrived in Stockho'm, Sweden, where he will attempt to open up commercial relations between Soviet Russia and that country, has just sent us the seven photographs with which this illustrated supplement begins. They illustrate better than words the way in which Denikin has tried to cripple transportation and industry in his native country. The other pictures show important statesmen in Soviet Russia, as well as social welfare activities in Soviet Russia.



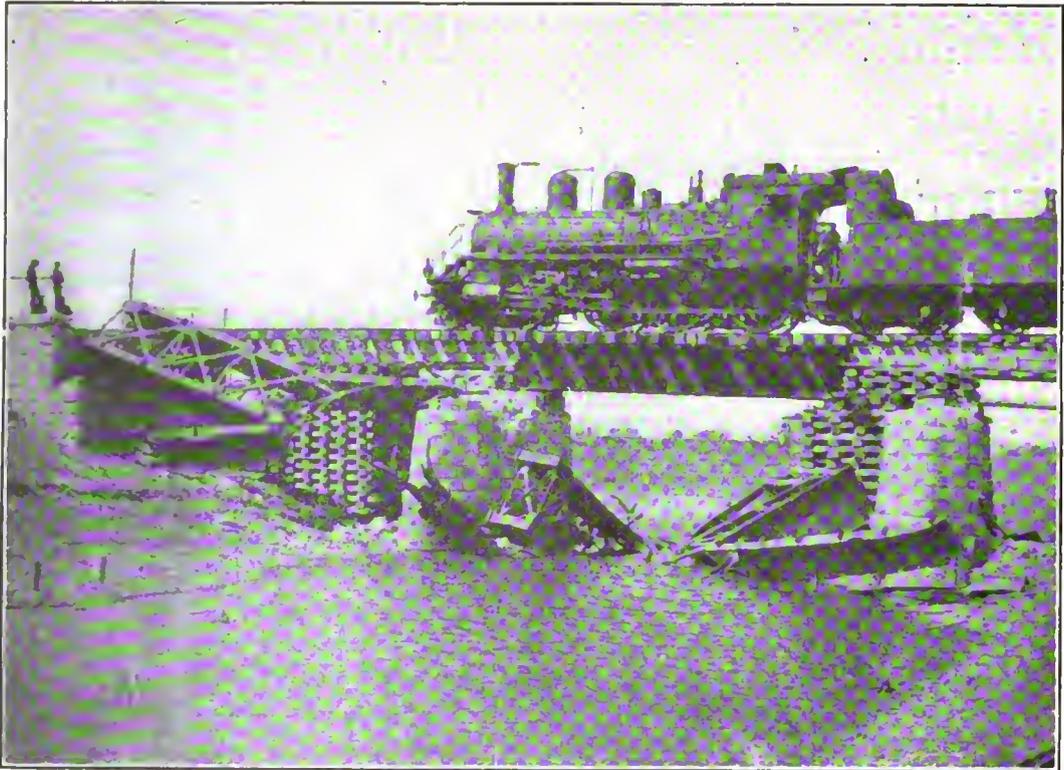
II. Railroad Station Destroyed by Denkin

Hundreds of stations were thus wrecked. This is a typical case of a station destroyed by fire.



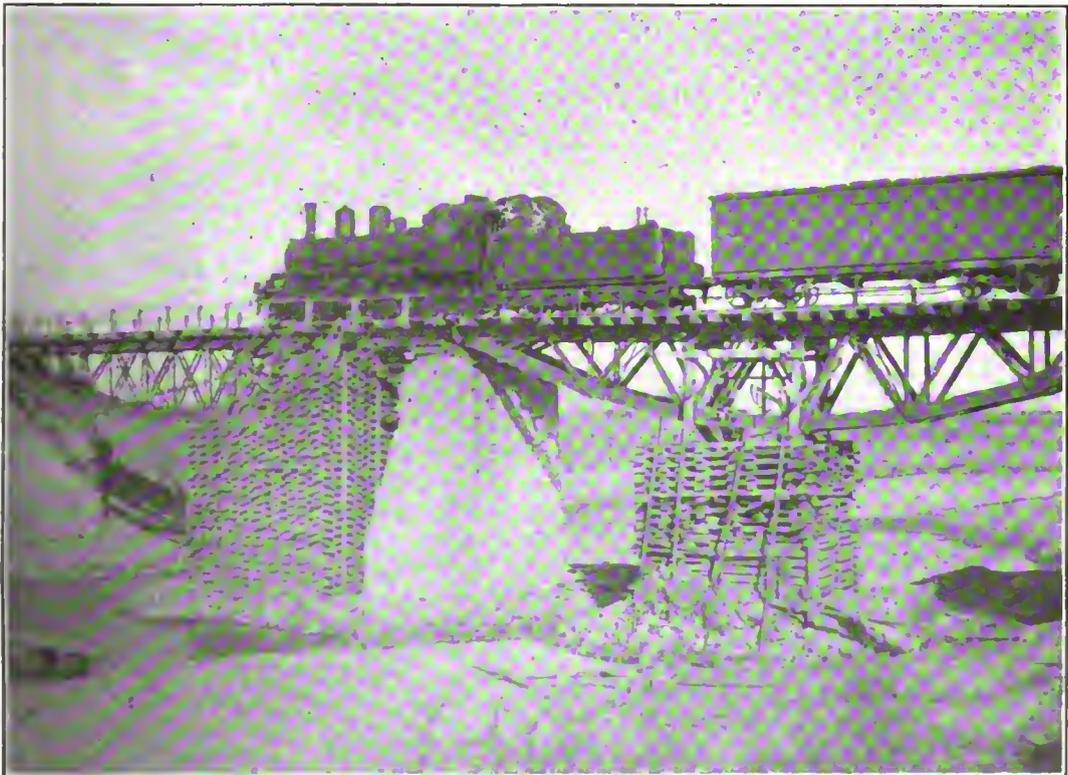
III. "104-Verst" Bridge

This bridge on the Tsaritsyn-Tikhoretskaya Line was blown up by Denikin. The temporary Soviet structure to replace it appears in the background.



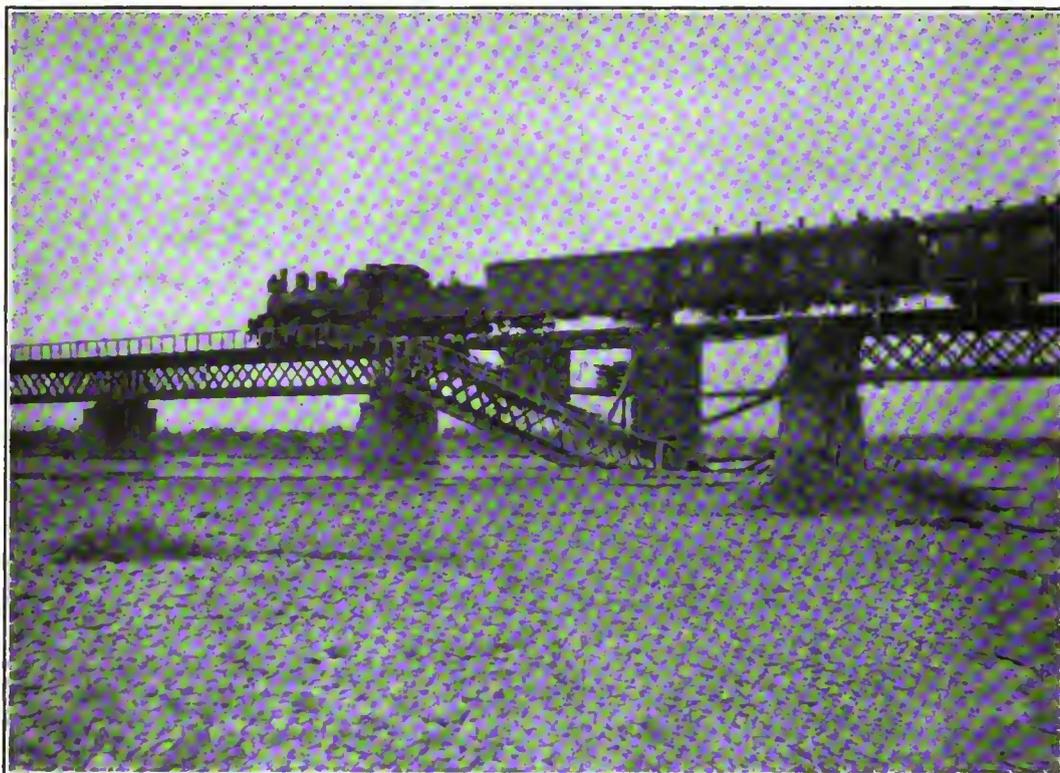
IV. "281-Verst" Bridge

On the Tsaritsyn-Tikhoretskaya Line. The original spans were quite completely wrecked, but steel girders and wooden beams, aided by the original stone piers, have enabled the Soviet engineers to put up a serviceable substitute. Note the temporary piers of wood.



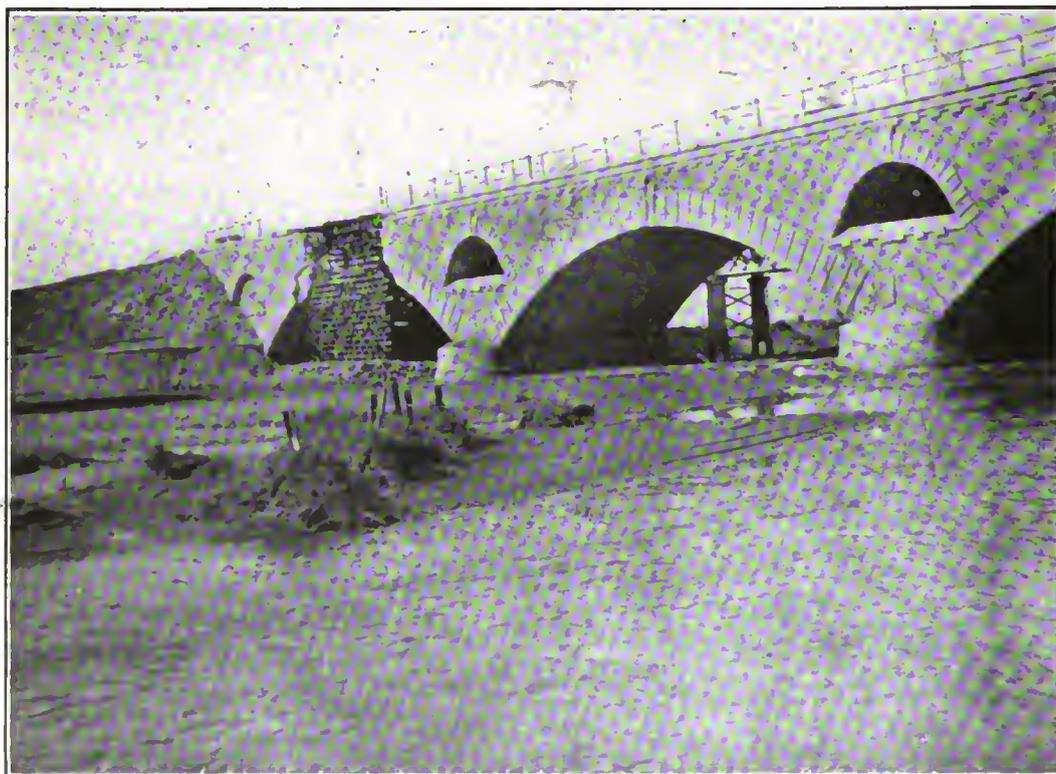
V. "321-Verst" Bridge

Another scene of destruction made by Denikin on the Tsaritsyn-Tikhoretskaya Line. He was particularly efficient in crippling bridges along this railroad. But here again the remnants of the original structure have been made use of in the new temporary bridge.



VI. The Sulakski Bridge

Another steel truss bridge destroyed by Denikin. The provisional Soviet structure, built on wooden piers, already in use. Not far from Rostov-on-Don.



VII. On the Line from Rostov to Vindikavkaz

This stone bridge is 296 versts from Rostov. The photograph was taken April 18, 1920, by Professor Lomonossov, who made a tour of inspection of the destruction wrought by Denikin. Rostov had been evacuated by counter-revolutionists a short time before.



VIII. Ryazanov

This prominent executive of the trade unions, who was one of the officials of that organization in London, before Kamenev was sent to England, to represent the Soviet Government, is here shown on an official errand, leaving his automobile.



IX. A Class in Free-Hand Drawing

Readers of SOVIET RUSSIA know how much work is being done by the Soviet Government to inculcate a love of art and the ability of artistic expression in the people of Soviet Russia.



X. A Kindergarten Class

Evidently the children have just been supplied with new toys.



XI. A Reading Circle

The workers have gathered in one of the many handsome apartments on the Isle of Rest (formerly *Kamenny Ostrov*), near Petrograd, which is the new recreation home for Petrograd workers. Other pictures from this island will be found in our Third Anniversary Issue (November 6, 1920).



XII. A. A. Yoffe

Former Soviet representative at Berlin, head of Soviet delegations to make peace with Esthonia, later with Poland.



XIII. A. I. Kamenev

President of the Moscow Soviet, Head of the Soviet Peace Delegation in London during a portion of 1920.

XIV. N. I. Podvoisky
Chairman of the Military Inspection.





XV. Russian Workers in Congress

A Group of Delegates to the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets.



XVI. Muryalov

The Commandant of the Moscow Military District is conducting an inspection of new recruits on the Red Square, Moscow. The Church of St. Basil is seen in the background.

revolving, and it must be usable at the world market price of gold.

A third point of criticism concerns the recognition of private debts. As the agreement stands the Russian Government seem to think that it puts upon them the responsibility for the debts of any Russian private debtor whatever. That, of course, is an unlimited liability which I am sure the drafters of the agreement did not intend to ask Russia to assume. To take an absurd case, it would be ridiculous to ask the Russian Government to assume responsibility for jewelry obtained on credit by some Russian lady from a Paris firm.

All these points, as far as I can judge, are matters of the form of the contract—that is, of the exact drafting of the agreement. There is no reason to suppose that they will cause any difficulty or any long delay.

WE have received the following undated letter, contained in an envelope postmarked "Bennington, Vt., December 20, 1920." The signature "John Spargo" is typewritten:

To the Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA:

Sir.—I note your editorial comment, in the current issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, upon my articles in the New York Times in reply to H. G. Wells. Presumably, as a good Bolshevik, you have no regard for such a purely "bourgeois virtue" as ordinary honesty toward your opponents. In order to keep the record clear, however, I desire to direct your attention to two facts. They are:

1. In quoting from Dr. Goldschmidt (and *not* from SOVIET RUSSIA, by the way) I suppressed nothing which would have modified the passages quoted, and did not, therefore, misrepresent the author in any particular. As I made perfectly plain in my article, I quoted Dr. Goldschmidt's positive statement as to conditions because they confirmed certain accounts given by Wells and did not correspond with very different statements made by Brailsford. I did not say, nor did I intimate in any manner, that I considered the extract "particularly damaging to the Russian experiment in Communism." Your suggestion that I was guilty of misrepresentation by tearing text from context is, therefore, wholly unfounded.

2. I have not seen the review by Harold Kellock to which you refer. Perhaps the reason why I do not waste my time reading what that gentleman writes will be apparent to you when I say that, far from having "quoted" Antonelli in such a manner as to misrepresent him, as Mr. Kellock is said by you to have charged, I have never quoted Antonelli, in any manner, fairly or unfairly, directly or indirectly, in any book of mine. The statement is a lie.

Very truly yours,

JOHN SPARGO.

As for point 1, our original statement (SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. III, No. 25), is not incorrect. As to point 2, Mr. Spargo is right in saying he did not quote Antonelli, and that the review by Mr. Kellock could not therefore have been a review of a book by Mr. Spargo. In *The Freeman* for September 8, 1920, Mr. Kellock treated, in an article entitled "Russian Contradictions", a book by Mr. William English Walling: *Sovietism*, together with a number of other books on Russia. We naturally find it difficult to distinguish between the authors of the many ill-informed books written about Soviet Russia, but assure Mr. Spargo that we should not, if our memory had not been at fault, have assigned to him errors that were really Mr. Walling's.

New article by Dr. Goldschmidt in next week's issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

By the Kremlin Wall

To JOHN REED

"So, this is the place!
A simple plot—
Common earth
And graves made with iron shovels,
And here *they* rest . . ."

"But who is he that walks like a king by day?"

"Be silent, comrade,
Let us see his face."

"Has he come to rejoice
Where *they* sleep?"—

"Death by the Kremlin Wall!
Now I behold him unmasked!"

"And we thought him sour and drab,
Ugly and bloodless and grim,
Hallow-eyed, fearful, morose!"

"We never knew him before—
But this is the Kremlin Wall."

"He has changed his sombre robe—
How proudly he holds his head,
No more like a thief in the night.
True, it's the Kremlin Wall:
He may show himself here as he is—
What a kingdom is his by this Wall!"

"I'm thinking, comrade,
Here to lie at last
Beneath this common earth
And simple wreaths!—"

"What is a wreath but a wreath
Made with mechanical fingers
Where men have died before.
But here it's a different thing:
Twined with fragrance and love,
Kissed with burning lips,
Kept fresh with tears—
A nation's and a world's."

"Comrade, here to lie at last! . . .
You and I and He, the Silent One,
The red-robed king—"

"Do not stop; we are unworthy,
We who live.
Walk softly, hold your breath,
Each grain of dust is a God."

Further information as to protests from the people of the Scandinavian countries against being used as Allied cannon-fodder in the counter-revolutionary war, has just reached us, and will be included in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Educational Work of Soviet Russia

(An Interview With Lunacharsky)

By W. McLAIN

COMRADE LUNACHARSKY received us in his office in one of the Kremlin buildings, a building that at one time was a club for army officers. He bade us welcome and expressed his pleasure at our interest in the endeavors being made by Soviet Russia in the domain of education.

"Our first task," he began, "was the liquidation of illiteracy. Under the old regime only ten per cent of the population were literate, and by literate I mean able to read and write. We had before us a tremendous problem which had to be dealt with in a systematic fashion, if important results were to be obtained. We began in earnest, about the beginning of the year, when we separated the literates from the illiterates, and insisted upon compelling attendance at the elementary schools. The literates were mobilized and given a rapid course of instruction in teaching methods, based upon the American system of teaching from words rather than by means of formal grammar. Afterwards, these new teachers were given groups to teach.

"All literates have been called upon to attend evening schools for two months.

"By these methods, it is hoped that within three years, illiteracy will have been completely abolished. There have been certain important results already. For example, Petrograd, before the war, had a population of 1,600,000 with about half-a-million illiterates, now, with a population of between 800,000 and 900,000 there are no illiterates; Moscow had a million illiterates before and now has none. In the fleet, there were 25 per cent illiterates, and in the army there were but 15 per cent literates, but now in the combined services there are only about five to ten per cent who cannot read and write.

"However important it may be to give to adults some of the rudiments of education, the most important work is, of course, that of educating the children. We do not provide educational facilities for children under three years of age, but pay special attention to those from three to eight, who come within our first educational category. Under the old system, there were practically no schools for children of these ages, except a few kindergartens for rich children, and a few charity schools for poor ones. Within the last two years we have organized and maintained 200,000 of these schools, and have taken over all the old places. For all these schools we required a great number of new teachers, and as our methods of teaching were not the same as the old methods, it sometimes meant that those who had formerly been teachers were not as good as our new teachers taken from the working-class intelligentsia. The latter are whole-hearted in their work, and they are free from the old professional prejudices.

"All education is free and nationalized. There

are no private educational establishments. The state educates and maintains the children, providing breakfast, dinner, cloth for clothing, boots, books, etc. Not all is done that we wish to do because of the desperate position we are in, but food—difficult though it is to obtain—is provided. The supply of clothing, etc., is not so satisfactory. During the past two years, we have provided 18,000,000 yards of cloth and 9,000,000 pairs of boots, but as there are 10,000,000 children it is obvious that we are not doing enough. Even our present work must end if the wars continue. We are terribly short of appliances for physical culture and for the ordinary educational work. We can only supply one pen point for every 150 children, one pencil for the same number, and one exercise book for every two pupils. The situation is really desperate. We have several factories making goods for us, but of course all these things used to be imported. Now the demand is infinitely greater and the supply has been stopped by the blockade. I do not know what we shall do."

These last sentences were spoken with such sadness that they revealed to us how deeply the handicaps imposed on educational work by the wars and the blockade were affecting the speaker.

"In Europe and America, there are elementary and secondary schools. The instruction provided in the first named leads to an educational cul-de-sac, and only the richer children are able to go further, but even their education is not what it should be. In Russia we have inaugurated what we call the "Single Labor School" through which all children must pass.

"There are two stages in this school work, (1) for those between the ages of eight and twelve, and (2) for those from twelve to sixteen. Tremendous exertion has been necessary to put the scheme into operation. The peasants have been willing and eager to help. They have cut the wood, and helped to build the new schools, 11,000 of which have been furnished. There are still many for whom no schools have been provided, but we can say that 60 per cent of the children have a place to go to, and of course the towns have accommodations for almost all. It will take us seven years to build the real school buildings that we have planned.

"Schools suitable for our secondary scholars are not so plentiful, nor are the general facilities fully available. The old type secondary school was usually in the town area, and the workers lived outside the towns in the suburbs, so that our children are some distance away from these places, and have not yet got over the idea of associating them with snobbishness. To some extent we are getting around this by means of our school clubs, and it may be that in the future the club will so develop that it will become the school. At present our lack

of means forces us to limit the entrance of scholars to these schools to those who are bright and capable.

"Two ideas run through our teaching methods. First, that the scholar shall acquire knowledge by practice as well as by being taught, and second, that there shall be no specialization. Our children from eight to twelve years of age, learn by play, by excursions, by the care of animals, by doing woodwork, bookbinding and so on. We insist upon the importance of self-reliance and self-aid, and we encourage the children to do their own work and assist in the management of the schools. By means of a system of orderlies, who work in rotation and do the work of the day, we inculcate the principles of order, cleanliness, and civic obligation. We teach them science through their play and experience.

"In our secondary schools, we work upon the polytechnic method, and instruct by labor. There is no attempt made to produce specialized workers but a body of people with general knowledge. Our object is to industrialize education, and make it a part of our productive system. To this end we have established metal and woodworking shops in the schools, and the scholars are taken to visit factories. This attempt is hindered somewhat by the backwardness of Russia's economic development, but it will improve. We now have our central technical schools with other schools grouped round them.

"Our backward industrial development makes for an over-emphasis of the esthetic side of our work. We teach painting, drawing, and the like, not because we wish to produce a few fine painters but in order that children may be assisted to illustrate their ideas. Singing and music are taught, mainly because of the social value of music, and choirs are formed to enable this social aspect to work itself out. In our primary school music classes we simply arrange concerts and organize choirs, and then later, we pass on to the history and theory of music. Full attention is paid to the theatre, and theatres are established in all the schools. Lessons in labor are taught by means of plays, and often the costumes and scenery for the play are made by the children.

"Of what I might call our negative reforms the two most important are, (1) education is entirely secular, and (2) there is no segregation of the sexes. When coeducation began there was a great protest, but all are now agreed that it works very successfully.*

"A very important phase of our work is the agricultural school. The old government did nothing to foster agricultural development, but we have recognized that Russia's prosperity depends mainly upon it, and we have opened schools in every village. Last autumn we conducted an intensified educational campaign, and this autumn we intend to hold another. Our experts visit the villages and

train teachers in agricultural science, show the peasants how to use farm machinery, and instruct them in the newer methods of sowing and tending crops. Last year thousands attended these schools.

"Owing to the economic condition of the country we have had to make some concessions. Children fourteen years of age have to go to work, much as we regret it. However, they choose their own work, and a special Department of Technical Training has been created to watch over them. We have also been forced by facts to recognize that the standard of technical skill in Russia is low, and as soon as possible a general decree will be issued calling upon all workers between the ages of eighteen and forty to attend evening school for a five-month period of three and a half hours every evening. To assist them to do this, the hours of labor will be reduced from eight to six. We are preparing 200 courses of training to be started almost at once, although fully 1,000 are needed. We hope to get ten per cent of good workmen from these courses, and they can instruct others. We must have more engineers because of the great need for intensified output. Professor Zornov has worked out a shortened course from which all non-essentials have been eliminated. We are arranging to recall from the army all students who have reached an advanced stage in their studies, and we shall provide maintenance—housing and food—for them. By autumn we expect to have ready 2,900 engineers—using the term in its widest sense, and including railway and civil engineers—and these will be as many as would have left the technical schools in the ordinary way.

"In our advanced educational work, we are meeting with many successes. In the University of Petrograd, we are working out problems connected with X-ray, radium, medicine (particularly stomach troubles), photography, mining (in relation to the values of inferior coal), etc. Our universities all have a labor faculty which every boy or girl over 16 years of age may attend. Of course many of those who do attend have not a sufficiently high cultural development to profit by the regular curriculum, and so we have arranged preparatory courses for them. The Karl Marx University in Moscow has all its classes full and the attendance is good. The students are keen, practical people, anxious to learn and not as before merely anxious to secure certificates admitting them to posts. The professors say their work is happier working with this new material.* We had to abolish the old faculty of political economy because the old views of the social sciences were not in keeping with the new social order. We have a new department, and we have 1,000 students who are studying Soviet construction and organization. These workers will—after their one year course—go back to their own districts and become administrators or workers in

* We visited this university and saw the work in progress, including several scientific lantern-slide lectures, and the professors told us that the work was indeed happier. As I was at that time lecturer in Economics and History at the Scottish Labor College, I took advantage of the occasion to address the Moscow students.

* We visited schools in Moscow, Samara, Saratov, etc., and asked the teachers how coeducation worked out in actual practice, and we were always told that no sex troubles had arisen.

the local organizations. To assist in this department, every commissar lectures periodically on the work of his department. An English economist has told us that our students in these subjects are better than those elsewhere.

"We have opened libraries and reading-rooms everywhere, and a huge book fund has been collected to buy books. Owing to the scarcity of paper, we are obliged to concentrate our books in these public institutions. We have issued poetry, belles lettres and many scientific works. Most of our good printing used to be done in Germany and Esthonia, and of course we cannot import at present. Therefore, books cannot be sold, but must be read in the libraries and schools.*

"I must really deny the statement made in the American Press that our museums have been rifled. Probably the most brilliant aspect of the revolution is the way in which the palaces, museums and private collections have been safeguarded. In some of the remote country districts the peasants thought that when the squires had gone they could take the antiques and other treasures, and a little plundering went on, but it has been our special pride to take care of all the valuable collections throughout the country.** When the White troops came to Gatchina, the officer in charge called out to the curator of the museum, "Has it been plundered?" and the man took him inside to see tapestries which had been allowed to go moth-eaten in private houses, but which after the revolution had been removed to the museum to be preserved.

"We are not spending any time teaching domestic economy. Our view is that for the future we must concentrate on social and communal methods of cooking, feeding, and living so that the old methods are of no use to us.

"Our present difficulties make it hard for us to carry out some of our plans. Because of a shortage in cotton, for example, hundreds of textile mills are closed down and our skilled workers have gone back to the country where they will soon lose their skill. The country is always dragging us back to the old, and the town and the party are always working towards the new. We are trying to keep up the level of skill in the country districts by giving every encouragement to peasant art, and have opened many new schools of this kind.

"Yes, we have a great work in hand, we have done much during our period of government, but we have an enormous task before us. If we can get materials, appliances, books, etc., we can carry out our program, but it is very difficult to do without the things we need so much.

"Let me in conclusion again insist upon the two main ideas running through our 'Single Labor School System.' They are, self-aid, and the industrialization of education."

* Some books may be purchased, and I bought a number in the public bookshop in Petrograd.

** I was greatly interested when visiting the Kremlin to note what great care was being taken of the various objects d'arts, etc. Even the carpets were covered with white covers and all the furniture was protected in a similar manner. I went into several art galleries and museums, including the famous Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow and a wonderful private museum in Ivanovovo-Voznesensk, and all was in perfect order.

Preparing for Abolition of Money

U. Larin makes the following comment in *Pravda* concerning the transformation of the mode of life.

In one of its most recent sessions the Small Council of People's Commissars, on the basis of a report of the writer of these lines, adopted a resolution, and handed it to the Great Council, a resolution which commissions the People's Commissar for Finance to submit within one month, after consulting with the proper offices of the Council of People's Commissars, proposals for carefully elaborated decrees on the abolition of money payments for all products that are issued by the People's Commissar for Provisions, to the workers, employes and their families, as well as in general to bearers of cards of the first and second categories, as well as for the abolition of money payments for rent on dwellings of workers, clerks and their families, living in national or municipal lodgings, and finally, for fuel of all kinds that is provided to workers and clerks in institutions according to the plans of the Fuel Section. Also for gas, electric current, telephone, water supply, drainage, etc. At the same time, a commission was formed in the Council of People's Commissars, which was instructed to consider within one month the question of a complete abolition of money payments (including also so-called settlements), even between the productive Soviet enterprises and institutions.

In this way, very probably not later than January 1, this new, and as a principle, important improvement in the organization of the order of life of Soviet Russia will enter into force. Simultaneously, from January 1 on, our second regulation also will go into force,—the abolition of fees for railway transportation of all freight, and of almost all passengers, provided for by a decree approved August 24 by the Council of People's Commissars. This would include fares now paid by workers and clerks who are on leave or are traveling to their work, to their schools, to their congresses or with excursions of their unions.

"All citizens able to work have the right to employment at their vocations. . . ."

Section 10, Article II, of the Code of Labor Laws of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

THE LABOR LAWS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

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ADDRESS

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 West 40th Street

New York City

Echoes of Rasputin in the North

By John S. CLARKE

"If you can't be a star in the sky, then be a lamp in the chamber."—George Eliot.

THE largest lighters I have ever seen in any part of the world are on Lake Onega. They convey merchandise—little of it these days—and timber to and from the few villages lying around the shores of the lake. At Petrozavodsk they are discharged at a powerfully built wooden jetty, at the shore end of which there still stands a small shrine at which one may, by leaving a ruble or two, light a holy candle to the glory of the virgin and the profit of the soul. The harbor lies at the foot of the main street some two hundred yards below the huge white church, which, like most Russian buildings, is a pitiable imposition of wood, stucco, and white paint at close inspection.

Within there is wealth in plenty to be sure. Thousands of ikons hang on the walls, very many of them encased (with the exception of the face and hands of the image) in shells of silver studded with almost every kind of precious stone. The amazing and vulgar paraphernalia of ritualism everywhere conspicuous, ikons and other pictures grotesquely painted, images, candlesticks, candelabra, sacred carpets, vestments, crooks (some of them two-legged) and holy of holies, simply nauseates one with an unutterable disgust. The one consummation devoutly to be wished for by a lover of life and health and freedom, when he finds himself inside of a Greek church, is to get outside of it again into the pure air.

My second stay in Petrozavodsk was more profitable than the first. We reached it at three o'clock in the morning and left it again at eight o'clock at night. After breakfast in the train Sergeyev asked me to come with him to town, he not knowing the road. We set off together, along the line and over the sandhills, past the cemetery, and then down the steep hill. Sergeyev was as charming a companion as one could wish for. A thorough "Slav" with clean-shaven, strong-looking healthy face, a perfectly healthy mind, a vigorous body, and an extraordinarily voluble tongue. On this latter point he confessed that his loquacity was intentional, inasmuch as being en route for England and in the company of an educated Englishman, he wanted to practice speaking in English to gain fluency, and to take advantage of my companionship to be corrected and coached.*

Sergeyev's life had been, like that of most of the members of the Russian Communist Party Executive, a hard and thorny one. He was arrested in 1907, and after the usual travesty of a trial, in which he was defended by no other than Alexander Feodorovich Kerensky, he was sentenced for life and sent to Siberia. He escaped and walked seven hundred versts through Siberia, working at one

place as a ferryman for eleven months, at others as a casual laborer, exploited the more mercilessly by the peasants and woodsmen because they knew him to be an escaped "political". Eventually he reached Australia, where he worked for some years on the railway (hence his good grip of the English language), returning home in 1917 to help in the Revolution. His subsequent career was meteoric. He organized the Red Guards in the south against the attack of Kaledin, the Cossack ataman, who, unlike Kerensky, was honorable enough to blow his brains out rather than sacrifice his principles or escape alone. By means of a clever ruse successfully carried out, Sergeyev was instrumental in saving a town from being sacked and its population massacred by Kaledin's "beasts", as he called them, and in clearing the entire railway line to Moscow. He became one of the most valuable organizers of the Russian Railwaymen's Union, and is at present the chairman of the All-Russian Council of Railway Workers and a member of the Executive of the Communist Party.

Our chief topic, of course, was about various aspects of the Revolution, on which subject I let Sergeyev talk for five solid hours, only opening my mouth to correct his English, as he had previously requested me to do. He was particularly interesting on the subject of Gregory Rasputin, whose career, almost cradle to grave, he was well acquainted with.

It is a common mistake to suppose that Rasputin only lent his malignant influence to the reactionary forces during the great war period. This arch-conspirator, debauchee, and fraudulent saint began his sinister operations more than ten years ago. He was born of Siberian peasants at Tobolsk in 1873, and in his childhood exhibited the precocious sexuality which later earned him the opprobrious nickname "Rasputin", which virtually means "dirty beast". Gregory accepted it and actually adopted it as his surname throughout life. He was expelled from a theological academy for immoral practices and became a tramp, being virtually arrested for horse-stealing. Gifted with a glib tongue, large luminous eyes set behind shaggy eyebrows, and a somewhat pugnacious disposition, he succeeded in passing himself off as a "monk", a prophet, or saint to the credulous and superstitious peasantry, affecting to cure their bodily ills and save their souls at the same time by intercession with the Almighty. How he landed at Court and became the master of Czar Nicholas II is an interesting story to Communists. It appears that after the disturbances of 1905 the Russian aristocracy were so stricken with panic that superstition increased among them to a tremendous degree. Religious revivalism then received a stimulus, and was seized upon by certain astute nobles as a means to obtain political ascendancy in Court circles.

To play upon the superstitious fears of the weak

* He spent a very strenuous time in Petrograd trying to teach me Russian.

Nicholas and his family, until he was completely under the thumb of the plotters, a tool was necessary—one that was absolutely ignorant of political intrigue, as plastic as putty, and yet could exercise a will of sufficient magnetic power to become master of the Royal circle and so influence it in any way desired. Rasputin was the ideal man. His notoriety as a faith-healer, his impostures carried out so successfully among the peasants, and his peasant backwoods origin, were all in his favor—and, so they thought, in the favor of the plotters. Accordingly Rasputin was interviewed in prison and accepted the job.

The plot progressed rapidly. The strangely-garbed mysterious high priest of a new cult established himself in Petrograd, attracted numerous women admirers through the "puffing" exertions of the Court plotters, and proceeded to preach a new religious doctrine, the genuineness of which was abundantly proved by the performance of "miracles". Rasputin knew the tricks of the trade too well. His dogma was that no one could ever hope to be saved unless he had already given grounds for salvation by committing a sin.

As might be expected, from Gregory's salacious past, the "sin" especially elaborated for ladies was of a character which enabled him to assist them in the commission of it. Morbid religious mania has almost always been wedded to sexual perversion in some form or other.

Soon Rasputin's holy fame reached the Palace of the Czar, as it was intended to do, and he was commanded to appear there and intercede on behalf of the feeble, delicate heir-apparent—the Grand Duke Alexis, the only baby-boy born to the royal couple during their wedded life. This child was born on August 12, 1904, and like most royal infants was a sickly creature born with a congenital disease which developed to haemophilia—a complaint so highly dangerous that a mere scratch often leads to bleeding to death. The Salic Law, operating in Russia, made it very necessary that the boy's life should be saved at all costs, and Rasputin working with drugs obtained from one Doctor Badmaev on the sly, succeeded in restoring some apparent measure of health to the child—attributing his results to his "saintliness" of course, and not to material means. This firmly established Rasputin in the affections of the Empress Alexandra, and he was practically made a member of the family in order to be always on guard over the child.

It was then that the astonishing astuteness or cunning of Rasputin showed itself. Instead of the plastic tool to be used as they thought fit, the conspirators, who had pitchforked Rasputin into his place of power, found that he intended to manipulate that power solely for his own ends. Threats to expose him only drew forth the counter threat from his sham holiness that if they did not do exactly as he wished he would encompass their destruction.

By the extraordinary influence he wielded over

the Czaritsa, partly superstitious and partly through working on her maternal affections, Rasputin became the supreme master of Nicholas Romanov, and virtually of all Russia. His amazing career is like a page torn from medieval history. He never washed himself or cut his finger nails; he kept to his peasant garb; his language was of the coarsest, and he eschewed every form of refinement—eating with his filthy fingers and insisting on being kissed on the tips thereof by his aristocratic devotees. Sergeyev averred that the impostor did these things out of sheer contempt for the ruling class whom he, a peasant, had become the master of.

To show how powerful he actually was it is but necessary to instance the attempt made to have him banished. Every time he departed, the studious dopping of the child stopped, supernatural fear took possession of the Czaritsa, and Nicholas was compelled to entreat him to return.* The Rasputin scandal grew and grew, as one high personage after another discovered that his wife was lending herself to the lubricity of this sensual monster, but Rasputin only laughed at their threats, and actually chaffed them on the physical shortcomings of their wives. When the war broke out Rasputin had an office already established in Petrograd, where for high fees he engineered appointments from the lowest services in the state to the very highest ministries.

During the war he became a Minister without portfolio, and his reactionary advice was acted upon on every occasion. Word was sent through the Russian Revolutionary movement that Rasputin was to be left severely alone, as his policy was suicidal to autocracy, and that the hatred of him among the nobility and bourgeoisie was so intense that his fate could be safely left to them. Sergeyev said, as a matter of fact, that Rasputin was the most valuable asset the Revolutionary movement possessed. His reactionary schemes and measures were dividing the ruling class into warring factions, and his licentious roguery was stirring up a bitter antagonism to his statecraft.

Everyone remembers the climax to the career of this scoundrel and voluptuary. Lured to the house of Prince Yussupov, that gentleman put five bullets into his giant body, which was then thrust into a hole in the Neva ice. The bereaved Empress later had the carcass buried in the Palace garden, and caused a mausoleum to be built over the grave.

From Rasputin the conversation drifted to priestcraft in general, and Sergeyev told me that at one period in the history of the Bolsheviki the feeling

* "Allusions to Rasputin were very disagreeable to the Czar. He must have felt that there was truth in the warning that gossip (concerning the influence attributed to Gregory) was undermining his position, and at the same time he had given up all intention of banishing Rasputin; therefore he hated to be reminded of the matter. So distasteful was this subject to the Czar that he used to dismiss anyone who referred to it, and when Prince Vladimir Orlov, who was one of his most intimate friends, and had never before touched on this sore point, considered it his duty to warn the Czar of approaching danger, and told him in 1915 that Rasputin ought to be sent away, he received a letter from Nicholas II in which the latter ordered him to join the Grand Duke Nicholas in the Caucasus, and declined to see him before his departure."—Baron Graevenitz.

against orthodox Christianity was so great that some branches demanded the passing of a disciplinary measure authorizing the expulsion from the Party of any Communist who, from love sentiment, compromised with a half-religious sweetheart by submitting to the church marriage ceremony. Reaching the shores of the lake, we both sat down near the gaudy little shrine, Sergeyev's tongue going "nineteen to the dozen", much to my edification and delight. Suddenly he thrust his hand into his great-coat pocket and produced a small package, which he handed to me with the remark: "You must be hungry already; take this, I will have mine in a little while!"

I opened the parcel, and to my utter astonishment beheld a brown flour-made sausage roll. Never did human eyes gaze with such rapture upon a groaning table as mine did upon that delicacy, that food for angels, that ambrosial-bedewed sausage roll. Within two minutes it was gratefully entombed in the stomach of a famished Britisher, who skilfully licked every stray crumb adhering to the wrapper, and sighed in concert with the melancholy moanings of the Onega waters. With querulous eyes I looked at my companion, who still pattered away, and thanked him for his gift with a vehemence that made him smile. "If you have finished it," he said, "I will begin on my dinner." Once again he dived into his pocket, and after much blind searching brought to light—a small piece of chocolate no larger than a Woodbine cigarette packet, which he proceeded to devour.

It is a small incident, no doubt, but worth the mention, for it exemplifies the new spirit of Russia. Chocolate and sausage rolls in war-afflicted, blockaded Russia are as scarce as angels' visits to the planet. In Sergeyev's case they had, no doubt, been given him when he left Petrograd by some admiring comrade, and carefully hoarded by him until that moment. He knew right well that had I known there was but one pastry I would have blankly refused to eat it unless he shared it with me. To be perfectly certain that I would not only accept it but enjoy it, and to defeat any suspicion that he was acting altruistically, he adopted the subterfuge of suggesting that he had another in his pocket. I remembered an incident that occurred at Moscow during supper time after a Congress meeting one night, which drew into relief by contrast the perplexing contradictions of what is known as human nature. I was sitting opposite to Herr Dittmann, the German "Independent", a dandy and a violent anti-Bolshevik. Everyone received three little sweetmeats on this occasion in lieu of sugar to sweeten the "chi" with, and Dittmann had not yet touched his. Flynn, an American Communist, occupied the chair next to the important Dittmann, and in a moment of mental abstraction picked up one of the German's sweets. Dittmann glared at him but said nothing, until the comrade who waited upon us brought Flynn his own sweetmeats, when to my utter disgust Dittmann intercepted them with "Mein! mein!"—pushing his own two across to Flynn. I was blazing with wrath myself at the

childish display of miserable covetousness and greed, and picking up my own sweets I deliberately dropped them into Dittmann's saucer with a malevolent grin and left the table.

And this is the Kautskyan hero who recently led the opposition against affiliation to the Third International in Germany—a creature whose Second International microscopic soul could swell to exploding because an alien "comrade" innocently swallowed one of his little lollipops.

From the lake side Sergeyev and I drifted to the outskirts of the little town, visited the prison, the power station, and finally the Communist Party headquarters. Here I witnessed another exhibition of the almost preternatural versatility of my worthy comrade. He had stirred audiences in my presence with his oratory, he had interpreted many of my own speeches, he could lead battalions to battle and plan successful military manoeuvres, he was a brilliant organizer of labor, a clever business expert, and was, at the moment, the chairman of a diplomatic mission to foreign countries.

The moment our greetings were over in the editorial office of the Communist paper; we were asked to write messages of encouragement for the next issue. Without a moment's hesitation Sergeyev sat down and rapidly filled sheet after sheet with his handwriting, working away for at least one and a half hours. My own effort, naturally, had to be brief, for I was whisked away and treated to a comprehensive account of the Revolutionary history of Petrozavodsk, its battles, defences, heroes, and future expectations. With a bundle of books, pamphlets, papers, posters, and photographs, liberally bestowed upon me by the comrades at Petrozavodsk, which, alas! were as liberally plundered from me by the Norwegian police, we bade farewell and wended our way back to the train.

Bound Volumes for 1920

Volume II, of which a number of copies, splendidly bound, are still to be obtained by persons desiring them, is sold at five dollars. Check or money order should accompany order. Volume I (June-December, 1919) is sold out and will not be reprinted. Volume III will be bound, with title-page and index, as soon as the issues have all appeared (January 1, 1921). Readers may place orders now for Volume III, and should send the cost of the volume—five dollars—with their orders:

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 W. 40th St.

New York, N. Y.

The Text of the Commercial Treaty

[The text of the trade agreement the signing of which, between Soviet Russia and Great Britain, is still in doubt, is not in our possession. The following is the text proposed last summer, before negotiations were broken off, which may be of interest to readers as giving a general idea of the points discussed. It was published in London on October 5; we take it from the "Manchester Guardian Weekly", of October 8.]

Draft Trade Agreement between His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Russian Soviet Government.

Whereas it is desirable in the interest both of Russia and the United Kingdom that peaceful trade and commerce should be resumed forthwith between these countries, and whereas for this purpose it is necessary pending the conclusion of a formal treaty between the Governments of these countries, by which their permanent economic and political relations shall be regulated, that a preliminary agreement should be arrived at between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Russian Soviet Government.

The aforesaid parties have accordingly entered into the following agreement, without prejudice to the view which either of them may hold as to the legal status of the other, and subject always to the fulfilment of the conditions specified in the British Note dated June 30, 1920, and accepted in the telegram from the Russian Soviet Government dated July 7, 1920, with regard to the mutual cessation of hostilities and propaganda directed against the institutions or interests of the other party, and the repatriation of prisoners.

I

Both parties agree to remove forthwith all obstacles hitherto placed in the way of the resumption of trade between the United Kingdom and Russia in any commodities (other than arms and ammunition) which may be legally exported from or imported into their respective territories to or from any foreign country, and not to exercise any discrimination against such trade as compared with that carried on with any other foreign country.

Nothing in this provision shall be construed as overriding the provisions of any international convention which is binding on either party, by which the trade in any particular article is regulated.

II

British and Russian merchant ships, their masters, crews, and cargoes shall in ports of Russia and of the United Kingdom respectively, receive in all respects the treatment, privileges, facilities, immunities, and protection which are usually accorded by the established practice of commercial nations to foreign merchant ships, their masters, crews, and cargoes, visiting their ports.

Provided that nothing in this article shall impair the right of either party to take such precautions as are authorized by their respective laws with regard to the admission of aliens into their territories.

III

Each party may nominate such members of its nationals as may be agreed from time to time as being reasonably necessary to enable proper effect to be given to this agreement, having regard to the conditions under which trade is carried on in its territories, and the other party shall permit such persons to enter its territories, and to reside and carry on trade there, provided that either party may restrict the admittance of any such persons into any specified areas, and may refuse admittance to or sojourn in its territories to any individual who is *persona non grata* to itself, or who does not comply with this agreement, or with the conditions precedent thereto.

Persons admitted in pursuance of this Article into the territories of either party shall, while residing therein for purposes of trade, be exempted from all compulsory service whatsoever, whether civil, naval, military, or other, and from any contributions, whether pecuniary or in kind, imposed as an equivalent for personal service, and shall have the right of egress.

Persons admitted into Russia under this arrangement shall be permitted freely to import commodities destined solely for their household use or consumption.

IV

Either party may appoint one or more official agents to

reside and exercise their functions in the territories of the other, who shall enjoy all the rights and the privileges set forth in the preceding article, and also immunity from arrest, provided that either party may refuse to admit any individual as an official agent who is *persona non grata* to itself, or may require the other party to withdraw him should it find it necessary to do so on grounds of public interest or security. Such agents shall have access to the authorities of the country in which they reside for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of this agreement and of protecting the interests of their nationals.

Official agents shall be the competent authorities to visa the passports of persons seeking admission, in pursuance of the preceding Article, into the territories of the parties.

V

Each party undertakes to ensure generally that persons admitted into its territories under the last two Articles shall enjoy all protection, rights, and facilities which are necessary to enable them to carry on trade.

They shall be at liberty to communicate freely by post, telegraph and wireless telegraphy, and to use telegraph codes and ciphers, under the conditions and subject to the regulations laid down in the International Telegraph Convention of St. Petersburg 1875 (Lisbon Revision of 1908).

Each party undertakes to account for and to pay all balances due to the other in respect of terminal and transit telegrams in accordance with the provisions of the said International Telegraph Convention and Regulations.

VI

Passports, documents of identity, Powers of Attorney and similar documents issued or certified by the competent authorities in either country for the purpose of enabling trade to be carried on in pursuance of this agreement, shall be treated in the other country as if they were issued or certified by the authorities of a recognized foreign government.

VII

The preceding Articles shall continue in force until the expiration of six months from the date on which either party shall have given notice to the other of its intention to terminate them. The parties mutually undertake, even in the event of such notice having expired, to continue to afford all the necessary facilities for the completion or winding-up of any transactions entered into in pursuance of such Articles.

VIII

The Russian Soviet Government hereby declares that it recognizes its liability to pay compensation to British subjects in respect of goods supplied or services rendered to it or to the former Government of Russia, or to Russian citizens, for which payment has not been made owing to the Russian Revolution. The detailed mode of discharging this liability, together with all other questions with regard to the liability of each of the parties towards the other party or its nationals, shall be regulated by the Treaty referred to in the preamble.

The British Government makes a corresponding declaration.

IX

In consideration of the declaration in the preceding Article the British Government hereby declare that they will not take or encourage any steps with a view to attach or to take possession of any gold, securities, or commodities (not being articles identifiable as the property of the British or of any Allied Government) which may be exported by Russia in payment for imports or as security for such payment, on the ground of any claim against Russian citizens, or against the former Government of Russia.

X

The Russian Soviet Government undertakes to make no

claim to dispose in any way of the funds of the late Russian Government in London. The British Government gives a corresponding undertaking as regards British Government funds in Petrograd. This Article is not to prejudice the inclusion in the formal Treaty referred to in the preamble of any provision dealing with the subject-matter of this Article.

Latest Notes to Great Britain

I

December 1, 1920.

Mr. Krassin presents his compliments to Mr. Lloyd George and wishes to bring the following matter to his personal notice.

He is obliged to communicate direct with the Prime Minister because of the fact that up to now notes directed to the Foreign Office have been left unanswered and unacknowledged.

The agreement between Mr. O'Grady and Mr. Litvinov, signed on February 12 last, provided for the exchange of Russian citizens held against their will in England for British citizens held in Russia.

Under its terms, up to June 30 a large number of British subjects were repatriated from Russia to Great Britain. No Russian subjects were repatriated during this period.

In the proposals put forward in the British Government's Notes of June 30, the British Government insisted upon the completion of the process of the exchange of prisoners as a preliminary to the resumption of trade relations.

The Russian Government accepted this condition in its Note of July 7 and has faithfully carried it into effect. Every British subject within the territory of Russia is free to return. All facilities and every possible assistance have been given to them and all those who wish to leave have now been handed over on the Finnish territory or elsewhere.

Actually, the Russian Government has gone beyond the terms of the agreement of June 30 and July 7 and has used its good offices to persuade the Government of Azerbaijan to release the British naval prisoners held at Baku. In spite of this, of the Russian citizens held in Great Britain against their will, not one has yet been sent home. Lists have been sent by Mr. Krassin to the Foreign Office, but still these unfortunate people are held here. There are amongst them men who have for months been unemployed. Their families are on the verge of starvation. Through trusting to the honor of the British Government they have sold up their homes believing that they were to be repatriated. They have waited week after week, month after month. They are still waiting.

The Foreign Office, at the expense of these unhappy people, is failing to carry out the solemn undertaking of the British Government. Mr. Krassin therefore feels bound to bring directly to the notice of the Prime Minister, a matter which involves not only the undeserved suffering of these people, but also the violation of the terms of the agreement signed by Mr. O'Grady and Mr. Litvinov.

The Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George,
10 Downing Street, S.W.1.

II

December 6, 1920.

Mr. Krassin presents his compliments to Mr. Lloyd George, and begs to draw his attention to the serious position which is being created by the presence at Chataldja and other places in the neighborhood of Constantinople and the Straits, of armed forces under the command of Baron von Wrangel.

These forces were removed by allied shipping from the Crimea, and are now under allied protection in Turkey.

They have been neither disarmed, nor interned. On the contrary, it is openly avowed that they are being reconstructed and reequipped with French assistance. It is also openly avowed that, when it is again fit for war, this force will be employed in a new attack upon the territory of the Russian Republic.

For a government to permit, protect and encourage the formation and equipment upon its territory of a filibustering army openly intended for lawless attack upon the ter-

ritory of a neighboring people, is not merely an unfriendly act. It is virtually an act of war.

Technically it is true the territory upon which Baron von Wrangel's filibustering contingents are being reformed is under the sovereignty of Turkey. Actually, it is under the control of the principal Allied Powers—Great Britain, France, and Italy; and it is they who must be held jointly and severally responsible for the protection and assistance given to these contingents.

Mr. Krassin would, therefore, be glad to receive from the British Government a definite assurance that it will take steps to prevent Baron von Wrangel from using as a military base territory under the control of itself and its allies; and that the necessary measures will be taken in accordance with international practice to disarm and disband his troops, to intern them, or in some effective manner to prevent them from being again used for military action against the Russian Republic.

The Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P.,
10 Downing Street, S.W.1.

CABLE FROM THE COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

December 27, 1920.

Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Soviet Government, has received the following cablegram from Mr. George Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Moscow:

"Your telegram of December 18, reporting the decision of the United States Government to deport you received. The hostility of the present American Administration expressed in this act cannot reflect the opinion of the American people, especially of the American workers who have given so many warmly appreciated proofs of sympathy with the workers and peasants of Russia. Under the most trying circumstances you have during two years honorably and patiently endeavored to carry out the instructions received by you to establish friendly relations with the United States. You did so, notwithstanding malicious insults and petty persecutions on the part of some elements in America, convinced that eventually the common interests of the people of America and Russia would eliminate the obstacle to understanding. Even now we are certain the masses of the American people will in due time bring about such an understanding. At present moment, however, we are confronted with the cold fact that America, who repeatedly avowed her good will towards the people of Russia and with whom Russia for many reasons was eager to develop mutually advantageous cooperation in the economic field, makes such cooperation impossible. This is done at a time when most of the other nations of the world, even such as openly conducted war against us and wasted no time on sentimental assurances of friendship, are entering into economic relations with Russia. We must resign ourselves to the fact that Russia for the time being, due to the hostile attitude of the present American administration, will have to get along without such cooperation. You are instructed to return to Russia without delay, together with the Russian citizens who are members of your staff, and to cancel and liquidate, in accordance with instructions you will receive from the Commissariat of Foreign Trade, all orders placed with American firms."

Workers' and Peasants' Universities in Russia

SOME time ago there appeared in a Russian publication two monographs about the activity of the Communist University named after J. M. Sverdlov in Moscow, and of the university named after Zinoviev in Petrograd, written by V. Nevsky and S. Ravich respectively. We are giving below an analysis of these important monographs.

The Sverdlov University was an outgrowth of the courses for propagandists organized in June, 1918, by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, on the initiative of Comrade J. M. Sverdlov, the President of the Central Executive Committee. The aim of these lectures was to give to the workers active in the movement a rapid training, and to provide them with essential information as to the most pressing actual problems. Thus

	OCCUPATION			PROPERTY HOLDERS		SEX		Great Russians	No. of Graduates
	Workers	Peasants	Professional	Non	Small	Men	Women		
			Men						
January, 1919....	43.38	29.54	27.08	71.2	28.7	94.1	5.8	....	341
March, 1919.....	40.0	25.0	20.0	64.44	33.62	95.0	5.0	....	464
October, 1919....	52.9	15.8	31.1	88.5	11.5	85.7	14.1	72.5	998
February, 1920...	50.6	3.6	45.8	90.4	9.6	81.6	18.4	88.4	166

This table shows that at every opening of the courses the number of the workers was on the increase. Consequently they form the predominant element at the Communist University. And as the fourth column shows us, they are non-property holding proletarians. The number of property-holding peasants visiting the school was decreasing correspondingly. The seventh column indicates the increase of the number of female students. This is a direct consequence of the remarkable increase of the social activity of women in Soviet Russia.

The political character of the audience of the Communist University is indicated by the following table:

	COMMUNISTS				
	Non-partisan	Diff. parties	Sympathizers	Members	Total
January, 1919...	5.5	9.0	16.4	68.9	85.3
March, 1919....	8.14	..	5.3	82.6	87.9
October, 1919...	34.4	1.2	16.2	48.8	65.0
February, 1920..	9.1	..	31.9	59.0	90.9

Thus the overwhelming majority of the students are Communists (party members or sympathizers); the figures indicate moreover, at every re-opening of the courses, an increase of the percentage of Communists, a decrease of the "non-partisans" and the total disappearance of the representatives of other parties. The temporary increase of the number of "non-partisans" and the decrease of the number of Communists for the period of October, 1919, correspond to the time when the offensive of the "Whites" started, and the organizations had to mobilize almost all active members occupying positions of trust.

Judging from the age of the students, they were recruited from among the flower of the working class, from men who were in the prime of their strength and their health. From the point of view of education, at least three fourths of the students were equipped with the insignificant preparation that

it became possible to entrust them with the positions of commissars, representatives, etc. A course did not take more than two weeks. The majority of the students were workers.

The duration of the courses was obviously insufficient; therefore it became necessary to lengthen this period after the completion of each course. The courses were organized in the most systematic manner; moreover, a number of subdivisions were introduced.

During 1919 the lectures of the school were attended by 2,500 persons; it was possible to collect detailed information as to the occupation and the social condition of 2,217 of them. The table below gives a summary of this investigation as well as percentages:

they had received in the elementary school of the old regime. Five per cent had received no school education at all and had learned how to read and write by themselves. Over 16 per cent had received a high-school education. The number of those who are equipped with a higher education is on the increase. In this last category we have to do with a great number of comrades, technical specialists in some branch of industry, who joined the party recently, having given to the Soviet Government satisfactory evidence of their devotion, but who—to their great shame—were absolutely ignorant in all matters concerning Socialism and social sciences. Besides, there is to be mentioned also, the organization of special courses for Cossack groups, for the most part natives from the eastern front.

The original program of these two-week courses comprised the following subjects:

1. Class struggle.
2. Development of capitalism, imperialism, war, revolution.
3. Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, dictatorship of the proletariat, party.
4. The land problem.
5. The problem of food supply.
6. Nationalization of industry, of trade, and of banking.
7. The Red Army.
8. The organization of the Soviet Government.

From the very beginning the organizers of these courses realized that by limiting themselves to such a narrow task of instructing the workers active in the movement hurriedly on important questions of the hour, it was impossible—although it was necessary—to furnish the provincial Soviets with experienced instructors.

The program of the quarterly course was much more extensive; one-fourth of the lessons was devoted to theoretical questions; the remaining three-

fourths of the lessons were concerned with practical education referring to the constructive work of the Socialist commonwealth. There were organized two different series of studies; one for the benefit of larger districts lasting three months, and the other which was much abridged, for the rural communities. This first differentiation is not sufficient at all. Experience has shown that a much larger and wider specialization is necessary, first in the two big fields of action—the Party and the Soviets—and afterwards a much closer specialization in the special branches of these two fields. This led—in May, 1919—to the elaboration of a new program of studies providing for a much larger specialization in the details and for more practical work.

We are giving below a tabular synopsis of the situation which was finally brought about:

Theoretical course, common for both sections (240 hours; moreover the student must choose some definite branch of work in the Soviet organization or in the Communist party).

1. Section of the Soviet Institutions comprising:
 - a. 9 sub-sections (transport, labor, etc., 160 hours);
 - b. 19 sections of practical studies of Soviet work.
2. Section of the Party, comprising:
 - a. the sub-section for the press;
 - b. the sub-section for organization;
 - c. the sub-section for propaganda (120 hours).

This is how, in the fourth chapter of "The Experience of a Year of Activity", the author sums up the first results that were obtained. Reading alone proved to be insufficient; demonstration, discussions, work in ordinary and special groups had to take its place.

But this rendered a great number of instructors necessary. Owing to the great scarcity of available forces, attempts were made to find them among the pupils. The most capable among the former pupils remain at the school and direct the work of the groups at every new session.

It has been proven, moreover, that the most serious study must be interrupted by periods of rest and esthetic pursuits. A vast program is now being applied along these lines.

In addition, it was necessary to give some abridged introductory courses in natural sciences and history before starting the theoretical studies:

1. Introduction into physics, chemistry, etc.
2. Brief repetition of mathematics, the Russian language and literature.
3. The courses which originally lasted only two weeks, were thereafter extended to three months and later on to six months.

Among the theoretical courses we may mention: Introduction into physics and chemistry; History of Culture, by Comrade Lunacharsky, with musical, dramatic and other demonstrations; Political Economy; General History; History of Russia; a course named "Class and Party Struggles in Western Europe"; statistics; Marxism (7th week); History

of the peasants' movement, of the Communist Party, etc. Among the teachers we may mention: Lenin, Bukharin, Pokrovsky, Lunacharsky, Ryazanov, Zinoviev, and others.

Within 18 months of the existence of the school about 5,000 pupils attended the courses. More than 4,000 of these students were later sent to the front. Everybody is aware of the importance of this result for the Red Army. It is their valor as well as their devotion to the cause of the revolution that enabled the Russian militant revolutionists to conduct the Red troops and often, through their sacrifice, to open to them the road to Victory.

At the end the author lays stress upon the material situation and the administration of the university. It is headed by a Council of Studies composed of the delegates of the Central Executive Committee, of the Central Committee of the Party, of the staff of teachers of the Commissariat of Popular Education and of the body of students. This Council is in charge of the program of studies, it discusses the appointment of new professors, etc. The general assembly of the students elects a committee of the courses, assuming the direction thereof; it decides upon the employment of the time of the students, it creates a series of commissions (economic, administrative, etc.) which together with the Council of Studies, the Director of the University, and the manager, take care of the different aspects of the activity of the school.

The material situation is, in spite of considerable governmental subsidies, extremely hard. "It is impossible not to mention the underfed condition of our pupils, the lack of linen, of shoes and clothes, from which they suffer, the lack of books, the unhealthy lodgings, the lack of means of communication, and sometimes the lack of teachers . . . When thinking of it, one is astonished at the courage of the students who succeed in holding out for three or four months at a ration which is reduced to less than a pound of bread daily.

According to V. Nevsky, the future development of the university should proceed along the following lines:

1. The courses ought to become more thorough and should be extended up to one year.
2. Simultaneously with these continued courses, there should be organized a series of short courses (e. g. for the Cossacks, the Tartars, etc.).
3. The lessons should be reduced to a minimum and in their stead there should be discussions, discourses, informal debates, practical work, special groups;
4. The teachers should be only the intellectual guides.
5. The initiative and the autonomy of the pupils should be encouraged all the time.
6. Their material situation should be improved.

The monograph of Comrade S. Ravich is concerned with the Zinoviev University at Petrograd. This is mainly a school for instructors. It came into being while the November Revolution was in full swing, out of the necessity to propagate the slogans and the aims of the Communists. Originally

only the following subjects were treated in a number of hurried lectures:

1. The November Revolution and the Proletarian Revolution.
2. The Land Problem in Russia.
3. The Peace Treaty (Brest-Litovsk).

Later on the program was extended and the duration of the courses lengthened. The university passed extremely critical periods, especially at the time of the offensive of Yudenich against Petrograd.

It has been now transferred to the Uritsky Palace (formerly the Duma building). It has a capacity of 600 to 1,000 persons. The courses are extended over a period of six months. In addition to a general introductory course, the university has the following special sections:

1. Soviet Militia.
2. Public Safety.
3. Agriculture.
4. Soviet Administration.
5. Public Maintenance of the City.
6. Activity of the Party and the Press of the Party.

Moreover, since the beginning of the studies there has been formed a group for teaching the illiterates.

The section of general education contains among others, courses on the following topics: History of Russian Literature; History of Religion and of the Church in Russia; History of Social Movements in Western Europe; History of the French Revolution; History of Culture; Social Legislation; Natural Sciences; Biology, etc.

The "special sections" comprise a great number of courses; the studies are in connection with practical work and investigations.

Among the men concerned with the activities of the university we may mention the following names: Zinoviev, Radek, Nevsky, Bukharin, Milyutin, M. Gorki, etc. We may state that this university does not confer any privileges. Its only task is preparation. In order to occupy any position, the comrades who finish their studies at the university have to prove their ability in the field of agitation and propaganda. They must be elected to the different institutions.

In spite of their recent foundation and the great hardships of a period of civil war and economic disorganization, the proletariat has shown through the example of these schools what the workers will be capable of doing as soon as they are placed in a more favorable condition.

The analysis of their origin and their development shows that the success of these universities is due, first of all, to the fact that they are pre-eminently composed of proletarians and that they are the result of collective endeavor.

EDUCATIONAL EXHIBIT

Moscow, November 18, 1920.—At the former Winter Palace in Petrograd an exhibition of popular education has been opened, occupying almost the entire palace. In this exposition all the work of the Commissariat for Public Instruction for three years is represented.

Material Crowded out of this Issue

Our readers will observe that we have very few small items of wireless or press origin in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. They have been crowded out by pressure of other matter. This condition also obliges us to omit the first instalment of

Collapse and Reconstruction in Russia

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

This analysis of the economic situation preceding the Revolution, in a style even more brilliant than the same author's "Moscow in 1920", will appear in two instalments in SOVIET RUSSIA (January 8 and January 15). It is one of the important chapters of Goldschmidt's new book, "Economic Life in Soviet Russia," which has just come out in Germany. The January 8 number will also have many other interesting articles.

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Collapse and Construction in Russia

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

[The following is a chapter from Dr. Goldschmidt's book, "Economic Organization in Soviet Russia", translated from the German for SOVIET RUSSIA.]

I

War and the Russian Proletariat

WAR accentuates the social-psychological transformation. The following was the social-psychological state of Russia before the war: the class-conscious proletariat, a really revolutionary proletariat, existed chiefly along the northern border, in the Petrograd region, and in the Baltic provinces. To be sure, emanating from these regions were scatterings, mixtures, of proletarian class-consciousness, but no systematic revolutionary process. The chief contingent of the Russian working class was the semi-proletariat, i.e., half of it a peasant proletariat, half of it an industrial proletariat. Regardless of other causes, this was implied, so to say, in the nature of the case. The proletarian predisposition moves in a sliding scale with the character of peoples. Peoples at a primitive stage of economy have but a small percentage of persons who are capable of industrial labor. The percentage of such persons capable of industrial labor in the Russian population was very small before the war. It was a matter of a few units only, altogether but a few millions. And even among these few millions there were considerable difficulties in the industrial-psychological scale, which had first to be somewhat adjusted, brought into at least a partial uniformity of social-psychological character, before the social revolution could become possible.

The war accelerated this process tremendously. Petersburg, Riga, Reval (in other words, the revo-

lutionary border region), were left without supplies of coal and ores. They were obliged to rely upon southern raw materials. At first, however, Petersburg was industrialized even more extensively. The armament industry made this necessary. All the necessities were not yet completely understood. Although the railroads were overburdened by the mobilization, the Petersburg armament industry was lashed into a gallop and expanded as much as possible. It was not until the German offensive that industry was obliged to travel towards raw materials. This involved also a migration of the revolutionary proletariat. A sort of "seasonal" labor movement of revolutionary nature.

The evacuation of Riga, the first step in this process, was not undertaken by an impotent state, but by economic self-action. The machines and the proletariat were taken to Moscow and the surroundings, to Nizhni-Novgorod, to the Urals, to Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Tver (building of railroad cars), to Warsaw. The hinterland now became the seat of factories after the European pattern, with a considerable staff of technologists, and groups, or at least splashes, of class-conscious proletarians. This could not fail to have an effect on the social-psychological transformation.

Industry now developed rapidly. The war quickened the pace. For example, a great chemical industry arose quickly in the coal regions, where poison gases were chiefly produced. The Entente accelerated the process by furnishing capital and special technicians. In this the Entente policy pur-

sued a double purpose: the fighting force of their ally was to be strengthened, and the strengthening, i.e., the financing, of Russia's technical war was likewise to yield enormous advantages to the Entente. The promotion of the concession activity of the Entente in Russia, the occupation of important economic regions, industries, banks, franchises, and tracts, by Entente capital is a matter of common knowledge. While they riveted the giant's armor, they sucked out his blood. In the Caucasus, in the Urals, in Central Asia, in Siberia, in European Russia, everywhere where there was anything to lay hands on, they cast anchor, they syndicated, they took hold and gobbled up. It was a hectic continuation of that colonial penetration from the west which had already produced the Russian economic crisis. The Allies were continuing with the speed of an express train, and on a gigantic scale, what a healthier Russia might wish to eliminate or weaken. We are at this moment passing through a new attempt to continue the process. Or, an attempt to recover, to rescue, to pocket finally what the Russian proletariat has acquired. The permeation of industrial Russia with class-conscious proletarians was prevented by an intentional disregard of the Polish textile industry when the evacuation took place. The Polish textile industry was the object of the hatred of the Central Russian textile industry, for the central Russian textile industry was a quality industry, while the Polish textile industry represented a forced marketing of lower grades and a dumping process with the aid of big advertising. This is one of the most important reasons for the hatred against the Jews. The Russian tradesman was slower to act than the Jewish tradesman, slower too than the German tradesman. As trading and Judaism were considered identical in Russia, this hatred placed the German and the Jew on the same footing. This was not without effect in the war and in pogroms.

At any rate, only a few Polish textile machines were actually taken to the Russian hinterland. Race-hatred, national-industrial hatred, hatred of big tradesmen, handed over the Polish textile machinery to destruction by war. It was considered proper to have the German army destroy the competition on the internal market, or at least cripple it. The struggle was between heavy Moscow cloth and light Lodz cloth, between a native, established industry, and an industry for markets, between slow, big tradesmen, and light, little tradesmen.

Although in this manner a semi-proletariat with a tendency toward revolutionary energy was kept away from Russia, the process of infiltration was nevertheless a considerable one. There were added numbers of persons recalled from the front to the armament industry. They were not at once class-conscious proletarians, but they were proletarians with a desire for peace. It was not a case of stabbing the front to death from the rear, but a self-evident consequence of the brutalities at the front and of the duration of the front. Let us here interpolate the following in order to make clear what were the necessary conditions of the revolution.

The Russian industrial proletarian before the war and during the war was a slave. He was bent under the club of the police, or, at least, the club of the police was swung over him. The swinger of the club was the engineer, the executor of the Russian policy over the proletariat. We shall say more later concerning the role of the Russian engineer in the Revolution.

All were opposed to the worker. Even the clerical employes of industry. In other words, the state, the technologists, and the office help, and, of course, the private owners.

The houses of the workers were wretched places, houses below the surface of the earth, cellars. In the great textile establishments, two families were often living in one room, men and women together. The state cared practically nothing about these things. Certain owners saw more clearly than the state. They carried on so-called welfare work. And the proletariat was grateful even for these little mercies, as is shown by the difference in the treatment received by the various employers during the revolution.

Scarcity of technologists had made the Russian engineer a big gun. His situation in the textile industry was different from that of the engineer in the metal industry. But, if only for the privilege of maintenance money, this position was hostile to the workers. In many factories, engineers were splendidly situated. They received fine houses, high salaries, high royalties, carriages. Yet, the Russian engineers carried on a revolutionary policy. But they did not desire a proletarian revolution, but a revolution against the privileged classes of the Russian state, against the Russian officials. The Russian bourgeois *intelligentsia* aimed at attaining a social position, after they had become rich. Their wealth should not only fill their stomachs, but also make them shine.

This pressure, this contempt, this clubbing, this assigning of the worker to a herd position (he was always addressed by the familiar ТЫ), the persecution of those who felt rebellious, made the proletariat see more clearly, made them more conscious. At least this is true of the proletariat in great industries. From 1905 on this training found its expression through the Soviets.

Let me insert a word in explanation. Before the Russian Revolution, European Marxists said Russia was not ripe for revolution, because it was an agricultural country. After the revolution, those same Marxists said Russia was ripe for revolution because it was an agricultural country. They said this and they still say today that it was a peasant revolution, a transformation of the desire for land, which the Bolshevik power had exploited.

But it is a mistake to try to simplify things as much as all that, for such formulations require that somewhat more pains be taken. To be sure the industrial proletariat was enabled to undertake to lead the agrarian revolution—in fact had to undertake this—because the agrarian problem had become an industrial problem. Western capitalism (first, by its preliminary effect, its permeation with

the western capitalistic spirit, with the Manchester spirit, and later the infiltration of the money economy) had created a semi-proletariat which was neither fish nor flesh. The peasant was alienated from his task and wanted nevertheless to remain a peasant. Industrial occupations had become for him a substitute for land, speaking in terms of money economy. The money economy was his ruin. If he was once more to become a usable peasant, a peasant capable of intensive agriculture, the money economy would have to be eliminated. This elimination means not only land for the peasant, but also industrial products. For the elimination of the money economy means the erection of a socialistic economy, and takes place chiefly with the object of increasing the production of commodities, which is useful to the peasant also. Industry had made the peasant poor; industry must make him rich again. It was necessary for him to be freed from taxes, in other words, from the old state, and he had to be freed from excessive payments to industry. The amelioration of agriculture is equivalent to a solution of the problem of agricultural intensification, the chief peasant problem in Russia. And this is possible only with the aid of an industry that has been expanded to gigantic proportions. The completion of the capitalistic forms of industry and the insertion of a powerful new content into them is simultaneously an effective agricultural reform; it is an unheard of enhancement of agricultural production. In this book we shall speak of the matter again, especially of the tasks of electricity and of those fertilizers that are produced in factories. Aside from other necessities, from necessities arising from serfdom, from misery and from the war situation, it is self evident that the Russian industrial proletariat had to undertake to lead in the revolution. Much as it may be an agricultural revolution, an agrarian revolution, the Russian agrarian revolution is none the less an industrial revolution. The essence of this revolution is: to deliver the industrial resources of the country, by accelerated industrialization, to the agricultural districts, with the aid of the liberated proletarians, the industrial proletariat and the land proletariat, but all this under the leadership of the really class-conscious proletariat, namely the industrial proletariat. It is impossible really to understand the sense of the world revolutionary movement, unless we recognize in it the opposition between city and country, and the necessity of adjusting this opposition. Industrial production and agricultural production are not essentially different. They belong together, they are complementary to each other, they are really one. Russian agriculture was shouting for technological improvement. Can you then still speak of an agrarian revolution which is merely being exploited by an industrial proletariat? Or can you maintain that an increase in the size of the peasant land holdings may be carried out without a technical improvement, in other words, without having the industrial proletariat assume leadership in the revolution?

II

The Struggle for the New Organization

The March Revolution was the first visible and formal collapse of the Russian centralism, the old centralism which had not been put down either by the communal self-governments of peace times or by the self-government bodies formed during the war (liberal agrarian organizations, and unions of cities). Both the centralizing bodies collapsed: the military-political and the economic centralism. It was a necessary collapse, a collapse based on the nature of the case, a collapse of what had been outlived. The centralism ruling from above was past; a new centralization, a centralization of self-control could only be built up from below. The state aimed to draw the reins tighter; the bourgeoisie was ready to dominate a tenser structure (the opposition then was that of a compulsory syndication with national supervision as opposed to an unimpeded trustification). It was not possible to hold the strings together; the bourgeoisie did not have the power to do it, nor was it any longer its task to shatter the old centralization and to administer the economic control. This task had now to be assumed by the proletariat.

Some days after the outbreak of the March Revolution many industrial organizations established factory committees. These committees were too large. This was the first great mistake of the Soviet Revolution. The control from below was too broad, and not sharp enough; its power was frustrated by its own work.

The committees sought at once to carry out productional functions in the factories and in the war economy organizations. At the head of these organizations stood military men aided by technologists and scientists. These organizations were built up essentially on the German model, their main pattern being the German military raw material section, which means a militarization of industry. The workers were not present in this organization. After the March revolution the proletariat went into them and 50 per cent of the total representation was to be from the workers. Industrial leaders protested vehemently. Their protest was an economic protest, but even more a political one. The bourgeoisie already felt that the power was passing into other hands. There began a campaign of lies against the Soviets, which were at first called (a play of words) Soviets of Dogs' Delegates. The boiling point of the hatred against the Soviets (Factory Soviets, Peasant and Soldier Soviets) was reached in April, 1917. But the proletariat succeeded in maintaining itself more or less and in keeping its representatives in the war economy organizations. Some of them welcomed equality as a revolutionary improvement. They were farseeing grands bourgeois, petis bourgeois and demi-bourgeois.

There began a policy of classification. The Russian Factory Owners' Union declared it was ready to accept the eight-hour working day, as well as the increased wage scale. The first outspoken wishes expressed by the factory committees were

for increasing pay at the urgent request of their constituencies. The factory administration had to accept this condition. The trade unions, which only at this moment began to exist, or at least to develop, demanded wage-scales, fixed hours of labor, rest periods, etc. The factory committees were to supervise the execution of this agreement. They acted accordingly, and with great energy.

The first months were not only months of pressure for control, months of assumption of control, months of confusion of control, but also months of struggle against the power of the individual unit, against the factory administrations. Gagging directors, private managers, engineers, and masters of works were removed. There was much folly, much impropriety, injustice, persecution. The consequence was a rapid formation of unions of clerical workers and engineers. They were productive and defensive unions, for there was a danger that their income payments would be delayed; their policy aimed at increases in salary, decreasing of work, etc.

In this movement the Russian engineers attempted to secure a safe position, by declaring themselves neutral, or at least by declaring the neutrality of their production. They said: We belong to no party; we are working for the whole. As a matter of fact the engineer became a sort of technical non-partisan in the war economy organizations. But the engineers were not able to make use of this success. They remained hostile to the Soviets, hostile to the proletariat. They did not recognize the transformation that was going on in society. Therefore their declaration that they were working for the whole was only a declaration for self-defence; a declaration necessary to rescue themselves. The whole system had become a different one. The Russian engineers would have had to come out for the proletariat if they had really wanted to work for the whole. The attitude of the engineers is very significant for a judgment of the economic revolution in Russia. To this day this declaration of self-defence, this attitude of aloofness on the part of the Russian engineers, still has its effects.

The Russian proletariat, except at the very beginning, was by no means hostile to the engineers. It hated the organizations of officials, the high-collar organizations which were carrying out a policy of social position. As many engineers went into the bureaucratic unions and not into the engineers unions, this hatred was also transferred to the engineers. Finally, arbitration courts were formed. A contract was made, requiring every dismissal of an engineer to be investigated. These arbitration courts continued until after the November Revolution. They softened relations, but often had to order a dismissal because the engineer in question was not capable of understanding the social-psychological transformation. It was impossible for him to adapt himself, and he therefore became a hindrance to production; his task was therefore gone, for he did not feel he had a task.

Meanwhile the Russian economic crisis was becoming sharper. In May 1917 the impending fuel and raw material crisis already became quite per-

ceptible. Prices were shooting upward and many factories were closing their works for reasons of economy. This aroused the working class tremendously. The workers' representatives in the economic organizations demanded investigations, careful investigations, of all closings down. Investigating commissions went into the factories. A representative of the clerical employes would take part in the investigations. Often the work was hard. It was always necessary to go through all the details of the business, and therefore it had an educational result, as a supervisory training for the proletariat. Long-winded auditings of books and functions were undertaken. The commissions very often decided against the factory owners and removed them, even before the November Revolution. The factory owners were replaced by Government Commissars who were already representatives of the interests of the workers, as well as of the economic organizations. But as they had come at the request of the working class, as a result of the tests demanded by their constituencies, they were actually an expression of the victory of the workers, of the predominance of the workers, regardless of whether they felt that to be their position or not.

Some factories were sequestered by the investigating commissions, and others were given new financing on the report of the commissions. This already opens up a view of the transformation; it suggests the attachment of the industry to the factory committees, the industrial Soviets. The power of these committees was already so great that it expressed itself as a power to produce. They could already demand the maintenance, the financing, of individual production units, the sequestration of an industry, etc. Closing down was rarely approved or asked, because the idleness thus brought about would again involve unemployment and loss of wages.

We must distinguish between the desire to rescue production and the impossibility of rescuing production during this period. Already the will was becoming apparent, but the struggle was crippling the will. Every factory was a scene of battle. The struggle was being carried on with the most varied combinations of management, workers, clerical employes, against each other, with each other, and mixed up together. The consequence was a continuous drop in production. Meetings, investigations of guilt, and such like things, were pushing work down. The factory committees had not yet enough accelerating power, the centralized bodies were not yet operating in single lines with them. Everywhere there were oppositions. It was a general breakdown of production.

In the middle of August, 1917, the Bolsheviks began to conquer the power of the factory committees. This was not a progress of usurpation, a tyrannical act, but a challenge, an acceptance of a challenge, a seizure of power owing to mistrust of the old representatives and hope of the more radical ones.

At first the factory committees consisted chiefly of Mensheviks. As they were not able to under-

stand the will of the proletariat to control production, and therefore to carry out this will, the confusion, the opposition, the above described conflict, as well as the breakdown of production, remained permanent. The working class began to set down this halting of production to the account of the Mensheviks. They had no more confidence in them. This was not a simple, unmistakable process, but nevertheless one that was clearly discernible.

In September, 1917, the defeat of Kerensky became manifest. Brusilov's offensive had already failed, and people felt that the armament industry had become purposeless. This considerably sharpened the recession of production. Many factories dismissed the workers although the conditions of dismissal were not easy (two months' pay).

Under these circumstances something positive had to be done. The national centralization, the so-called autonomy of economic management, the Menshevik factory committees, had broken down. The Soviets had already done good work. In some respects their work of control and education was invaluable. But this was not equivalent to rescuing production. It was not an unmistakable gathering up of all the strings, an elimination of conflict, of confusion, but rather in many cases even an aggravation of confusion. The whole economic system was crying out for unification.

Already before the November Revolution the Bolsheviks had been again and again loudly demanding the control of production. The closer private economy looked at the control of production, the more violent became its struggle against the Bolsheviks, against those that were demanding the control of private economy. Already many owners were selling their works to foreign capital.

This was a period of feverish transactions to withdraw capital, it was the well-known period of general fraud, which every country passes through before a proletarian revolution and during a proletarian revolution. It is a flight of capitalistic money, it is an assignment of mortgages to foreign capitalists, which is later called upon to fight the expropriating activities of the revolution. It is an accumulation of demands for payment, by which later an aggressive attack against the expropriating revolution is provided with a "moral" basis.

During this period an extremely interesting development was taking place within the Russian Engineers' Society. The engineers came to the executive body of the Society with this request: Give us instructions what to do. Shall we go or shall we place ourselves at their disposal?

A discord arose. Some said the engineer must remain with production, since he is the instrument of production and not an instrument of money capital. Others called the engineer an agent of capital. This latter designation attracted a number of industrial leaders, who had engineers' training, into the Engineers' Society, with the result that a sort of class struggle was inaugurated within the society. Both characterizations were hostile, however, to the proletariat, which was demanding production.

The factory owners in the Engineers' Society

threw out various baits, but to no avail. The question was one of life and death, and the lives of the engineers had become dependent on the will of the proletariat. Consequently the society decided to call upon its members in the name of productive mechanism. Production, as was stated in this appeal, was a property of the whole nation. The engineer might leave his post, according to this decision, only in cases of the most serious conscientious sacrifices. The decision saved some situations, but it had no radical effect.

There was much discussion before the November Revolution; necessities of production and regulation were emphasized; organs with a formal parity were created, but for reasons connected with private property these were not actually parity organs. There were no serious appeals, however, no serious decisions. That resolution of the Engineers' Society was, however, an echo of the imperative shout of the proletariat for productive and regulative economy. It shows a timid recognition of the necessities of the case. It shows an understanding that there could be no further doubt of the fact of the conquest of the war economy organs by the proletariat, or of the firm determination of the proletariat to make these organs effective centers of regulation. Nor could there be any further doubt of the determination of the factory committees to exercise full control. For the obtaining of a completely visible and transparent organization, of an organic cooperation, a regular diffusion of organizations and industries had now become absolutely imperative.

May I here recall a few appeals I once made myself. Not long after the outbreak of the German revolution, which aimed at eliminating the military centralization, the political imperialism, the old political centralization, I called for an immediate rescue by expansion of the war economy organizations. I demanded a confiscation of all war materials, of all the material, fragmentary and misrepresented though it might be, but nevertheless fundamental and capable of supervision. But nothing was done. Some exposures of sins were undertaken, but in other cases a stormy demand was put forth to demolish the organizations. The German bourgeoisie has a good instinct. It knows very well and feels what it is that will benefit it and do harm to the country. The sacrificing of the war materials, the concealment and peddling of this material, the demolition of the organizations, they shall still pay for all that. The German proletariat will now stand and face the mass of debris and confusion and its work will be twice as hard. And in this period of a crumbling of all the pillars of organization, of a twisting and devaluing of the clockwork, Socialists constructed Soviet forms which are actually playthings which have succeeded in confusing the heads and hands of millions. In Russia I learned how well justified my appeal had been. If we are to draw any social consequences from the war, we must not permit the war economy organizations to be destroyed or frittered away. If we do we shall lose contact with things.

The Russo-Polish War and the French Proletariat

By PAUL LOUIS

NEVER since 1914 has the French proletariat expended as much energy as at the end of August, 1920, when there rose the ghost of inter-allied intervention in the affairs of Russia and Poland. And never did the awakening of the French proletariat, all its factions, all its component parties, mean quite so much.

During the twenty-five years of the existence of the Franco-Russian Alliance the workers of the great industrial centers had their eyes fixed on the government with regard to the terms and demands of the agreement. They knew nothing of its details, and the secrecy that attended it excited their suspicions. They saw in the rapprochement of the imperialisms of both countries a war-friendship to oppose the triple alliance. They saw in the agreement concluded between the national-capitalistic republic and the empire of the Romanovs' the union of the forces of political reaction in the face of approaching revolution. One needs only to recall the speeches of Jaures against Czarism and its agent in France—Izvol'sky.*

Nothing helped to change the opinion of the French proletariat so much as the publication of the secret treaty of 1915, according to the terms of which Constantinople was to be given to Russia.

The French proletariat met the final defeat of Czarism in 1917 with great enthusiasm, beholding in it the prologue of the world revolution, a historical event to be compared only to the death of the old regime in 1789.

A time will yet arrive when the intrigues current among French diplomats from March to October, 1917, intrigues that planned the extermination of the free spirit of Russia, will receive their just deserts. The entire bourgeois press took the part of Kornilov against Kerensky. Bolshevism drew the bitterest attention of all in France who supported the social *status quo*.

And the more the forces of reaction tried to destroy the Russian revolution, the more strongly did the proletariat of the country support the Russian revolution; it saw that its own liberation depended on the revolution, it understood that all hope of liberation was lost if the revolution was permitted to be strangled.

Has then the French proletariat forgotten its duty for three years, or is there truth in the accusation that it is weak and inactive? I do not wish to touch on this question, but I do wish to point out that last month, when it was seen that Paris was planning a new counter-revolutionary offensive against Russia, the proletariat serried its ranks, united all its Socialist factions, all its various unions, to prevent that offensive.

A new spirit arose, a spirit that grew stronger and stronger among the French working-class, the spirit of love for the Russian revolution, for the

example that it has shown; the French working-class loves it in spite of the present masters of France, who are instinctively and with good reason set against it.

The workers of the great industrial cities are persuaded that the republic, led by Poincare, Clemenceau, and Millerand, is at the very head of world reaction. The latest news we receive from the regions of the Danube strengthens the impression that was created last year by the defeat of the Soviets in Budapest. The intrigues conducted by certain monarchistic officers in Budapest and in other places, have excited the Socialist and syndicalist masses to the highest degree. The bourgeois press, from the *Action Francaise* to the *Temps*, tries as much as possible to create certain opinions, interpreting the facts received in its own old way. Not long ago it printed enthusiastically the compliments paid by the American judge, Gary, who knows the country, to the national bloc and its ministers.

The French proletariat assumes its larger duties along with the workmen of all other countries, just as the government takes the same position as it did a hundred years ago at the time of the Holy Alliance and Metternich. The elections of November 16 were conducted on this platform: the defence of the Russian revolution.

When Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich were defeated, the workmen of Lille and Marseilles demonstrated in their great joy.

The Russian revolution has raised not only its own poor, but the oppressed of all countries. When Poland, at the call of those who wished to oppose Russia with a powerful coalition, began to move on Russia, the distrust of Poland, which had long festered among the French workers, turned into open enmity.

As strongly as Poland deserved the sympathy of the working-class when it was still enchained, so strongly did it create distrust and energetic condemnation when it was no longer satisfied with its newly-won freedom, but wished to suppress the liberty of others through an imperialism which allowed it, brutally and foolishly, to return to the Middle Ages. Poland with its government, which is openly under the influence of reaction, which listens and bends to the will of the worst nationalistic and chauvinistic impulses, has suddenly arisen as the destroyer of peace and the tool of the western bourgeoisie. The feelings of the French proletariat have not changed. It wants an independent Poland within its ethnographic borders, but wholeheartedly hoping for the triumph of the Russian revolution over all its enemies, it sees that its salvation lies in the defeat of the Warsaw government.

Therefore, it was glad when Finland, the Baltic republics, Czecho-Slovakia, and Rumania, urged by politics, justice and fear, refused to support Millerand. Therefore, it was glad when it heard that

* Unfortunately, Jaures did not always take the correct stand on the Franco-Russian alliance. See "Open Letter" by Rosa Luxemburg in the *Neue Zeit*, Stuttgart, Vol. 26, No. 43, 1908. —Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.

Lloyd George was bending before the pressure of the Committee of Action of the trade unions, that Giolitti had capitulated to the Italian Socialists, and to the unions. For this reason did it stage its demonstrations—not to allow the French Government to take any military steps against Russia.

The beginning of August marked a very critical period in this direction. The recognition of Wrangel was a symptom of the times, an action undertaken with clearly ulterior purposes. There is no doubt that the Spa conferences considered very seriously the problem of strangling Soviet Russia.

Hundreds of meetings were organized by the Socialist parties and the unions. Thousands of workmen took part in them. Never before were such streams of people seen in the largest halls of France. A sort of religious enthusiasm prevailed. From the meetings there issued a thoroughly con-

sidered and serious will to do. The French proletariat declared that it would use all its strength against intervention because Poland was counter-revolutionary, and because it was preparing for a new continental war.

The government of the citizens' republic sent a military mission to Warsaw; it sent Pilsudski ammunition; it conducted negotiations with Hungary under conditions that have as yet been unexplained; it recognized Wrangel and sent a diplomatic representative to the adventurer,—but not a single army division has been moved. When Millerand declares that he never thought of any military action, he consciously lies. He tries to cover the tracks of his capitulation to the French proletariat, which would never have allowed him to take any military action.

White Russia

By A. D.

ON JULY 30, in the city of Minsk, the establishment of a White Russian Soviet Republic as an integral part of the Russian Federal Soviet Republic was proclaimed. Upon this occasion, in the whole of White Russia freed from Polish occupation great celebrations took place in which the local labor organizations participated. It is necessary to point out that the Jewish Socialist Union "Bund", which has a strong organization in the provinces of Minsk, Grodno, and Mohilev, also participated in proclaiming the White Russian Soviet Republic.

In the declaration proclaiming independence, the following paragraph is found among others:

"Based upon the decision expressed at the Soviet Convention of February, 1919, an independent White Russian Republic is declared in the name of workers and peasants. All the laws and decrees of the Polish occupation as well as the reestablishment of private property are abrogated; the right of private property in land is abrogated forever. The 'Supreme Council' and all White guard governments of landowners and capitalists are declared abolished. The Soviet of the Republic is to determine its ethnographic boundaries with the western bourgeois states. Up to the time of a convention of the Soviets the power is vested in the Military Revolutionary Committee."

In the Declaration of Independence the fact is emphasized that in White Russia there is established a Soviet regime, based on the principle of proletarian dictatorship. White Russia will have an army, diplomacy, and Supreme Council of National Economy, in common with Soviet Russia. The official languages of White Russia will be, besides the White Russian, also the Russian, Polish and Jewish languages.

Two chief problems are facing the Soviet Government of White Russia at the present time: the liquidation of the Polish inheritance and the laying down of a foundation for Socialistic construction. The Polish government of occupation (and prior

to it the German) have done nothing in the sphere of bettering the economic life. On the contrary in this respect much has been destroyed by them. The economy of the large estates was almost completely destroyed. The Polish land owners, the proprietors of these estates, fled to Warsaw long ago. It is unnecessary to say that to improve and perfect the new economic apparatus in these former nests of noblemen will prove extremely difficult. The peasant households suffered tremendously from constant requisitions. An acute lack of agricultural machinery is felt. The village life has been demolished to the roots. The displacing of the Czar's officials, first by the Germans, and later by the Polish authorities from Warsaw, and the movements of tremendous armies, have destroyed the traditional habits and the normal course of the country life and work. The collapse of the agricultural life has assumed extreme proportions. We need hardly state that the upbuilding of a new communistic life under these conditions must be accompanied by the greatest difficulties. But that is not all.

In White Russia there are very few intelligent workers and intellectuals in general. The White Russian national rebirth took place only in the year 1905 when the waves of the revolution had finally reached the White Russian woodlands. In the year 1905, there was organized in White Russia the first socialist organization—the White Russian Socialist Hromada.* This organization played the roll of a pioneer in the life of White Russia. In Minsk, Vilna, and Grodno there were organized the first circles of class-conscious workers. In 1906, in Vilna there was published the first socialist weekly in the White Russian language, *Nasza Dolia*. During the same year, in Petrograd, there was established a publishing society which had for its aim the publishing of socialistic pamphlets in the White Rus-

* The pioneer socialist organization in White Russia has had the defect, however, of laying more stress on national than on socialist problems.—Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.

sian language. However, *Nasza Dolia* (Our Fate), and its publishing society, could not exist long. The reaction which conquered the revolution in 1907 was on the march throughout Russia. In White Russia the reaction throttled the first labor organization of White Russia—the White Russian Socialist Hromada. *Nasza Dolia* was closed. Its place was taken by a semi-socialist weekly *Nasza Niva* (Our Field). The White Russian popular movement developed very slowly, chiefly because it was first of all a movement of peasants. The majority of laborers in the small cities of White Russia as well as in the towns were Jews, Poles, and Russianized White Russians. White Russian literature, schools, and in general the national creative labor, will only now under the conditions of a free life receive the possibility of developing normally.

Only half of all the White Russians make up the population of the White Russian Soviet Republic. More than three millions of White Russians live in those provinces which according to the Riga Compact went to Poland. The question of their future fate is yet to be decided, and we must believe that the deciding word in this question will belong to the White Russians themselves, when their consciousness will completely ripen, to speak with Poland in a different language than the one in which they have spoken until now.

The Warsaw government and in general the Polish bourgeoisie believe that the question of these three million White Russians which went to Poland will be decided by their assimilation. Warsaw thinks that the White Russians of the province of Grodno, southern part of Vilna, and western part of the province of Minsk who are in the majority Catholics (half of the White Russians belong to

the Greek Orthodox Church, the other half are Catholics) will sooner or later be Polonized. The Polish clergy of White Russia, which never declines the role of Polish assimilators, has been working in this direction for a long time. It is hardly necessary to conceal that individuals amongst the White Russian intellectuals also sympathize with the Polonizing plans of Warsaw. However the culture bearers of Poland will not succeed in White Russia for the simple reason that the White Russians make up that social element which cannot be reconciled with the Polish bourgeoisie. The White Russians are peasants, poor peasants in their majority. Capitalistic Poland, ruled as it is by the *Ksiondz* (Polish Catholic priest), landlords, and bankers will never be able to satisfy the White Russian landless peasantry. The White Russian peasants will never be reconciled with the Polish *szlachta*, the owners of tremendous estates in White Russia.

The very fact that the eastern part of White Russia will exist as a Soviet Republic, this very fact alone will revolutionize the western part which at present belongs to the Polish Republic. The example of Soviet White Russia will be extremely contagious for the White Russian peasants who will have to live under the domination of the Polish landlords. All this taken together will create a spirit in favor of uniting both parts of White Russia, and when the psychological moment will arrive to transform this spirit into a political fact there can be no doubt that the best form of government structure for the United White Russia will be a Soviet regime. But we repeat the deciding word in this case will belong to the White Russian people, when the latter has realized its interest and has finally broken with the tradition of economic and political slavery.

Electrification of Soviet Russia

(An interview with Engineer Krzijanovsky)

In an interview with the *Russian Press* representative, Engineer Krzijanovsky, the chairman of the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia, communicated the following details as to the work of the commission.

The State Commission for Electrification is at present concluding the organization work which it was charged with by the Central Executive Committee. Considerable data on the electrification of Russia has already been collected. In all, eight regions have been investigated and a broad plan of electrification has been marked out.

In connection with the problem of electrification, the question came up as to how our transport, food, and fuel crisis might be obviated by electrification. The specialists, who have been working on the solution of this question, arrived at the conclusions, that, by the introduction of a system of electric stations and electric transmissions, we could lay down firm foundations for the reconstruction of the whole system of our economy. After

a close inquiry into the problems before us, we decided, during the coming ten years, to build not less than 27 big electric stations in European Russia and three stations in Western Siberia and Turkestan. The 28 stations must be of 1½ million kilowatt of which one-half million would be generated by water power and one million by fuel.

I should point out that, in the past, even capitalism in our country, was about to take the course we are adopting at present in the matter of electrification.

In 1918 the first big electric stations at Moscow and Petrograd, which already were of a European type, were built. Electrification had been planned even before the war, and there is nothing new in the idea itself. The new feature about this matter is that, at present, we have considerably more favorable conditions for the development of electrification. Capitalism which had planned electrification, was at the same time a hindrance to its accomplishment. For, under private ownership in

land, it was impossible to count upon a broad utilization of waterfalls and upon the construction of a sufficient number of electric stations. The November Revolution removed all obstacles, and made it possible to solve the problems of electrification on the whole territory of Soviet Russia at once.

While analyzing the various moments of our economic life which are connected with electrification, we had to pay special attention to the problem of transport. Our main resources in fuel, petroleum and mineral coal, are situated at a distance of two to three thousand versts from the consuming centers. At the same time, the consuming provinces are getting their food from the distant black-earth provinces. In view of such conditions it is quite clear that every disturbance of transport simultaneously means fuel and food-crises. The transport crisis must therefore receive our greatest attention.

In view of these circumstances we appointed a group of specialists who worked on the problems of electrification of the railways. As a result of its work, this commission arrived at the conclusion that it is necessary, through the electrification of transport, to solve two fundamental problems: in the longitudinal direction it is necessary to electrify the Moscow-Kursk railway with its ramifications into the western part of the Donets Basin; in the latitudinal direction it is necessary to relieve the railway congestion in the South Donets region and to connect this region by electric transport, through the station of Belaya Kalitva, with Tsaritsin, thus giving the Donets anthracite an outlet into the Volga Basin.

With the plan of electrification upon a wide scale in our minds, we still pay due attention and exert all our efforts to bring into order, to organize and to socialize the existing electric establishments. We are thus utilizing most widely the electric stations, we abolish the division of electric stations into groups for general and private use, we grade them according to their economic value and we unite the electric stations into a uniform body and create the basis for a uniform state electrical system.

Of the program of broad electrification we are, at present, carrying out the following work: We considerably enlarged the only big electric station which we inherited from the pre-war period, the so-called "State Electric Station"—"Electric Transmission." In this station we installed a new turbine of 5,000 kilowatt power, new large boilers and the necessary equipment. This station supplies, at present, 20,000 kilowatt-power instead of the previous 10,000 kilowatt. At the same time experiments on a large scale were made here to procure peat mechanically by the hydraulic system. The results of these experiments in 1920 show that we may expect a revolution in the matter of procuring peat in the nearest future.

Great work was being done to build the Shaturskaya station on the peat beds. There, the construction of the first skeleton of the future experimental regional station was completed. Great pro-

gress was also made in the work of procuring peat and building the factory, station and settlements.

At the same time the work to construct the Kashirskaya regional station on the Oka river is rapidly being proceeded with. This station is situated in the neighborhood of two railway systems passing through the Moscow coal region, at a distance of 60 versts from Moscow. The station will be of over 40,000 kilowatt. The work on the construction of this station is well under way and the rough part of the task is already completed. A great deal has also been done to construct the auxiliary parts of this station and, particularly, the difficult problem of the water supply for the station and of getting the builders to help in the installation of its engine room. We may expect that the station will be finished in the course of 12 to 18 months.

Besides these three stations, preparations are being made to start work on the construction of a number of other stations. Thus, work is being done to construct the regional Taykorskaya station in the neighborhood of Ivanovo-Voznessensk. Near Petrograd work is going on to install a regional station on the Neva River at the so-called Utkinsky factory, where there is already a building suitable for the station and a possibility to complete the work in the course of one to one and a half years. The most important, however, is the work to construct the hydraulic station on the Volkhov River with 80,000 horsepower and on the Svir River with 140,000. It is planned to complete first two hydraulic plants on the Svir and one on the Volkhov. The responsible superintendent of the works on the Volkhov stations supposes that the work will be completed by 1924. Projects are being worked out for the construction of the following stations: on the peat beds near Nizhni-Novgorod, in the Kashpura shale district near Sizran, and near Shterovka in the Donets region. In the Urals, work is under way to construct the regional station on the Kislovsk mines. It is planned to construct in the first place the stations which will be situated on the Cheliabinsk mines, on the Yegorshin anthracite and a hydraulic plant on the Chusovaya River.

THE FACTORY WORKERS AND AGRICULTURE

One of the consequences of the great Russian Revolution is the fact that the proletariat engaged in factories and mills has begun to play a conspicuous part in agriculture. That seems somewhat unusual. It is rather strange that the proletariat, especially that section which is working in factories and in mills, should be engaged in vegetable gardening and corn growing. Yet such are the facts. The following is the history of this new part played by the proletariat. The total arable area of the Moscow province began to shrink systematically from 1864 until recently. In 1903 the arable land of the Moscow province amounted to 460,000 dessiatins, in 1916 this area decreased to 337,249 dessiatins, i.e., by 27 per cent. This of course had a great effect upon the food supply of

the workers of this district. The position grew most acute after the November Revolution. The disorganization of the transport, the ineffectiveness of the new food organizations and the resistance of the village profiteering elements, all resulted in the winter of 1918-1919 being one of the most difficult for the proletariat. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Workers' Food Detachments, there was no bread as the villages which were in the grip of the profiteering peasantry refused to supply corn to the town. The hard facts of life suggested to the proletariat the idea of procuring bread by its own means and efforts. In the spring of 1919 we witnessed the beginning of the allotment system, under which factory workers were supplied with land by the aid of the Soviet authorities, and which gave a stimulus to the development of agriculture in town, suburb, and country districts. Towards the spring of 1920 collective land farming by the proletariat became very extensive. In the province of Moscow alone we already have 126 such farms, the total arable area of which amounts to 24,093½ dessiatins. It should be kept in mind that the peasantry is responsible for the cultivation of only 11 per cent of the arable area of the province, so that the proletariat holds the maximum of arable land in the province. Thus it may be said that the gains in this sphere have been most considerable for so short a period. Another fact worthy of notice is that these gains are the more solid for the reason that the methods employed by the factory workers are different from those employed by the ordinary growers of agricultural produce, that is to say, by the peasantry. The peasantry ordinarily are conservative, sticking to old methods of cultivation. The working class, on the other hand, manifests itself here as elsewhere, as the leading class, the bearer of civilization. As a consequence of this, the proletarian farms are better cultivated than the regular peasant farms. The proletarian farms are the harbingers of new principles in agriculture; they are becoming the models and schools for the average masses of the peasantry. This statement can be supported by a number of facts; we witness neglected sites, flooded meadows, and unarable land, to the great surprise of the peasantry, turn into gardens and verdant pastures by means of tractors, irrigation, and the perseverance of the proletariat. This new activity of the proletariat has the additional advantage in this that it is not the main body of the workers, who are engaged in this work, but invalids, women, etc., who are thus given an opportunity to restore their health. Another reason why the entire country is interested in the development of these farms is the fact that they are the means of bringing about a close contact between the proletariat and the peasantry, in which the former brings its healthy political, educational, and general influence to bear upon the latter. All these considerations impell the Supreme Council of Public Economy to take measures in order that this new activity of the proletariat is given every opportunity to live to develop in a direction undoubtedly useful for the Republic.

PEAT IN RUSSIA

The number of people engaged in the peat trade in 1919 was 57,910. The total amount of peat produced was 67,000,000 poods, which comes to 1,155 poods during the season or 33 poods a day for each worker.

The peat workers, in view of the difficult conditions of the work, receive higher rations than any other workers in the republic. The results obtained are 350 poods of peat for each pood of food rationed to the workers.

At the present moment we witness a complete revolution in Russian peat cutting introduced by the new invention of the engineers Classon and Kirpichnikov, the result of several years of experiment with the hydraulic method of procuring peat.

The method consists in turning a strong current of water upon the peat turning into a paste. A special suction pump is then used which diffuses the paste through pipes over the drying ground in a layer about three inches thick. Before this mass has dried completely it is traversed by a specially adapted car with two wheels each about two yards in diameter with rims fitted with briquette-shaping moulds. A special method is used for the final drying of the peat. It must be mentioned, however, that attempts are being made to invent a method of mechanical drying, by extracting all the moisture from the peat by pressure.

The present method of sun-drying, as used by the engineers Classon and Kirpichnikov, affects a saving of eight to ten times the ordinary amount of labor. The general methods of procuring and drying peat are steadily improving.

As the question of the electrification of Russia has been favorably settled by the All-Russian Central Committee, it may be expected that the hydraulic method will make it possible to run a number of electric power stations upon local peat fuel.

The inventions made by the engineers Classon and Kirpichnikov will eventually put the Russian peat production on a higher level than elsewhere.

In addition to Classon and Kirpichnikov there are a number of other talented engineers, such as Misner, working in different directions on the improvement of the process of producing peat.

"All citizens able to work have the right to employment at their vocations. . . ."

Section 10, Article II, of the Code of Labor Laws of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

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ADDRESS

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M. I. Kalinin, Russia's First Worker



MICHAEL IVANOVICH KALININ has occupied the position of Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the highest body in Soviet Russia, since the death of Sverdlov in March, 1918. Kalinin's career may be considered as typical in the revolutionary workers' movement of Russia. Born in 1875, he entered the Social Democratic Party in 1898, at the time of its secret founding. There then began for him persecutions on the part of the Russian police. A speaker in the session of the Central Executive Committee pointed out, when Kalinin was elected to his post, that he had been arrested twenty times in his life. Kalinin has been in prison on countless occasions, was banished to Siberia and other places, lived in Petrograd illegally, i.e., without proper papers. In this period of persecution he would return again and again to his little peasant home in the country, taking up his farm work. As an industrial laborer Kalinin was also employed, among other things, as a lathe worker in the Putilov Works.

He is one of the best representatives of the class conscious workers of Russia. Since earliest youth, he has acquired considerable knowledge, particularly in the field of sociology, by a very versatile reading. Kalinin was for many years one of the most active members of the Bolshevik Party.

Kalinin does not like to speak of himself. *Pravda* in an interview with him reports, among other things:

"I consider my appointment as Chairman of the Central Executive Committee as symbolic. I am a peasant and a worker at the same time. I incorporate as it were the union of city and country. I worked on agriculture, and will continue to work on it as far as my time allows . . . I stand between the medium peasant and the poor peasant. My farm is small but well worked. I am used to country life; I know the peasant psychology very well. I know that the peasant must love the Soviet Government. Just because I am a peasant I am taking part in the Revolution and serve the Soviet Government. From the standpoint of his agricultural interests the medium peasant must support the Soviet Government."

On April 26, 1920, Kalinin began his tour of Russia. His trip took him through all of Soviet Russia, along the following route: the Urals, Kursk, Voronezh, Lisky, Novokhopersk, Balashov, Penza, Inza, Ryazan, Zhitomir, Kiev, Yelizavetgrad, Odessa, Kherson, and to the Crimean Peninsula. The real object of this trip was to become acquainted with the country population, as well as with the country and its needs. Aside from this, however, Kalinin imparted to his journey a propagandist and educational character. He took a whole stock of books with him, a moving picture machine, a theater, exhibitions, a museum, etc. Wherever he came, he would begin to converse with the peasants, asking to know their wishes, their grievances, etc. Later he undertook several other journeys of this character.

Everywhere the peasants handed him petitions and grievances which were immediately considered and in most cases quickly adjusted. In the cities he summoned meetings of the delegates to the local Executive Committees, in which he would himself participate.

At several places, Simbirsk, Samara, Penza, Tula, etc., Kalinin obtained first hand knowledge of the work of the local Soviet organs, and wherever irregularities appeared, he had the guilty haled before the People's Tribunal. The masses of workers and peasants gathered around the representative of the Republic with enthusiasm.

Kalinin's speeches were free from all foreign expressions and were understood by all. The workers immediately grasped that this man, both in origin and in career, is fitted for his present post of honor. The impression made by his speeches is always overpowering. A selection of these has just appeared in Moscow in two volumes.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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

FEARS are felt in Allied quarters lest concentrations of Soviet troops, alleged in the daily newspapers to be in progress along the borders of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, may within three months result in the incorporation of those nations with Soviet Russia. This is the interesting conjecture of Mr. Walter Duranty, in a Paris cable of December 25, which appeared in the *New York Times* on the following day. We always have our suspicions of the motives underlying such predictions. As we pointed out when similar predictions were made with regard to Poland a year ago—and the later developments have fully borne out our suspicions—declarations that Soviet troops are about to attack any of the new creations of Allied diplomacy almost invariably are a smoke-screen behind which these little states are being prepared for a savage onslaught against Soviet Russia; but Soviet Russia is to be made to appear the aggressor. It is not impossible that such an attempt by the Allies may bring about the condition, apparently deplored by Mr. Duranty, where “the Soviet Federation will include Reval, Riga, and Kovno, with the Baltic Sea once more the western boundary of Russia,” for the troops of the Red Army have the habit of advancing where it is intended by the enemy to throw them back. Mr. Duranty’s “well-informed authority”, who remains, as they always do, anonymous, declares that “such events would raise serious problems not only for France and Great Britain, but also for the United States.”

And then Mr. Duranty reviews the pretty little scheme, now so old and well-known, by which Great Britain was to win control over “Russia’s western windows.” It will be remembered that these little states were really the creation of England, which hoped, by keeping them “independent”, to use them in order to secure to England an unrivaled position toward Russia, both in the spheres of political influence and trade. Monopoly rights for England over the principal industries of the three states (timber and flax) had been preempted in definite financial and economic agreements with those states, “which would have stabilized them financially.” The Esthonian and Latvian governments were expecting to ratify these agreements, through action of their Parliaments, by January 1, 1920, but, according to Mr. Duranty’s delicate insinuation, so

typical of the irresponsible manner in which such news is spread by the press, “this, however, was afterward refused largely, it is said, owing to the secret influence of Soviet gold.” As a matter of fact, the commercial agreements with England were rejected by Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania because they included conditions of military aid to England in maintaining counter-revolutionary armies on the Russian border (the case of Yudenich, England’s direct tool, cannot be forgotten), and the three states were already beginning to view more favorably the genuine commercial, non-military and non-political propositions that were being made by Soviet Russia, which became the power with whom each of them actually concluded a treaty, instead of England. And to stabilize their finances, the Soviet Government did pay them gold, as the treaties, which our readers have had before them, duly provided.

Mr. Duranty points out the interesting circumstance that the United States Government had always declined to recognize the sovereignty of these border-states, and repeats that this refusal was always based on the conviction that the regions formerly comprising Russia must still be considered as portions of Russia. He does not fail to suggest, by implication, that the opposite policy of Great Britain, namely that of encouraging the separate establishments in the Baltic region, was due to a desire to develop the new countries colonially and through them to exploit Soviet Russia. England has carried out her policy, we may add, to the extent of recognizing and trading with the small states. The United States, which is about to send home the representative of Soviet Russia, does not seem to mean to do anything to support that Russia—Soviet Russia—which alone can organize and maintain a united country.

* * *

THE only interest Mr. Duranty concedes to the United States Government in the possible absorption of the Baltic States by Soviet Russia, is a desire to prevent Red Cross supplies from being used in the service of the people of Soviet Russia, a consummation in which he strangely suggests the American Red Cross would aid by continuing to remain at its post, even though the little States be occupied by Soviet troops. Here are Mr. Duranty’s words on this subject:

“The problem that would confront America as a result of Bolshevism of the Baltic States is less political than in the case of France or Britain. The American Red Cross and Children’s Relief Associations have got big organizations in the Baltic area, where upwards of one hundred Americans are engaged in fighting disease, feeding children, housing the homeless, clothing the destitute and generally succoring the impoverished and devitalized population. Not only are there large stocks of Red Cross and Relief Association goods in the Baltic area which it is impossible to remove quickly, but I know that a great majority of Americans engaged in the work would decline to abandon it under the threat of a Bolshevik upheaval. If the Baltic States ‘go Red’ it will happen at a moment’s notice, and the result would be the same as if American organizations concerned were now working in Soviet Russia proper, a practice to which both the State Department and the Bolshevik leaders hitherto have been opposed.”

Again we must point out that there is no danger of the American Red Cross Society's giving any aid to Soviet Russia. No doubt the American Red Cross is "fighting disease, feeding children, housing the homeless, clothing the destitute and generally succoring the impoverished and devitalized population"—outside of Soviet Russia, and even in the former Russian border provinces. But anyone who recalls the attitude of the organization in Russia proper will have no fears of their rendering excessive assistance in the improbable, if unprovoked, event of a Soviet Russian occupation of Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia. If nothing else should intervene, providential fires might descend to destroy the "large stocks of Red Cross and Relief Association goods in the Baltic area, which it is impossible to remove quickly." Such a fire, it will be remembered, came just in the nick of time to prevent similar supplies in the Crimea from falling into the hands of the advancing Red Army.

As for the suggestion that "both the State Department and the Bolshevik leaders have hitherto been opposed" to relief work by American organizations, the first half is, we regret to say, probably true; those who read the statements quoted by us, in our issue of Christmas Day (December 25), from Mr. Allen Wardwell, will no doubt have the impression that it was the United States Department of State that ordered Mr. Wardwell's organization from Russia. We know it was not the Soviet Government who ordered them out, and Mr. Wardwell knows it and says it, all Mr. Duranty's assurances to the contrary notwithstanding. By the way, why does not some newspaper man question Mr. Wardwell on this subject? The information he would receive would be final.

* * *

FRANCE, says Mr. Duranty, also has reason to view with concern a possible Bolshevization of the Baltic area, and for two reasons: "the menace to France's ally, Poland, who would be militarily outflanked by the extension of the Soviet boundaries in the northwest, and again faced with war or submission to the Bolsheviks as a result of the Red support of the Lithuanian claim to Vilna. Secondly, the destruction of the barrier between Russia and Germany." Again in Mr. Duranty's words:

"Ever since the armistice the French have done their utmost to prevent a common frontier between Germany and Soviet Russia. They are haunted by the dread of a combination of German efficiency and Russian millions." Thus the game of Allied diplomacy goes on. Mr. Duranty suggests that the Soviets may intervene in the Baltic States, and then openly states that both France and England have been doing nothing else since the armistice and, we may add, since before the armistice. Should regions be added to Soviet Russia that would really be of value to Soviet Russia industrially—Mr. O. Preedin will point out the value of the industries of Latvia to Soviet Russia in an article, "The Decline of Latvia", in our next issue—a great misfortune would have occurred, which must be prevented at all hazards.

And should these colonial protectorates be lost to England, or should Poland lose her buffer-states, the Allies would also consider that the whole world had suffered. But should Soviet Russia and Germany have a mutual boundary, or should anything else occur that would make trade and communications easy between these countries that need each other so much, the discomfort of French statesmen would become great indeed, for one of the world's greatest economic problems would then be solved. Evidently the desire of the Allied statesmen is not to see the world's economic problems solved, but to maintain the present state of unstable equilibrium which seems to be the only condition on which they can continue their existence.

Altogether, it is a benevolent company that Mr. Duranty portrays when he reviews the interest shown by the various powers in the welfare of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland.

* * *

ON DECEMBER 1 a mass meeting was held in Christiania, to protest against recruiting and sending one hundred Norwegian soldiers to Vilna, there to serve as a police guard during the taking of the plebiscite. And the very next day, the Norwegian Storting, the legislative body of the country, passed the motion to send the one hundred soldiers, with only eighteen wilful votes of dissent. For all we know, the soldiers may be already in Vilna, or elsewhere, and the Allies will not have much difficulty in pretending that they have been attacked by Soviet troops, and thus in launching a new international war against Soviet Russia. As the Norwegians must now be saying who protested against the sending of Norwegian troops: *vox populi vox dei*.

But, although the protest apparently failed to impress the Storting, it was nevertheless a big protest; the following is the text of the resolution passed at the December 1 meeting by Norwegian workers, and the fact that the text as issued is followed by the signatures of the official organs of the Norwegian Workers' Party shows that the party officially endorses the protest:

"In connection with the demand to send troops to Vilna, the meeting calls upon the Secretariat of the National Organization of Workers' Trade Unions and on the Central Executive Committee of the Norwegian Workers' Party to declare a boycott of any such sending of Norwegian troops. Participation in the imperialistic guard at Vilna will be an open breach of neutrality and may lead our country into a destructive and devastating struggle with a friendly neighbor.

"Such a crime against our people must be prevented by every means at our disposal. Everyone who complies with an order to report, or who voluntarily enlists for this lackey's service to the League of Nations, should therefore be branded and treated as a strikebreaker."

The official addition to the protest is the following, with the signatures of three men well known in the Norwegian workers' movement:

"The Storting, in its session of December 1, decided to agree to the sending of one hundred men to Vilna. Our approved policy of neutrality is thus broken. The consequences of the Storting's decision may involve us in the greatest complications and disasters.

"It is every man's duty to prevent so frivolous and irresponsible a policy of adventure. The principal organizations of the workers are therefore declaring herewith that the expression of the great protest meeting at Christiania has its unconditional approval.

"Not a single decent man for the imperialistic guard duty at Vilna! Make the boycott effective! And treat eventual breakers of this boycott just as you would treat regular strike-breakers!"

*Central Executive Committee of the
Norwegian Workers' Party,*

KYRRE GREPP,
MARTIN TRANMAEL.

*Secretariat of the National Organization
of Workers' Trade Unions,*
OLE O. LIAN.

NEW NOTE TO GREAT BRITAIN

Telegram received by Mr. Krassin addressed to Lord Curzon of Kedleston, from Chicherin, dated December 4.

December 7, 1920.

The Russian Government having, through Mr. Krassin, received the Draft Trade Agreement of the British Government, wishes to point out that the fundamental political principles dealt with in the above draft have already been agreed upon by both parties as laid down in the British Memorandum of June 30 and in the Russian Note of July 7. This refers both to the question of mutual refraining from hostile action and official propaganda and that of the compensation to private citizens who had supplied goods or services to Soviet Russia. It had further been agreed that on the acceptance of these principles as a basis of the subsequent political agreement, all further details and the elaboration of the political agreement would be referred to the pending conference of delegates and experts properly nominated by both governments. The British Government in its Memorandum describes the condition that would be created between the two governments by the adoption of these principles as an armistice preceding the conclusion of peace. In its answer of July 7 the Russian Government emphasized with no less clearness that it adopts the proposed principles as the basis of an agreement which would be the object of negotiations subsequently to be conducted between the two governments. The Russian Government on its part sent for this purpose a plenipotentiary delegation to London, but unfortunately the British Government, by forcibly eliminating one member of the delegation after another, has been deliberately avoiding for five months any discussion and thus postponing the carrying into effect of the agreement.

The Russian Government is therefore not a little surprised to find in the draft now presented to it the principles agreed upon altered and particularized in such a way as to suggest a considerable amplification and extension of the engagements of one party only, namely, of Russia. It can be well understood that the British Government have been temporizing in coming to a final agreement with the Russian Government in the hope that the war of Poland and the mutiny of Wrangel might go against Soviet Russia and thus make the latter amenable to harsher terms than those accepted in July, when the fortunes of the war seemed to the misinformed outside world to be in the balance. But now that the conflict with Poland is obviously nearing a peaceful solution, that the last organized forces of the counter revolution have been utterly crushed, that peace with Finland has been concluded and ratified and that the popularity of Soviet Russia is growing from day to day both in the west and more particularly in the East, one fails to see on what expectations the British Government bases its attempts to impose upon the Russian Republic new obligations as to which no discussion had taken place and no consent had been obtained from it. Although in spite of its repeated friendly and peaceful assurances the British Government, during the interval in the negotiations, has on many occasions been a party to acts injurious and detrimental to the interests of Russia, as, for instance, in the case of Bessarabia and of Danzig, the Russian Government, true to its peaceful in-

tentions, declares its readiness to abide by the basis of the agreement of June and July, but much as it would like to see trade with Britain renewed, it is not prepared to go beyond that agreement or to alter herein a single point without properly conducted political negotiations at which both parties could formulate their understanding in the main principles and meet each other's desires by way of mutual concessions as laid down once more by the Russian Government in its Note of November 9. In that Note the Russian Government expressed once more the view that the Trade Agreement between Great Britain and Russia will have to be accompanied or followed by negotiations of a political nature in London or some neutral city selected by mutual consent. As to mutual abstentions from hostile actions and propaganda and recognition of claims of British citizens for goods delivered and services rendered to Soviet Russia, it is quite ready to mention in the Trade Agreement the simultaneous adoptions of the principles as worded in the exchange of Notes of June 30 and July 7 as of the basis of a subsequent elaborate agreement which must be the object of a political conference between Russia and Great Britain. The engagements which Russia will enter upon towards Great Britain in every particular political question referred to in this respect will be discussed and negotiated at this conference, paralleled with engagements which Great Britain will enter upon towards Russia. Such has always been the basis upon which the Russian Government was ready to bind itself as to its action in different parts of the world, in particular in Asia, in its relations towards Great Britain, and it does not see any reason why it should adopt a new attitude in this respect. The preamble of the proposed Draft and Article 8 must therefore be removed and replaced by a simultaneously adopted repetition of the principles laid down in the June and July Notes as of the basis of the pending conference. As to the other articles of the Draft, strictly referring to trade, their final formulation will have to be discussed between the British Government and Mr. Krassin to whom the necessary instructions are forthcoming. The final draft will then have to be forwarded to the Russian Government for examination and adoption.

The negotiations as to the Trade Agreement or immediately after this has been signed and independently from such political conference provided for in June and July Notes will have to be convened in order to settle on the basis of the principles agreed upon all outstanding political questions between Great Britain and Russia.

The Russian Government hopes that the British Government will agree with it as to the expediency of a speedy reply and of a prompt solution of all pending questions and that it will meet the sincere desire of the Russian Government for establishing peaceful and friendly relations to the mutual advantage of both parties.

(Signed) CHICHERIN.

Bound Volumes for 1920

Volume II, of which a number of copies, splendidly bound, are still to be obtained by persons desiring them, is sold at five dollars. Check or money order should accompany order. Volume I (June-December, 1919) is sold out and will not be reprinted. Volume III will be bound, with title-page and index, as soon as the issues have all appeared (January 1, 1921). Readers may place orders now for Volume III, and should send the cost of the volume—five dollars—with their orders.

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 W. 40th St. Room 304 New York, N. Y.

An Evening Spent with Counter-Revolutionists

By PIERRE PASCAL

A GROUP of former financiers, bank directors, big industrials, merchants, promoters of mining enterprises, imperial senators, councillors of state, state prosecutors, rich engineers, academicians, recently formed at Petrograd a "League of Intellectual Workers", and published a declaration condemning all foreign intervention, demanding the lifting of the physical and moral blockade, loudly proclaiming the right of the revolutionary inhabitants of Russia to find for themselves a political and social regime according to their desires, and finally, inviting all the liberal classes to collaborate honestly with the system in power in order to re-establish the economic prosperity of the country.

What can be more significant than such a manifesto, no longer proceeding from the semi-proletariat, or from the intellectual *petite bourgeoisie*, but from a veritable privileged aristocracy, which the Soviet Government has deprived of its titles, of its property, and of the very sources of its revenue!

My counter-revolutionists are simply intellectuals of mature age, who have been placed by their studies, their habits, in a material incapacity—truly abnormal and I believe incurable—to understand the new world that is being born before their eyes.

Small as is this number of Russians, it is interesting to note what they think, because they include precisely the men on whose blindness it is hoped to depend in directing the Russian policy after an overthrow of the Bolsheviks. They are the brothers of the emigres in Paris and London. But having been at a better school than the latter, they have in spite of everything learned something in the revolutionary torments, and their development deserves some study.

They are quite incapable of overthrowing the Soviet regime, and furthermore, it is long since that they have believed in such a thing themselves. But if, by any such cataclysm as is now becoming more and more impossible, the Soviet Government should be overthrown, they would immediately attain an enormous influence. In fact, all the Socialist parties being now either absolutely discredited or more or less absorbed by Communism, there is no longer any middle ground possible between the latter and the Cadet-Monarchist reaction which the counter-revolution would automatically put into power. We must add that the Soviet Government, knowing these men and understanding their opinions, is so conscious of its strength, rooted in the will of the masses of the people, that it will give them the most complete liberty and even presses its magnanimity to the point of assuring their material subsistence.

These honorary counter-revolutionists, if I may term them thus, are filling all the non-compromising posts of keepers of archives, librarians, custodians of museums, or draw large royalties as authors of works which have not yet been produced.

I shall perhaps speak again on the liberality with which the "State Publishing House" subsidizes every kind of independent organization of literary men, poets, artists, or publicists.

The other day I went to see a noted counter-revolutionist who receives about a score of his ilk every Thursday evening.

The never-ending subject of Russian intellectuals was under discussion: Slavophilism, or Occidentalism, Rome or Byzantium, Moscow or St. Petersburg. Insoluble and therefore inexhaustible antithesis; source of ingenious constructions both infinite and futile, exploited for eighty years by hundreds of writers and dillitantists.

The revolution has served to rejuvenate this time-worn theme, for it is possible now to make attempts to find in Bolshevism elements originating from one pole or the other of these antithesis. In the company in question there were represented rather varied nuances. The speaker was an Old Believer, representing a dissident church whose influence is by no means negligible since it counts about 20,000,000 faithful and fanatical adherents. By his side was a dyed-in-the-wool Cadet politician, not to mention financial economists, writers, bourgeois well-known in Russia, and besides, younger men, well informed on economic and social problems, and eager to play a political role in a society to their taste. There was even a Menshevik, Cherevanin, as I learned when he began to speak, for I should never have suspected that this man in a black coat, reclining in an armchair, with a bored and tired expression, having every mark of the banker, or, as is said in Russia, the man of affairs, should belong to the Social-Democratic Party of the Workers. The master of the house, Berdyaiev, is one of the most original philosophers and thinkers of the old Russia. The speaker points out that the Bolshevik revolution is in accord with the Russian tradition; he quotes Dostoyevsky, Gogol, and some monarchist theorist, Durnovo, but particularly Leontiev, with his prophecy according to which it would not be Europe that would carry the Revolution but Russia that would carry Communism to the Occident.

It is clear to me that in spite of all, these Russian intellectuals, irreconcilable enemies of Bolshevism, are pleased with the idea that thanks to the latter Russia is finally playing a part in the revolution of humanity.

I shall not record the long discussions that took place during these three hours or more. I shall simply outline the inferences I have drawn from them for myself.

1. All the bourgeois thinkers and politicians who are of the Cadet shade now admit this: Bolshevism, the Soviet power, is an essential and fundamental force, with an incalculable scope, destined to evolve, but certainly to endure during its evolution, because it corresponds to a series of economic

and moral requirements. We are already far from the old theory of the *coup de force*, which says that a small band of people with no support in the country has seized the power. This idea is now completely discredited, even in the *milieu* I am describing.

2. Bolshevism is not only Russian. It is universal human phenomena affecting the entire world. The profound revolution which we are witnessing is not only political or even social, it is overturning the juridic, moral, and philosophical conception, undermining all values. The *leitmotif* again recurring is that of "irreparable bankruptcy", collapse of "bourgeois culture". It is an irresistible and predestined movement. It is making an epic in the most literal sense of the word, in the history of the world, as did Christianity, the Reformation, and the French Revolution. We are far from the alleged state of "Asiatic" socialism. There is no longer a question, says Berdyaiev, of Rome or Byzantium, but of the new world, a new type of civilization, infinitely exceeding all the ancient categories, embracing and uniting at once the Orient and the Occident and the entire world. Thus the Russian counter-revolutionists are closer to the truth than many social democrats of Germany and elsewhere.

3. In Russia, under the form of the Soviet power, Communism represents national unity, national integrity, the material dignity and interest of the country, defending itself against all the aggressions of Germany, Poland, England, or France as well as Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenich, and the others who have lacerated Russia in order to sell it retail to foreigners. The Soviet power is truly the only Russian Government. It is not by accident that Lenin's seat is in the Kremlin, the heart of Russia.

4. Finally, Bolshevism itself may be as hateful as you like but it has at least one good side, one profound truth, it is destroying the democratic superstition.

Evidently the Menshevik Cherevanin is not of this opinion; for belonging to the extreme right of his party he still believes in a pure democracy.

But I have had the pleasure of all these typical Cadets, now disillusioned, hurl themselves with raised arms against parliamentarism, against the separation of powers, against the English constitution, of which they were once so enamored.

What folly, they say, to think that you can impose upon the Russian people, or any other people, abstract forms made to order, which may not suit it. The Soviet power is in the right, in affirming the right of the Russian people to create by experience a government and a social system that may be suitable to it. Bolshevism has also the right in belittling the liberal illusions that have never been other than harmful deceptions. It seemed to me I was hearing the sentences of "State and Revolution" by Lenin, so striking was the coincidence. In truth, parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy have become quite impossible in Russia. The Cadets themselves don't want them. These are the inferences that I have drawn from my visit, the opinions expressed with various shades, but nevertheless show-

ing a remarkable identity at bottom by the typical representatives of the various tendencies of the intellectual counter-revolutionary world.

But I must also note in passing an opinion that struck me by reason of the unanimous sympathy with which it met. Russia was wrong to ally herself with the Entente against Germany in the last war, for the Entente represents precisely the parliamentarism and liberal fiction, and, in general, the interests of Russia are much closer to those of Germany than to those of the Entente.

The outcome has well proved the error of the Ententophile policy since Russia has been put by the Allies by the side of Germany among the vanquished of the war.

I repeat that this opinion is not that of ultramonarchism nor of the old German party which once existed in the Court, but of Russian patriots rallying around the Constitutional Democracy signpost, the opinion of former participants in the Ententophile policy of the Duma, of even those on whom the Entente governments were counting.

An immense transformation has taken place in all minds. I had already heard some echoes of this new Germanophile tendencies spreading in anti-Soviet quarters, but I should never have considered them to be so full grown. While listening to these gentlemen state their ideas and reasoning without end on the world role of Bolshevism, on the philosophy of history, and the destiny of Russia, I could not help thinking of those hundreds of thousands, of those millions of peasants, workers and soldiers, who are themselves creating with their blood, with their sweat, and with their labor a new society.

These intellectuals, shiny with well-being, are tossing futile repartee about the steaming samovar, in a comfortable parlor. They have learned a little but they will never altogether understand Communism, because they do not want to live it. Their generation is doomed by history. In their presence a whole people of workers has risen in a heroic effort of energy and endurance against cold, hunger, and savage nature, to snatch from almost superhuman opposition the first accomplishments of the future world. Vanity, on one side; fruitful heroism on the other.

Soviet Russia

will continue publication; we make this statement in answer to several inquiries on the subject. Continue to send us lists of your friends who might appreciate sample copies. Subscription remittances should be made payable to L. C. Martens.

"SOVIET RUSSIA"

Room 304

110 West 40th St.

New York, N. Y.

Poles and Cossacks in Grodno

By M. GLEBOVICH

[The following interesting articles showing the change in the Russian Cossack under Soviet rule is taken from a recent issue of the Jewish "Forward."]

HOW times have changed! Not long ago the word "Cossack" was used to frighten children in their cradles. "The Cossacks are coming. The Cossacks are coming!"—these words filled the hearts of men with fear. The Cossack was the embodiment of carnage and murder.

But the Bolsheviks have made an altogether different man of the Cossack. In the Soviet army the Cossack has become a fighter for freedom and a defender of the Russian Revolution.

Mr. Albert Douglas, an American citizen whom the United Grodno Relief Committee sent as its representative to Grodno, tells that when he arrived there, at the time of the Bolshevik occupation, he could hardly believe his own eyes, at least in what he saw of the Kuban Cossacks.

He talked with them of world politics, about the relation of the English, American, and French governments to Soviet Russia, and they showed both knowledge and understanding in all these matters.

They behaved so well to the Jews of the city that one could not wish for anything better. They did not touch, hurt, or insult a single human being.

"When they entered Grodno in July, under the leadership of Commander Gow," says Mr. Douglas, "I was in the street because it interested me to see what the Cossacks of the Red Army looked like. I saw a group of them gathered on a street corner, approached them, and distributed some cigarettes among them. Not a man took more than one cigarette, and those who were not smokers, excused themselves, saying, 'You can give it to this comrade. I do not smoke.'"

Later they talked to him about Russia's foreign relations and about the purpose of the Soviet army in its attack on Poland.

Mr. Douglas tells marvelously interesting things about Commander Gow. He describes him as a man with an iron fist and a heart of gold. He tells the following characteristic anecdote:

Once I met a soldier of the Red Army in the street who ordered me to come with him. It was dangerous not to obey, so I went. The soldier led me into an enclosed yard and began to go through my pockets. He found a gold watch.

"Are you robbing me, comrade?" I asked him.

"Don't speak," the soldier returned, and went away. I followed him. I met a Cossack on the way and told him that the soldier had taken my watch. The Cossack gnashed his teeth in rage. "So. He robbed you?"

The Cossack captured the soldier and led him to Commander Gow, who passed just at that time on horseback.

Gow himself a young man between twenty-eight and thirty, with long black mustaches and with the

usual Cossack fur hat on his head, measured the soldier from head to foot, and cried out angrily: "Give him his watch."

"I didn't take any watch."

"You have taken it. Give it back."

"I have not taken it."

Gow began to swear and gnash his teeth, and suddenly drawing his revolver he shot into the air.

The soldier was frightened. He became very pale—and returned my watch.

"Don't dare to smirch the name of the Red Army," Gow shouted.

It was later discovered that the soldier in the case was an ex-member of Petlura's army.

Although Gow is very severe, the Cossacks love him. He treats them like comrades, and many of them call him "thou".

The following story told by Mr. Douglas shows how different the Cossacks of the Red Army are from those old Cossacks who were the fear of all Russia:

When the Poles retreated from the Grodno suburbs they committed terrible atrocities against the Jews. Four Jews—Hirsch Alexandrovich, Nathan Yonkovsky, Abraham Eberpik, and Nahum Starovliansky were later found mangled and disfigured on the road. Their tongues were cut out and all the bones in their bodies were broken. They were put in a wagon and taken to the Jewish cemetery in Grodno.

Just as they were being taken through the city a mass-meeting of the Cossacks was in progress. The speaker ordered the wagon to stop. All the Cossacks bared their heads, and when the speaker began to describe the Polish atrocities in Jewish towns and villages all the Cossacks and the other soldiers of the Red Army wept.

The military band played the funeral march and the four Jewish martyrs were conducted in state to their eternal rest.

The soldiers of the Red Army love Trotsky to an extent hardly believable. His speeches put the spark to the flame of enthusiasm in the hearts of the soldiers. Although they wear ragged clothes, though they endure much suffering, their lives and souls are dedicated to the Revolution.

Here is an example of it. On one of the corners in Grodno Mr. Douglas saw a barefoot soldier.

"How far is it to Warsaw?" asked the soldier.

"Quite a distance," answered Mr. Douglas, and pointing to the soldier's feet, added, "You are barefoot."

"That does not matter. It is warm. The sun is hot, and it is easier to walk without shoes."

"But what will happen in the winter?"

"I'm not worrying much about the winter," answered the soldier. "Comrade Trotsky is making boots for all of us."

England Must Trade with Russia

By G. D. H. COLE

(Hon. Secretary Labor Research Department, London.)

From the point of view of the whole world it is absolutely necessary that the productive power of Russia should be restored and its resources made available for the peoples of the west. This is so not only, or even so much, because the industrial products and raw materials of Russia are needed by us and by all Europe, as because the revival and increase of agricultural production is essential if the world is to be preserved from the danger of famine.

Russia includes some of the richest corn-growing lands in the world. Her methods of agriculture have always been primitive, and at the present time they are becoming more and more primitive every day because the implements needed for scientific agriculture simply are not available. Russia is doing her best to procure tractors and other agricultural implements from abroad, and to manufacture them herself so far as her depleted resources will allow. The Soviet Government has shown its keen anxiety to do everything possible to help and encourage the peasants to improve their agricultural methods; and there are plenty of signs that the few implements which are available are being eagerly received and utilized up to their fullest capacity by the peasants. But the possibility of a real scientific organization of agriculture depends on the reopening of trade.

This is, of course, only one among many reasons why we should trade with Russia, but it is a very cogent reason, and one of which it is easy to miss the importance. Contact with the outside world will make it possible for the Bolsheviks immensely to develop Russia's agricultural resources and to increase the production of all sorts of food-stuffs of which the world stands sorely in need. For a long while past the more far-sighted economists have been watching with dismay the failure of the world's agricultural production and development to keep pace with the growing needs of the population. They have realized that, even apart from the war, we might at any time have been menaced by a failure of the world to produce sufficient crops to sustain its population. They have seen the grain growing lands of the world gradually occupied, and they have asked with dismay whence the next great necessary expansion of the world's agricultural output was to come.

The vast territories of Russia can, if we will, provide us with the answer to that question. Not only can we, by opening trade with Russia, hope to bring fresh lands under cultivation; we can also immensely expand the productivity of the lands which are already being inadequately cultivated. Moreover, in doing this, so far from harming ourselves, we shall be providing necessary employment for our own people, not only on the manufacture of agricultural machinery and implements, but also

in satisfying the countless other needs which the population of Russia will be able to convert into effective economic demands as soon as the restoration of Russian agriculture and industry is made possible by the removal of the political and economic blockade.

We are now supposed to be on the eve of reaching a trade agreement with the Russian Soviet Government. We have seen too many "eves of peace" not to be sceptical on the present occasion. We knew how easily a crisis can be manufactured at the eleventh hour, and a new excuse made for the breaking off of relations. British labor must determine that no manufactured crisis shall be allowed on the present occasion to interfere with the completion of the trade agreement. It must insure that no attempt is made to impose upon the Soviet Government at the last moment fresh demands which will make agreement impossible. It must see to it that no "minor drafting amendment" is inserted in the agreement by the British Government, in such a way that in it may be concealed a vital point of principle.

In the interests not only of our own unemployed, not only of the proletariat of Britain and of Russia, but of the whole world and all its peoples, labor must insist that on this occasion there shall be no hitch, and that the agreement shall be not only signed but promptly made the basis for an actual resumption of trade relations.

I pointed out above that the engineer who wants at the same time to secure employment for the engineering industry and to strike a blow for the world's workers must concentrate all his energy on securing the resumption of effective trade relations with Russia. But this is not a matter for the engineer alone.

While the most obvious of Russia's economic needs is the need for rolling stock, machinery, and implements of production generally, because upon these the possibility of a restoration of Russian industry depends, there are many other cases of workers who are vitally concerned in this restoration and in furthering the steps which are necessary to bring it about.

Today the need of Russia is above all for things that the consumer can actually use—for boots and clothing, textile goods, drugs, and all manner of necessities of a reasonable civilized life.

The Russians are doing their best to make these things for themselves; but their resources are pitifully inadequate to the task of clothing the Russian people and of supplying them with the requisites of human health and comfort. A restoration of Russia's productive power would at once generate an immense demand—an economic as well as a human demand—for all manner of products which British workers in the textile, clothing, boot and

shoe, and many other industries are well able to make.

At present, factory workers in this country are being told to expect a period of industrial depression. We have passed, we are told, the period of artificial prosperity which immediately followed the conclusion of the war. We must look forward to a time of increasing unemployment, which the government and the employers alike profess themselves to be powerless to prevent. But are they really powerless? Is it not the case that, in maintaining the artificial blockade of Soviet Russia and in endeavoring to starve out the Russian Soviet Government, they are deliberately keeping out of employment many thousands of British workers who might be making goods for their Russian comrades?

The obstacles, in fact, to good employment in this country at the present time are far more political than economic. They arise largely from the condition of armed semi-warfare into which Europe has been brought by the Versailles Treaty and the imperialism of the victorious Allied Powers. They are immensely worsened by the determination of the Allied governments that, no matter how many of the workers may be starved in Russia, or deprived of employment and half-starved here, the destruction of the Soviet power—that is, of the power of our fellow-workers in Russia—is the aim

that must be kept principally in mind by Allied statecraft. Our rulers would like us to believe that the growing unemployment is an act of God, or, at least, of some higher power which presides over the operations of capitalism, and with whose august will even Mr. Lloyd George and the Federation of British Industries are powerless to interfere.

The workers know better. The textile workers and the clothing operatives know that there are millions of people inadequately clothed in Russia, and that an artificial barrier has been erected to prevent the supply of goods to these people. The boot and shoe operatives know that there is hardly a sound pair of boots, except, perhaps, in the Red Army, left from one end to another of the Russian Soviet Republic. They know that they are in a position to supply these needs, and that, if they were supplied, Russia would be in a position speedily to give out of her immense resources an ample return. They know that the restoration of Russian industry would be likely to bring with it a fall in prices and an increase in real purchasing power for the workers everywhere.

That is why they mean to have no further nonsense and to insist that the Russian Trade Agreement shall be not only concluded at once on terms satisfactory to the workers of Britain and Russia, but that it shall be fully carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter.

Workingwomen in Soviet Russia

(*Seamstress Nikolayeva*)

By N. N.

It was in the fall of 1919, a few months before the final collapse of Denikin, when labor for the front was the slogan of the day. The workingwomen's sections of the Communist Party recognized in addition to this task only one other task, namely, getting workingwomen to work in the Soviet organs, so that they might learn to take part in the administration of the country and in other ways to keep a watchful proletarian eye on these institutions, in which the former bourgeoisie was also working. In a delegates' meeting at that time, I made the acquaintance of the seamstress Nikolayeva, a quiet, introspective woman, who looked the part of a Communist, of a sensible, thorough person.

"Why will you not work in some Soviet office?" I asked her. "You could be very useful, and may find satisfaction in it also."

"No," said she, "I do not want to leave the shop in which I am working. We have much to do. We are turning out finished clothing, which is sold on certificate. Our shop has been working for many years. It is very large and employs many working girls who are minors. Our first task was to remove the children under fourteen years from the workshop and put them into schools. The young workingwomen between the ages of 14 and 18 were put into a special room and a sort of trade school was there set up for them. Formerly

the young girls were used chiefly as errand girls and were given only such work as it was most in the interest of the proprietress to give them. They were hardly given an opportunity to learn the work of tailoring. Now each one is trained in a special vocation, and soon all of them will be good seamstresses. Their working day is of six hours' duration, according to the decree. And now the workshops in which grownups are working are also introducing new customs. Formerly, you know, we liked all the more to sew a dress when the materials were expensive. It was not a love of beauty that inspired us with these preferences, but merely an abject servility to the bourgeoisie. My working girls were still attached to their old habits.

"We were accustomed to work with silks and chiffons. (Our shop before the November Revolution had produced only expensive clothing.) But now, in our work over cotton and sateen we shall spoil our hands and our taste.

"I had to argue with them much about it, and to attempt to teach them: 'for whom did you seamstresses and garment makers work formerly? For your oppressors and their women who never lifted a finger, but now you are sewing for your sisters, for working women who are working for you in exchange. Show what you can do. Sew beautifully and elegantly with your sateen material. How contented the working woman will feel when she

receives a fine dress in exchange for her certificate."

"They finally agreed with me, and now our work proceeds smoothly. I should like to give them a little more political and mental training, for it would, aside from other things, turn their minds away from their rags, not the rags on which they are working, but the rags which they wear. Unfortunately I have not the time. We work from 9 to 5, but I arrive at 8 and leave at 5.30 or 6, for I must open and lock the shop."

"How about your family?"

"My husband is at the front and I have sent my little four-year-old daughter to the country. As I am very busy, I cannot bring her up in town as I should like to. But in the country she lives under healthy conditions."

Comrade Nikolayeva invited me to her shop, in order to tell me there about the Seventh Congress of Soviets, which had just taken place, and I was glad to take advantage of her invitation. The workshop made an excellent impression in every respect. The working women were more cheerful and more interested than in other places, for the simple reason that there was among them a sensible Communist worker, devoted to her work, whose influence had transformed everything. Nikolayeva

succeeded in training the working women to discipline and order, in awakening interest for the work. She has put into actual life in her workshop the principle of the Soviet Government with regard to the labor of minors; she takes care of the spiritual and moral development of her workingwomen. In a word, imperceptibly, and with no ostentation, she is creating one of the cells of the future Communist society. For the sake of this work she has voluntarily separated herself from her child and lengthened her working day by two hours. In the great Revolution which has cleared the path for every conscientious worker, she has found her own place, and since November, 1917, she has been carrying out the slogan which the Communist Party of Russia did not proclaim till March, 1920, two and one half years later, as a general watchword: "All for the bloodless front!" No other slogan could have turned her aside during this period from the path which she had entered. She remained firm in her decision to stick to her job. She is a real working woman, who loves her shop. She is one of those thousands who, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are accomplishing the great creative work of the masses for the introduction of Communism.

England's Reactionary Policy Revealed

Pravda is publishing documents clearly indicating England's Russian policy and showing it in its true light. The anxiety which the working class is causing the British Government is also made apparent. As these documents are clear enough in themselves, no further comment is needed. A verbatim translation follows:

Copy of a telegram from Russia's Charge d'Affaires, M. Nabokov.

London, No. 496.
Forwarded June 13, 1919.
Omsk.....

Received July 26, 1919.
Confidential.

General Golovin begs Russia's chief executive (Kolchak) to receive the following communication: On June 11, I was called to see the Chief of the Operative Division of the British War Ministry. He spoke to me as follows: "The necessity of relieving the difficult situation on the Siberian front demands an energetic prosecution of the operations against St. Petersburg. Meanwhile, the limited number and the lamentable condition of the Russian troops not only render such action impossible, but also compel us to question the reliability of the troops. On this account, it would be desirable to obtain the help of the Finnish troops in order directly to carry on the operations and capture St. Petersburg. Operations could proceed along a different line. To this end the following conditions should be observed: 1. For the operations against St. Petersburg all Russian military forces are to be collected, which need only to be mobilized. 2. The Russian Commander-in-Chief is Yudenich. 3. The joint direction of operations is to devolve upon the Entente and not upon Finland. 4. If St. Petersburg is captured, Yudenich is to have complete power in the city and in the occupied territory, so that the troops may be grouped as quickly as possible on the new front."

I answered that in view of the immediate situation, I consider it strategically necessary to continue the operations in order to drive the Bolsheviki from the Siberian

front. But since General Yudenich, formerly the chief executive, has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the St. Petersburg front, and as absolute power is in his hands, this plan must be carried out also by the General. I may add further that the difficult question of provisioning the troops is to be dealt with by a special official of the British Mission and the British War Ministry. The provisioning of the St. Petersburg district is to be in the hands of the President of the Allied Provisioning Commission in Paris.

(Signed) NABOKOV.

Diary No. 1. Confidential Correspondence.
First Political Division for M.I.D.
Diary No. 21 (Relative to intervention by the Allies).

Secret telegram from the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Paris, dated July 16, 1919, received July 21, addressed to the Chief of the Foreign Office.

According to a communication received by Nabokov from Churchill, we must, in consequence of the sentiment of English labor, reckon with the possibility that English troops in Russia will be gradually withdrawn beginning with September 1. Aid in munitions, etc., will be continued.

SAZONOV (Foreign Minister in Russia).

A confidential telegram from the Charge d'Affaires in London, dated July 1, 1919, No. 329, addressed to the Foreign Ministry.

Churchill requests that preparations be made for the possible gradual withdrawal of troops from all fronts, beginning in September, and necessitated by the sentiment of English labor. Also that every possible measure be taken to reach a decisive result this year. Meanwhile, he promises to continue furnishing aid without interruption.

(Signed) NABOKOV.

A confidential telegram from General Miller, Archangel, August 18, 1919.

No. 82 a.....

Withdrawal of English troops from the front begins on September 1. The regimental commander declares that later it will be impossible to enforce the obedience of the Russian infantry divisions at the front. Excesses are feared against officers as well as English citizens. The population of Archangel is not untainted by Bolshevism. First Political Division for M.I.D. Diary No. 27.

Relative to Chaikovski's regime, and the North Front.

A confidential telegram from the Chief of the London Legation to the Foreign Minister, dated February 5, 1919, No. 61.

Churchill, who has recently taken over the Foreign Minister's portfolio, told me confidentially that the War Ministry would continue to furnish with war material the English army in Russia and the Russian military forces fighting Bolshevism. "I shall continue to furnish such aid," he said, "until I receive absolute orders to discontinue it." But no such order has hitherto been issued. It will depend upon the solution of the general question of the Paris conference's Russian policy.

In my opinion the important thing here will be the attitude of the new Parliament and, further, the development in England of the growing strike movement.

(Signed) NABOKOV.

First Political Division for M.I.D.

Diary No. 21.

Relative to intervention by the Allies.

RUSSIA AND REALITY

Some of our political commentators seem to lose touch with reality as soon as they have to deal with Russia, although our two years' experience should have taught us to be at last realists and severely practical. No sooner is Wrangel overthrown than those who have supported the French policy of "unceasing war" on the Russian borders seek to show both that the Soviet Government is now so powerful that it will menace the West and that it is so weak that it may yet be seriously injured by Wrangel's successor to the mantle of White Russian Liberator, General Balakhovich, who leads the "People's Voluntary Army". Little is known of this general and his army, but it is certain that his force is small, and as it is avowedly voluntary the chances are not good that it ever will be strong, for Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel were all driven to forced service by their simple inability to procure an army in any other way. But all these three had large forces, well organized and well equipped, compared with Balakhovich, and all three were routed at the finish. But the *Times* is not content to furbish up Balakhovich as a new threat to Bolshevism; it also furbishes up Bolshevism as a new threat to Poland. It seems that the Soviet Government, which is so weak as to fear a leader of irregular bands, is also so strong that it may throw itself on Poland, its recent conqueror and the most formidable of its enemies. Similarly, although we have been told repeatedly that it is of no use to agree to trade with Soviet Russia because she has no goods to offer us, we are assured that the Political Committee which is behind Balakhovich has unlimited timber and flax to bargain with. The general upshot of the argument, we suppose, is that we should prolong this interminable war until we see whether Balakhovich or the succeeding adventure can shake the Bolsheviks. Has not the time come at last to recognize realities? Foreign-supported campaigns do not shake but strengthen the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks desire peace with Western Europe as they did with the Poles. Although they no more love us than we love them, they have had to recognize their need of us for the reestablishment of their country. Europe and we, on our side, have need of

Russia. And whether or not it be true that Russia has at the moment little to offer us, we might have the frankness to admit that a prolongation by us of the present agony will not enable her to offer more.—*Manchester Guardian*, November 17, 1920.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE ON DEPORTATION

Parley Parker Christensen, candidate for President on the Farmer-Labor ticket in the late election, dispatched the following to President Wilson from Chicago on December 28:

"Permit me, Mr. President, to assure you that 'Russia and America are friends,' and the treatment accorded to Mr. Martens by your administration does violence to the expressed sentiment of America. I know. I have heard from the people. During July, August, September, October and November, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in crowded halls, I addressed thousands of my countrymen, of all classes, and practically without exception they are friends of Russia. At every meeting I spoke of Russia, and the mere mention of the word was electrifying; and when I urged, as I always did, the recognition of the Russian Soviet Republic, the affirmative response was tremendous.

"Though your Secretary of State seems ignorant of the fact, our people are friendly to Soviet Russia, and they should be encouraged to trade with each other. If the 'lesson of the ballots' at the November election is not sufficient, give us a referendum, and 'Russia, Yes' will be practically unanimous."

MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO RUSSIA

Statement of Medical Supplies Shipped to Soviet Russia on Account of the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee.

November 30, 1920.

Total Shipped to October 31, 1920.....		\$36,580.12
Purchased during November and shipped via S. S. "Indiana Bridge", consigned to Centrosoyuz, Reval	7,791.53	
Purchased during November and shipped via S. S. "Ripon", consigned to Centrosoyuz, Reval	3,687.43	
Paid for transportation of donated Medical Supplies	4.63	
For repacking	50.00	
For insurance on last three shipments.....	586.14	
For commercial ads....	16.80	657.57
Total for Medical Supplies during November	\$12,136.53	12,136.53
Grand Total to November 30, 1920.....		\$48,716.65
Expenditures to October 31, 1920	\$24,409.35	
Expenditures for November, 1920	12,136.53	
Balance payable	12,170.77	\$48,716.65

Commercial Department of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau,

(Signed) DR. J. G. OHSOL, Director.

The Russian Soviet Government Bureau does not object to the reprinting in other periodicals of articles taken from SOVIET RUSSIA. It asks, however, that in return for the privilege of reprinting, editors extend the courtesy of sending a marked copy to SOVIET RUSSIA of each of their issues containing a reprinted article.

Wireless and Other News

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS

BERLIN, November 30.—Well-instructed quarters report that since the beginning of the exchange of prisoners which opened in May of this year, 92,682 prisoners in all have reached Germany from Russia and Siberia, including 28,556 citizens of the German empire, of whom 25,597 came by way of the Baltic and 2,595 by way of Vladivostok. The number of Russian prisoners transported from Germany is 108,000 in round numbers.—*Politiken*, Stockholm, December 2, 1920.

RUSSO-POLISH PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

Moscow, November 28, 1920.—Several sessions of the financial, economic, and territorial commissions have been held. In the opinion of the Polish Delegation, the financial-economic commission should discuss questions of state, private debt and obligations, claims of compensation from Germany on the basis of the Versailles treaty, and reevacuation. In reply, the Russian Delegation showed the complexity of the Polish program, much of which was not provided for even by the preliminary peace treaty; and stated that such details could be discussed after written presentation of their intentions by the Polish delegates. The chairman of the Russian Delegation, Yoffe, presented a note to the Chairman of the Polish Delegation concerning the refusal of the Polish command to hand over to the Ukrainian Government the sugar factories awarded by the preliminary peace treaty, despite the fact that all necessary measures had already been taken by the Ukrainian Government through its economic organs as well as by the local military authorities. Owing to this delay the Russian and Ukrainian governments can assume no responsibility for the possible damage to these factories.

TROTSKY ON RECONSTRUCTION

Moscow, November 26, 1920.—Trotsky writes in the Moscow Soviet papers as follows: Toiling Russia can contemplate with pride the work of her Red Army. Superhuman efforts and unparalleled sacrifices were crowned by unparalleled successes. Glory to the heroes and grateful memory to the fallen! But even now, in the hour of the greatest and most justifiable jubilation, we must not for one moment forget that our main task, the elevation of the toiling masses, is still ahead of us. By defeating counter-revolution, we only secure for ourselves the opportunity for extensive economic work. We must take in hand, hammer, axe, and broom and sweep out squalor, poverty, and ignorance in order to build the new Soviet house on a firm foundation.

THE SERBIAN RED CROSS

Moscow, November 17.—The representatives of the Serbian Red Cross arrived in Petrograd and brought as a gift for the Petrograd population medicaments and foodstuffs for the children.

WRANGEL AND HUNGARY

BUDAPEST, November 25, 1920.—General Maruzovsky, chief of Wrangel's military mission in Budapest, declares that Wrangel has asked the permission of the Hungarian Government to recruit the Russians in Hungary into his army. General Maruzovsky expresses his heartfelt thanks for the gratifying reception accorded him.

PICKING SWEDES FOR VILNA

The Department for the National Defence, Section for Forwarding Troops, reports on November 30: The Vilna Detachment shall be organized in the Svea Life Guard Barracks. The men shall be volunteers and the number of privates and volunteers required shall be attached to the regiment by contract. Only such will be accepted as can prove that they have already seen satisfactory service in the army. Applications shall be received in the Svea Life Guard up to December 5, noon. Pay for service in this expedition will vary from 467.10 crowns to 313.80 for a month, plus full maintenance.—*Politiken*, December 2, 1920.

SELF-DETERMINATION IN RUSSIA

Moscow, November 27, 1920.—The Congress of the Tribes of the Terek region convened to form a mountain Soviet Republic, and declared that the mountain nations, oppressed for hundreds of years, owed their freedom to the heroic Red Army. The Congress sent greetings to Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Stalin.

IMPORTANCE OF THE COAL INDUSTRY

Moscow, November 26, 1920.—In a recent speech Trotsky says that Soviet Russia's main front is now the front of the coal industry.

All Moscow is now publishing appeals to make supreme efforts to alleviate the extreme distress of the coal miners in the Donetz Coal Basin, who are now suffering unheard of privations as a result of raids by Wrangel and other counter-revolutionary bandits. The consensus of press opinion is that the conditions for the Donetz Basin coal miners must be speedily remedied to save for Soviet Russia her most important industry.

AMERICAN CARGOES FOR MURMANSK

Moscow, November 27, 1920.—In the Soviet port of Murmansk, coal is being discharged from three American ships. At the end of November, nine more ships with American goods are expected.

FIREPROOFING INDUSTRY IN RUSSIA

Moscow, November 27, 1920.—The supreme economic organs of Soviet Russia are discussing the question of developing the fireproofing industry in Russia.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

Moscow, November 26, 1920.—An All-Russian conference is being convened in Moscow to solve urgent questions in connection with spreading modern agricultural education.

CULTURAL WORK

Moscow, November 24, 1920.—The anniversary Leo Tolstoy's death (November 20) was celebrated by meetings and lectures. A state museum bearing his name was dedicated in Moscow.

At Bukharin's instigation, a society for scientific search was formed to investigate the causes of the revolution. The society is named, "Revolution and Theory", and will be led by the best scientific theoreticians.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee recommended to all local Soviets to erect Palaces of Labor, which shall afford all workers' associations the fullest facilities to organize.

The executive bureau of the Workers' Council in Moscow has resolved to publish a history of the labor movement in cities and villages of the entire world.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, November 24, 1920.—According to the latest reports, 4,500,000 poods of fish have been shipped from Astrakhan to the large cities since the reopening of navigation. The figures for November are not yet complete, but they exceed those of the preceding months considerably. Last week 1,200,000 poods of cotton were loaded. According to a statement of the Council of People's Commissars, a detailed plan for procuring cotton will be elaborated by January 1, 1921, for which purpose special committees have been designated.

FISH SITUATION

Moscow, November 24, 1920.—In Minsk the fish catch is increasing rapidly and becoming more regular.

The fisheries of Astrakhan and Petrosk have been yielding more and more fish. Springs and barrels, cars and barges have been furnished to carry 3,200 poods daily. *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* states: From the lower Ob and Irtish 40,000 poods of fish have been delivered, to which must be added 12,500 poods from farther south. In Obdorsk Surgut 119,900 poods of fish have been gathered. The total of fish registered in the regional center from January 1 to September 10 is as follows: January 1, 147,514 poods; toward September, 390,785 poods; total 513,299 poods.

POTATO SUPPLY

Moscow, November 26, 1920.—Last year, in 1919, Soviet Russia collected 8,171,598 poods of potatoes up to November 21. For the same period in 1920, six times as many, or 48,367,585 poods of potatoes were collected.

AUTONOMY OF THE CALMUCKS

Moscow, November 24, 1920.—The granting of autonomy to the Calmucks by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee called forth an unusually graceful answer. The Calmuck Congress sent the heartiest greetings to the Executive Committee. The Calmucks, of their own accord, formed a cavalry division, which expressed its readiness to fight for the Soviets.

SOAP PRODUCTION

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn writes: The production in the state soap works has augmented, due to the more energetic delivery of raw materials. In the Zhukov Factory it rose from 10,000 to 30,000 poods, and in the Nevsky mill from 5,000 to 15,000 poods per month. The actual program was almost fully accomplished in July, August and September, 15,000 poods of soap being manufactured each month. Special branches have been added to the state soap works for producing glycerine.

The Situation in Ukraine

The formal inaugural session of the new Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet of Kharkov took place on the 2nd of November, at 7 o'clock in the evening, in the presence of an immense crowd. The greetings of the army were given by the Commander of the south front, Frunze, and by the commander of the reserve army, Bazilievich. At the session, there were present delegates of the Rumanian Socialist Party, Christescu and Popovich, who spoke in the name of the Rumanian workers and peasants. Then the Soviet dealt with the questions on the order of the day. After the report on the military situation, Rakovsky, President of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, explained the foreign policy of the government. Amongst other things, Rakovsky stated that the Polish Government had refused to take responsibility for the action of the army of Petlura, who with the friendly assistance of the Polish General Staff, and in agreement with the troops of the Russian counter-revolutionary general, Balakhovich, is continuing operations. In the course of the discussion which arose on this matter, several delegates gave expression to the indignation with which the whole of the Ukraine is filled against the dishonest policy of the Polish Government, which on the one hand concluded peace, on the other, under the cover of Petlura and Balakhovich continues the war against Ukraine. Amongst other things it was declared that the Germans, in spite of all their cynicism, had been by far more honest than the Polish White Guards: when in 1918 they concluded an armistice with Soviet Russia and fixed the demarcation line in a way which reserved for them their whole freedom of action at the Rostov front, as for instance in Kraynov, they refused to make any kind of agreement on this front. The Polish Command, on the contrary, accepted a demarcation line between Ukraine and Poland, a line going along the Zbruch to the Dniester; yet it refuses to guarantee this line and thus it reckons on continuing a war of exploitation against Ukraine with Petlura's assistance. The resolution drawn up by the Soviet of Kharkov summons the Ukrainian Government to enter an energetic protest to the Polish Government against such a proceeding and to beg the Soviet Government of Russia to join in this protest.

GENERAL AMNESTY DECLARATION

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets declared a general amnesty, to take effect November 7, 1920, on the occasion of the Third Anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Republic. The text of the amnesty resolution is as follows:

The imperialistic and counter-revolutionary attacks launched by the Entente during the last three years against the Republic of the Workers and Peasants were valiantly repelled by the workers and peasants on the revolutionary fronts and suppressed in the interior of the country by the organs for combating the counter-revolution. Each year the Soviet power gained in strength and displayed its ability in the field of the reconstruction of a new society which knows no oppressed and no exploited. At present, when the Red Army is accomplishing its victory over the last stronghold of the bourgeois dictatorship, the Crimea, the struggle is approaching its end. About to accomplish its complete victory over the enemy, the proletariat celebrates the third anniversary of the proletarian revolution.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee considers it possible to ease the lot of all those who have been sentenced by the revolutionary tribunals, peoples' courts, and other authorities, or have been subjected to detention, because of offenses perpetrated against the Soviet Government, and whose further captivity is not absolutely necessary for the safety of the Soviet Republic. Therefore the All-Russian Central Executive Committee resolves as follows:

1. To apply amnesty to the greatest extent to

those who were guilty of offenses against the Soviet Republic before November 7, 1920, and to liberate them entirely from the punishments imposed upon them except insofar as these punishments involve the loss of liberty; to undertake such alleviations as for instance the transfer from prisons to compulsory labor without loss of liberty, or a complete liberation without compulsory labor (shortening of captivity).

2. The amnesty applies to those already sentenced as well as to those under preliminary detention.

3. The revolutionary tribunals are under the obligation to review all cases of sentences to imprisonment for life, and to shorten such sentences.

4. The authorities are under the obligation to review sentences which read "to the conclusion of the civil war," and either to dismiss those sentenced from captivity or to set a fixed period of detention, not over five years from the day of sentence.

5. The authorities are under the obligation to stop all sentences not carried out by November 7, 1920, and to make every attempt to alleviate the lot of the persons in question.

6. The Extraordinary Commission and its sections are under obligation to review the lists of hostages and prisoners of war, taken in the civil war, at the earliest possible moment, and to liberate those persons whose detention is not absolutely necessary.

7. To ease the lot of those who have been sentenced for desertion or for rendering aid in desertion, and to remit punishments imposed upon village communities for having been instrumental in the concealment of deserters.

*THE NEXT ISSUE OF***SOVIET RUSSIA**

will contain, in addition to the concluding instalment of Dr. Goldschmidt's article, "Collapse and Construction in Russia," a new article by Leon Trotsky, People's Commissar for War, entitled

"The Soviet Power and Industry"

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Problems of Organization of Labor

By LEON TROTSKY

[The following article is a chapter of Leon Trotsky's latest book, "Terrorismus und Kommunismus—Anti-Kautsky", written as an answer to Karl Kautsky's "Terrorismus und Kommunismus", an attack on the policies and practices of the Soviet Government. This is the entire first chapter that we are printing from Trotsky's book; like all the rest of the work, it is in the characteristically trenchant style of the editor of "Nashe Slovo", of Paris, now People's Commissar for War of the Soviet Republic.]

THE SOVIET POWER AND INDUSTRY

WHILE during the first period of the Soviet Revolution the chief complaints of the bourgeois world were concerning our cruelty and blood-thirstiness, we were later made responsible, after this argument had lost its edge through too frequent use, for the economic collapse of the country. Kautsky, carrying out his present mission, translates into the language of pseudo-Marxism all the bourgeois complaints alleging that the Soviet power had ruined the industrial life of Russia: the Bolsheviki approached socialization without any plan, socialized what was not mature for socialization, and finally, the Russian working class is by no means fitted for conducting industry, etc.

In repeating and combining these complaints, Kautsky obtusely and stubbornly conceals the chief causes of our economic decline: the imperialistic slaughter, civil war, the blockade. In the very first months of its existence, Soviet Russia was deprived of coal, naphtha, metals and cotton. First the Austro-German, then the Entente imperialism, cooperating with Russian White Guardists, cut off Soviet Russia from the coal and ore basin of the Donetz, from the Caucasian naphtha region, from Turkestan with its cotton, from the Urals with its rich mines, from Siberia with its cereals and meat. The Donetz Basin commonly furnished our industry with 94 per cent of its total coal fuel, and 74 per

cent of its metal ores. The Urals furnished an additional 20 per cent of the metal and four per cent of the coal. These two regions were separated from us in the course of the civil war. We lost half a milliard of poods of coal, which had been imported from foreign countries; simultaneously we were left without naphtha—absolutely all the wells passed into the hands of our enemies. One must be a veritable block-head, to speak, if one knows these facts, of the destructive influence of the "untimely", "barbarous", etc., socialization of an industry that has neither fuel nor raw materials. Whether your enterprise belongs to a capitalistic trust, or to a workers' state, whether your industry is socialized or not, its chimney will emit no smoke unless there is coal or naphtha. Austria had experiences of this kind: not even German industry was spared. A weaving mill, even if obtained by Kautsky's best methods—if one may assume anything may be conducted by the metal industry Kautsky aside from his own inkpot—this mill will furnish no calico if it is not supplied with cotton. But we simultaneously lost both the American fiber. And I have said, we had no fuel.

Of course blockade and civil war so the consequences of the proletarian transfer of power to the Soviet state. But this does not mean that the toilers are to be devastated that we are to be deprived of the necessary labor power to the eco-

American-French blockade, and the bandit raids of Kolchak and Denikin, must be ascribed to the incapacity of the economic methods of the Soviets.

The imperialistic war preceding the revolution, with its all-devouring material demands, taxed our young industry much more than it did the industry of the powerful capitalist countries. Our transportation suffered particularly. The exploitation of railroads was tremendously increased, which meant a corresponding increase of depreciation, while repairs were limited to the lowest possible needs. The inevitable day of collapse was brought nearer by the fuel crisis. As we lost, almost at the same moment, the Donetz coal, foreign coal and the Caucasian naphtha, we had to proceed to the use of wood as fuel for transportation. But as the stocks of wood on hand were by no means sufficient, the locomotives had to be fed with freshly cut green wood, which had an extremely destructive effect on the already considerably run down mechanism of the locomotives. We therefore see that the chief causes of the decline in transportation were before November, 1917. But the causes also which are directly or indirectly connected with the November Revolution are related to it by political bonds and do not in any way touch the Socialist methods of economy.

The influence of political shocks on the economic field was of course not limited to problems of transportation and fuel. If world industry in the last decades was transformed more and more into a uniform organism, this is all the more true of the industry of a single nation. And in addition, war and revolution had torn and cut up Russian industry in every possible manner.

The industrial destruction of Poland, of the Baltic provinces, and later of Petrograd began under Czarism, and continued under Kerensky, including more and more new regions.

The endless evacuations, together with the destruction of industry, also involved the destruction of transportation. During the civil war, with its much-moving fronts, the evacuations assumed a feverish and all the more destructive character. Each party that temporarily or definitely evacuated one industrial center or another, made every effort to render the most important industrial enterprise of the region useless for the enemy—all valuable machines or at least their most essential parts were taken away, together with the technicians and the workers. The evacuations were followed by operations, which not infrequently completed the fiction both of the goods transported and the workers themselves. Some of the most important industrial centers—particularly in Ukraine and the other frequently changed hands.

While the destruction of the technical Subsc was going on to an extent unparalleled influx of machines from foreign countries was our chief source of supply, had been used. But not only the dead objects of production—factories, machines, tracks, fuels and raw materials, suffered so much by the combined blows of the war, and the

the chief factor of industry, its living creative force, the proletariat, suffered not less but rather more. The proletariat achieved the November overthrow, built up the Soviet apparatus, defended it, waged tireless war with the White Guards. The skilled workers are, as a rule, also the most advanced. The civil war has snatched many tens of thousands of the best workers from productive work for long periods, besides devouring irrecoverably many thousands of lives. The Socialist Revolution has imposed the main burden of sacrifices on the vanguard of the proletariat, and therefore on industry.

The chief attention of the Soviet State during the two and one half years of its existence has been turned to war defences: its best powers and most of its resources have been placed at the disposal of the front.

The class war means damage to industry under the best circumstances. All the philosophers of the class war, long before Kautsky, have pointed out this difficulty. In ordinary economic strikes the workers consume but do not produce. All the harder are the blows dealt to economic life by the class war in its sharpest form, that of armed conflict. It is plain that civil war cannot in any way be enumerated among Socialistic modes of work.

The reasons assigned more than suffice to explain the difficult economic situation in Soviet Russia. No fuel, no metal, no cotton, transportation destroyed, technical plants not fit for use, living working forces scattered all over the country, many of them killed at the front—does one need to look for further causes for the decline of our industry? Far from it. Each of the causes indicated is sufficient to justify the question: how, under these circumstances, is any factory or industrial activity possible at all?

And yet, this activity continues—particularly in the form of the war industry, which at present lives at the expense of the rest of industry. The Soviet power was forced to resurrect this industry, just as it resurrected the army, from the debris. The military industry it created under these unheard of difficult circumstances has discharged and is discharging its task. The Red Army has clothing, shoes, guns, machine guns, cannon, cartridges, projectors, airplanes, and everything else it needs.

Hardly did we have a gleam of light, after the crushing of Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin, than we approached the question of economic organization in full. And already after three or four months of intense work in this field it became unmistakably clear that the Soviet power, in consequence of its extremely close connection with the masses of the people, and of the flexibility of its state apparatus and its revolutionary initiative, has at its service such sources and methods for the rebuilding of its economy as were not at the disposal of any other state.

To be sure we were here met by absolutely new problems and new difficulties in the field of labor organization. The Socialist theory had no ready-made answers to these questions, and could not have any such. Decisions had to be made as the

result of experience, and had to be checked up by experience. Kautskyism is a whole generation behind the gigantic economic problems that are to be solved by the Soviet power. In the form of Menshevism it creeps around our feet and opposes the practical measures of our economic reconstruction with philistine prejudices and an intellectual bureaucratic skepticism.

In order to initiate the reader in the essential points of the questions of labor organization, I am here inserting my own report at the Third Congress of All-Russian Trade Unions. To make my treatment more comprehensive, the text of the speech has been rounded out with rather long extracts from my report to the All-Russian Congress of Economic Soviets, and at the Ninth Convention of the Russian Communist Party.

Comrades! The internal civil war is approaching its end. On the western front the situation is still unclear. It is possible that the Polish bourgeoisie may challenge its fate . . . but even if this should be the case—we are not seeking this encounter—the war will not require of us the same all-devouring exertion of energy which has been forced upon us by a simultaneous struggle on four fronts. The terrible pressure of war is weakening.

The economic needs and problems are more and more occupying the foreground. History is putting us face to face with our principal task—the organization of society—every form of society in history has been at bottom a form of labor organization. If every previous system of society has been an organization of labor in the interests of the minority, enabling this minority to organize its form of state compulsion over the suppressed majority of the workers, we are for the first time in history making an attempt to organize labor in the interest of the toiling majority itself. This of course does not, however, exclude the element of force in every possible manifestation, from the most gentle to the most severe. The element of obligation, of national compulsion, does not only make its exit from the stage of history, but on the contrary will still have a great role to play in the course of a rather extended period.

As a rule man seeks to avoid work. A love of labor is by no means an innate quality: labor is brought about by economic pressure and social training. In fact one may say that man is a lazy animal. It is on this quality of his that human progress is to a considerable degree based, for if man were not inclined to husband his forces, to seek to obtain as many commodities as possible for a small expenditure of energy, we should not have had a great development of machines and of social culture. From this standpoint therefore man's laziness is a progressive force. The old Italian Marxist Antonio Labriola went so far as to portray the man of the future as a "happy and inspired idler." But we need not infer from this that the party and the trade unions must preach this quality in their agitation as a moral duty. By no means. We have quite enough of it without preaching it. The problem of social organization consists in

putting this laziness into definite bounds, in order to discipline it, in order to spur man on by ways and means perfected by himself.

Obligatory Labor

The key of economy lies in labor power, in skilled labor, rudimentary unskilled labor, half skilled labor, rough or common labor. The working out of means for the proper registration, mobilization, distribution, productive application, of this labor, is the practical solution of the task of economic reconstruction. It is a task for a whole epoch, an immense task. Its difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the transformation of labor on a socialistic basis must be carried out by us while in a condition of unparalleled impoverishment, of frightful misery.

The more our machine plant is depreciating, the more unusable our railroads are becoming, the smaller will be our prospect of obtaining machinery in anything like a sufficient quantity from abroad, and all the greater becomes the importance of the question of living labor power. You might think that this labor power is available in great quantities. But how shall we obtain access to it? We already met with great difficulty when we were cleaning up the railroad tracks. It was impossible to solve this question by the hiring of labor power in the open market, owing to the present insignificant purchasing power of money, and to the almost total lack of manufactured products. The need for fuel cannot be even partly satisfied unless we have recourse to a hitherto unparalleled application of mass labor in the cutting of wood, the digging of peat, and the mining of combustible slate. The civil war has damaged the railroad tracks, the bridges, the station buildings. Tens of thousands of hands are necessary to restore order in these matters. In order to organize the winning of kindling wood and of peat on a large scale, dwellings must be provided for the workers, if only barracks. And this again will mean a great demand for labor to be used in building construction.

Numerous laborers will also be needed for the organization of lumbering, rafting, etc.

Capitalistic industry was provided with labor resources to a very great extent in the form of extra work done by the peasants. The village, oppressed by the poverty of the rural districts, always threw its surplus of labor power on the market. The state forced these conditions by demanding taxes. The market offered goods to the peasant. Now all that is past. The village has obtained more land, but the agricultural machines are insufficient; the land needs labor power; industry can at present give practically nothing to the village; the market exerts no great power of attraction for the laborers.

But labor power is more urgently necessary than ever. Not only the worker but also the peasant must give his labor power to the Soviet state so that toiling Russia and therefore the toilers themselves may not be crushed. The only means of assigning the necessary labor power to the eco-

conomic problems is the introduction of *obligatory labor*.

The principle of obligatory labor is beyond dispute for the Communist: "He who does not work shall not eat." But as all must eat, all must also work. Labor duty is set down in our Constitution and in the Code of Labor Laws, but it has thus far remained a principle only. Its application has always been merely fortuitous, partial, sporadic. Only now, when we are directly approaching the problems of economic reconstruction of the country, have the questions of labor duty been brought before us with absolute concreteness. The only solution of the economic difficulties which is correct both in principle and in practice is to regard the population of the whole country as a reservoir for the necessary labor power—an almost inexhaustible source—and to regulate strictly the registration, mobilization, and application of this labor.

How shall we now take up in practice the obtaining of labor power on the basis of obligatory labor?

Hitherto only the military establishment had any experience with regard to the registration, mobilization, formation, and transportation of great masses of men.

These technical devices and methods our military establishment inherited in great part from the past. In the economic field we have no such heritage, as the principle of profit always prevailed in that field, and labor power was taken from the market into the individual enterprise. It is therefore natural that we were obliged at least in our first period to make use of our military apparatus to the widest possible extent in carrying out mobilization for labor.

We created several organs for introducing compulsory labor, both in the capitals as well as in the provincial districts and communes. Committees for compulsory labor are already active in our country. They are based principally on the central organ and on the local organs of the military establishment. Our economic centers—the Supreme Council of National Economy, the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, the People's Commissariat for Transportation, and the People's Commissariat for Provisions,—are elaborating demands for the labor power which they need. The Main Committee for Obligatory Labor receives these demands, adjusts them with reference to each other, formulates them in accordance with the local supplies of labor power, issues the necessary commissions to its local organs, and thus, through these local organs, achieves the labor mobilization in question. Within the regions, provinces, and districts, the local organs carry out this work independently, in order to satisfy the local economic needs.

This whole organization is as yet completed only in skeleton outline. It must be considered as still very imperfect. But the course we have begun to follow is absolutely a correct one.

If the organization of the new society aims essentially at a new organization of labor, the organization of labor, in turn, consists in a proper exe-

cution of the universal labor duty. This task can by no means be exhausted by merely organizational and administrative measures. It embraces also the bases of economy and of conduct. It collides with tremendous psychology habits and prejudices. The carrying out of labor duty presupposes on the one hand a vast campaign of education and on the other hand the greatest tact in its practical execution.

The exploitation of the labor power must proceed with the utmost possible economy. In labor mobilizations we must reckon with the condition of the economic and private life of each district, with the demands made by the main occupations of the local population, i.e., those of agriculture. We must begin as far as possible with the former subsidiary occupations and avocations of the local population. The transportation of mobilized labor must be undertaken by the shortest route, i.e., it must be assigned to the nearest sections of the labor front. The number of mobilized workers must correspond to the size of the economic task. Those mobilized must be provided promptly with the necessary working tools and means of sustenance. Those mobilized must be able to convince themselves on the spot that their labor power is being applied intelligently and economically and not wasted fruitlessly; wherever possible, outright mobilization must be replaced by a definite labor task, i.e., a commune will be assigned the duty of furnishing a certain number of cords of wood by a certain time, or of transporting on wagons to a certain railroad station so and so many poods of cast iron. In this field the experiences gathered must be studied with great care; the economic apparatus must be made extremely flexible; much attention must be given to local interests and peculiarities. In a word, the measures, methods, and organization for carrying out the mobilization of labor power must be made definite, improved, perfected. Simultaneously, however, we must make clear to ourselves once for all the fact that the principle of compulsory labor has just as radically and irrevocably replaced the principle of free employment as the socialization of means of production has replaced the principle of capitalistic property.

(To be continued)

Soviet Russia

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"SOVIET RUSSIA"

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Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

THERE is no fighting just at present anywhere in Soviet Russia.

The Red Army is busy with the reorganization of the newly liberated regions as well as with the regrouping of its forces in order to be fully prepared for any undesirable surprises.

The Soviet Government, meanwhile, does not consider present conditions, which are unsettled and dangerous from a strategical point of view, satisfactory. It wants a firm and lasting peace with the rest of the world, but unfortunately such a peace is not wanted either in Paris or in London; and therefore the Soviet Government, confronted with an enormous economic problem, is obliged to keep along the boundaries of the republic a huge military force, even *stronger* than before, to the moment of the cessation of hostilities.

We must not overlook the fact that since the industrial region of the Donetz Basin is not in any danger of attack by the enemy, thanks to the favorable situation in the Caucasus and Armenia, the metal industries and the coal mines of that region are in full progress of development; and this required a great number of experienced workers the majority of whom were with the Red Army far away in the battlefield. It was not an easy task for the Soviet War Office to get these men back to their productive industrial work, and in the meantime replace them with a fresh well-trained element recruited from the new Russian generation.

This grave task is being successfully accomplished, thanks to the genuine ability of the Soviet administration in accordance with Trotsky's extraordinary plan. This plan was based on the principle of decreasing the number of men in the army, but at the same time increasing their fighting ability. The system of general education in Russia, introduced by the Soviet Government, together with universal military training on the basis of an entirely new type of military morale which is possible only in a proletarian state made it possible for the Soviets to succeed in solving what seemed like impossible problems.

For many reasons it would be unwise at the present moment to even try to guess how such a process is being carried on in Soviet Russia, but one thing can be firmly stated and without any hesitation, that the military correspondents of the capitalistic press who recently spread news about the alleged demobilization of a part of the Red Army, thus trying to impress public opinion with the possible weakening of the Soviet military force, are far from being correct.

As far as I can see, studying the strategical situation of the Soviet Republic, it has never been in such a favorable position as it is at present. The strategical bases of the silent fronts, those of Poland, Rumania, the Caucasus, Turkestan, and the Far East, are splendidly organized and completed

with a number of intermediary bases of supply which have to play such an important part due to the lack of railway communication in Russia. The presence of a strong and responsible government which gradually and obstinately is carrying out the determined policy of the Congress of Soviets by means of a devoted and uncorrupt administration, greatly supports the military leaders of the country. Thanks to the fact that the Red Army is far from being only a fighting body isolated from the rest of the population of the Soviet Republic, but on the contrary, is bound to them by common political and economic interests and in close touch with all that happens at home through an extremely efficient news organization known as *Rosta*, it loses the specific military character of all existing capitalistic armies in the world. Therefore, the so-called demobilization of the Red Army cannot be interpreted as "demobilization" in the sense in which western military experts understand such a process. The secret of the strength of the Red Army lies in the fact that even when demobilized its tactical units still remain intact, the fighting bodies fully equipped and officered, always ready to start to the front when ordered to the support of their comrades on the battlefield.

Therefore, it is foolish to believe that the Russian Soviet Army, victorious after three years of constant fighting, suddenly is beginning to demobilize its forces at the moment when a new dangerous plot is on foot among the leaders of the capitalistic enemies of the proletarian republic of Russia. Had such "demobilization" taken place in reality, Comrade Trotsky never would have been able to say to Louise Bryant the following significant words, which I read in the *San Francisco Call* of December 22, 1920: "We want peace," said Trotsky, "but we are going to hit back if we are attacked."

If Paris and London are basing their newly designed strategical plan of campaign against Soviet Russia on this imaginary demobilization of the Red Army there is no doubt that their plan will fail again. According to news from Paris, Rumania is mobilizing its army, and by the order of the king, the classes of 1913, 1914, and 1915 are being called to the colors. The Rumanian railways are also militarized, which means that the state is undertaking some definite steps for a determined campaign. It is said that a clash between the Soviet Government and Rumania is expected in the spring over the possession of Bessarabia. This unprovoked military movement on the part of Rumania greatly surprised the Soviet Government which, as late as December 29, categorically denied any aggressive intention against Rumania.

The presence of very strong forces of the Red Army in Podolia, namely in the region between Kamenetz-Podolsk and Yampol, where the Dniester serves as the border of North Bessarabia

occupied by the Rumanians, is an absolutely normal thing, and in no case can it be interpreted as a concentration of the Reds against Rumania. This part of the western front of the Soviet Government represents the extreme left wing of the Russian front of the Polish battleline, and is of great strategical significance for the Russians, especially in the presence of possible new conflict with the imperialistic shliakhta. Therefore the two notes which the Rumanian Government sent to Moscow at the end of last December, objecting to the concentration of the Red troops on the northern Rumanian frontier, was a baseless complaint of Rumania and can be considered only as a pretext for the mobilization which was secretly in progress in Rumania for a long time, and which can not be camouflaged any longer.

Therefore, there is nothing surprising if, in reply to this Rumanian movement, the Red Field Staff of the Soviet Army, as it was stated in a dispatch to *The New York Times* of January 3, 1921, from Paris, had sent to the Dniester front "six new divisions" and if "the cavalry of General Budenny is concentrated in the region of Moghilev, a town on the Dniester between Kamenetz and Yampol in Podolia.

In reality, even if this is true, such a regrouping of the Red Army can scarcely be considered a deliberate concentration of the Russian forces against Rumania, because a part of the Red infantry and almost all of Budenny's cavalry, after the armistice was signed with Poland, were ordered to proceed to Crimea against Wrangel.

It is quite natural that once these troops had accomplished their task their presence in Crimea was no longer necessary and finally they had to return in order to reoccupy their original position on the Polish battlefield, namely, on the left wing. Thanks to the geographical situation of Bessarabia, annexed by the Rumanians, the latter is automatically outflanked by the left wing of the Red Army, for which the Polish command is entirely responsible, because it was unable to force the Russians back farther east in Podolia, thus straightening the Bessarabian frontier line, and thereby improving the strategical situation of Rumania. Moreover, the internal state of affairs in Bessarabia is of a very gloomy character. That flat country, situated between the rivers Prut and Dniester, and on the southeast bounded by the Black Sea, is populated by 2,000,000 people, mostly Moldavians and Jews. As far as I am informed, from very reliable sources, the Rumanian Government is having a hard time with this newly annexed province, and several suggestions were offered in the Rumanian Parliament to return Bessarabia to Russia, first, in order to get rid of the Jews whom, as it is well-known, the Rumanians hate, and secondly, to restore the former frontier with Russia which is strategically less dangerous than the present frontier. The Soviets, on the other hand, do not at all want to annex Bessarabia by force. The Soviet Government is ready to recognize an independent Bessarabian Republic, and this is perfectly well-known

to its population. There cannot be any doubt that all of the original population of that part of the "Rumanian Empire" is in full sympathy with the Bolsheviki.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that during the Peace Conference the American delegates opposed giving Bessarabia to Rumania, but the latter occupied it, nevertheless. The Allies also hesitated to recognize the province annexed from Russia as Rumanian territory, as they were confronted by a most energetic protest from the Russian reactionary leaders, who plan to restore a great imperialistic Russia, but the Polish campaign, which was already in project, forced them to decide the contrary, thanks to purely strategical combinations.

Rumania, it was believed, would cooperate with the Polish shliakhta and Wrangel and was to attack the Red Army in the rear in case of its invasion of Galicia. Several months after the withdrawal of the Americans from the Peace Conference, France and Italy signed an agreement with Rumania, under which that country annexed Bessarabia. In spite of the fact that the Rumanian Government was obliged by that agreement to fight the Bolsheviki in case the Polish army suffered serious defeat, Rumania was unable to fulfill her obligations to the Allies, partly due to the uncertain internal political conditions, partly due to fear of the titanic strength of the Soviet Army which defeated the Polish legions and pursued them as far as Warsaw. When the collapse of the Bolshevik pursuit took place, the Rumanian Government still hesitated, due to the growing Hungarian army, and the outbreak of the Bolshevik movement in Bulgaria. Then the collapse of the Wrangel adventure took place which complicated the general situation. From a purely military standpoint it is an absolute absurdity to believe that Rumania can meet the Soviet Army alone, which in the course of a very few days can very easily invade Bessarabia and push the enemy back behind its original boundary, namely, on the western banks of Prut. The Rumanians can attack Soviet Russia only in coalition with Poland, and possibly with Yugoslavia. Therefore, the sudden mobilization of the Rumanian army may be considered a movement which has close connection with the one existing in imperialistic Poland, which is remarkably well camouflaged by the peace negotiations at Riga, and it must be taken with serious consideration.

In one of my former articles I foresaw the possible combination of the smaller states of Europe which the imperialistic coalition may send against Soviet Russia, and I expressed the personal view that I am expecting a new armed conflict in Europe with the coming of spring.

Now, without surprise I notice that the capitalistic press of England, France, and America is gradually preparing public opinion for the possibility of approaching danger.

Naturally, as is the rule of the western military experts, they are predicting that it is the Bolsheviki who will attack their neighbors.

Walter Duranty, for instance, in the *New York*

Times of January 4, in the most outrageous manner, states: "Drive by Red Army Believed Imminent". "The war party has got control at Moscow," he says, "and it is only a matter of days, perhaps hours, before a huge Red drive is launched against the Baltic States." (?)

That is the substance of information which reaches Mr. Duranty "from an authoritative source."

Mr. Duranty's accuracy in forecasting events we have fortunately had an opportunity to appreciate in the past, but in the present case he is going far beyond the limits of probability, even for him. Soviet Russia is formally at peace with all the Baltic republics, which are glad to be able to do business with Moscow, and have already entered into a period of economic reconstruction.

The Estonians, Letts, and Lithuanians are absolutely sure of the fact that Soviet Russia has no idea of invasion or annexation, and if Mr. Duranty noticed that a certain movement is growing in the respective states, that movement has nothing to do with the military plans of the Soviet Republic; it is growing from within, in the Baltic states and sooner or later must break out in the form of revolution. Only a blind man can deny the fact that the time is at hand for these newly created republics to become Soviet republics, and that this will certainly be accomplished by a Red Army, but not by the Russian Red Army. Does Mr. Duranty suppose that the Letts who formed the nucleus of the Red forces in Petrograd and in Moscow are not capable of forming their own Red army in their

own country? I think that this military prophet who on so many occasions foretold the fall of Lenin and Trotsky, the victorious entry into Moscow of Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel, the capture of Petrograd by Yudenich, and the complete dismemberment of Turkey, in spite of the very instructive example of Armenia, is now once more wrong in his judgment, trying as he always has in his capacity as an Allied advocate, to mislead the Americans by means of his awkwardly constructed lies. How can I term otherwise than as a lie the statement, for instance, that Trotsky "agreed to unleash the Red Army on a new campaign of conquest." "Esthonia and Latvia are threatened first," says Mr. Duranty, "but the attacks will be continued until Poland and Lithuania accept the rule of the Bolsheviki."

Armenia, for instance, became Soviet, let Mr. Duranty realize, not because the Bolsheviki attacked her, but because the Allies forced the Armenian people to fight the Bolsheviki. The same has taken place in Azerbaijan and may in Georgia. We may witness a similar movement in Rumania, in Poland, and in Lithuania, and in all these countries where the bourgeoisie is trying to save its existence, terrorizing the population by means of Allied arms given to the ruling minority, bribed by imperialistic gold, who are leading their so-called standing armies by means of the White Terror known to the world under the name of imperialistic discipline against the Bolsheviki, for the sake of "democracy".

Collapse and Construction in Russia

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT
(Second and Last Instalment)

III RECONSTRUCTION

The November Revolution came. It had to come. Revolution, a regulated, summarizing revolution, had to come; a revolution that would unify what was pursuing divergent ends, as well as activities that were overlapping or sporadic in the system of committees and controls. The worker from the first period of the Bolshevik rule showed clearly that this task had been fully grasped.

The drawing power, the concentrating power, the absorbing power of the new authority was not at once understood by the so-called *intelligentsia*. The sabotage that had already begun during the Kerensky period assumed aggravated forms. The employes of the Moscow Municipal administration, for instance, declared that they would only go to work after the driving out of the Bolsheviki. The sabotage of these employes lasted from three to four months. Then it was over.

At the beginning of December, 1917, the nationalization of the banks was suddenly declared. There had been no preparation, no preliminary organization. One fine day the troops occupied the bank

buildings and ordered the bank clerks to remain at their work. We shall take this up again in another chapter of this book. Now sabotage was practiced even by the bank employes. This sabotage lasted from four to five months. But then it too was over.

The nationalization of the banks was a radical measure in order to attach all activities and industries to a single central apparatus, with the aid of regulations as to bank checks (registration of checks and indication of purpose), with the aid of approved imposts issued by the factory committees and the local Soviets, and also with the aid of the limitations of imposts, etc.

At first there was considerable confusion. Corruption sucked its way into the banking mechanism, approved checks were fraudulantly assigned by some factory owners to other factory owners. Demands were forged. After this experience, control committees were installed in the factories, whose task it was to undertake an inventory, to audit accounts, to go through the pay rolls. This was the beginning of a production budget which will be further discussed in this book.

There were now three authorities in the factory: the factory committee, the control committee, and the management, which, to be sure, were frequently or partially fused in *personal* union.

The Soviet Government did not intend a hasty nationalization, in fact it advocated a nationalization that would proceed with the maturity of the situation. But it was forced against its will to undertake certain nationalizations. Problems were forced upon the central administration, and a unification of all activities was demanded by evolution.

During this period some nationalizations were undertaken for punitive reasons. For example, the Konovalov textile factory was nationalized. Konovalov was the Minister of Commerce under Kerensky. Besides, the manufactories of the former minister Smirnov were nationalized, and the directing body of this factory consisted of workers and engineers after the nationalization, to be sure, without fixed or determined relations. The composition of the body depended on the presence of men of ability; some quite usable engineering directors also came to Konovalov.

Although at first only individual and punitive nationalizations were undertaken, the installation of the control commissions was already the beginning of a general nationalization process. For one of the chief factors of nationalization is the production budget. The control committees performed an enormous task, a task of deliverance. They succeeded in keeping up Russian industry until the moment of a more radical nationalization, but cutting off the financial capital of industry from possibilities of flight. They did not always succeed in this, but they succeeded to such an extent that we may speak of a veritable activity of redemption in this connection.

But the struggle between the industrial employes (clerical forces) and the workers continued throughout most of the year 1918. Not until September, 1918, were the organizations of these employes dissolved and their members brought into the trade unions. The employes were assigned to the trade unions. The factory physicians also had to be members of the trade unions. The physician of the textile factory, for instance, was a member of the textile union (now, on the other hand, he is a member of the sanitary union).

The struggle with the Engineering Society was also not yet over. The above-mentioned resolution had been a decision for reservation, not a decision to adapt oneself to the situation. The consequence was a considerable drop in the incomes of the engineers. In May, 1918, there were still engineers who had not succeeded in raising their incomes above the average for 1917.

In spite of the severity of the conflict, the unions protected the engineers because they recognized how indispensable the engineers were. They obtained the right to form engineers' sections in the trade unions, by which all special questions peculiar to this calling were discussed. The All-Russian Organization was formed for the treatment of technical scientific problems, which was composed of

representatives of these engineers' sections. This organization remained in existence. It is particularly thorough in the metal industries, in which engineers, by the way, have made up for some of their previous neglect. Their influence in this industry is strong. In other industrial unions it is weak because the latent sabotage has there not yet been overcome.

The new centralization, which alone could save Russia, deprived as it was of its important border resources, but which was sabotaged by the *intelligentsia* and in addition had to struggle against inability, phrase-making and crookedness of every kind, was aided by Germany. The German bourgeoisie in June, 1919, attempted to limit, put an end to, the Russian nationalization. The German bourgeoisie wanted to have its private interests in Russia. This also meant saving those Russian private industrial interests which bore German firm names. For a sort of firm name swindle, a straw-man process, a buying up of puppets for purposes of fraud, has already become very frequent.

A decree for nationalization, a measure for a complete nation-wide nationalization was what was needed. It was almost forced by the necessities of development. But the German bourgeois efforts, the German efforts to rescue German financial capital, accelerated this unification. The famous decree for nationalization of all the Russian industries, the decree of July 28, 1918, was the answer to these efforts, and was simultaneously the realization in advance of this necessity. This decree forced the directors of the stock companies to remain with the undertakings, make them tax free, but forbade them to withdraw any capital from the companies. They were therefore bound to draw up an initial balance-sheet for nationalization, and forbidden to sell the factories. The decree applied to all stock companies having a capital of more than one million rubles. The problem became clearer and clearer, the process of unification easier, the nationalization and centralization more and more automatic. Occasional nationalization, punitive nationalization, the stage of waiting for the process to maturity, were now passed, and there was substituted a planful nationalization. The Socialist nationalization, a nationalization with a centralistic purpose, but with a *new* centralistic purpose. The former confusing nationalization, the locally scattered nationalization, had passed over into a nationalization of the main branches of production, at first only of the main industries in the main branches, the object being to stretch out one's arms, to make the trustification comprehensive. In other words, the expropriation of the means of production, the rule of the proletariat over the means of production was being carried out.

Already the first All-Russian Congress of Economic Soviets decided:

"In the domain of the organization of production a final nationalization is necessary. It is necessary to pass on from a nationalization of a few enterprises (thus far only 304) to a consistent na-

tionalization of industry as a whole. This nationalization must not be a merely occasional nationalization, and must be ordered only by the Supreme Council of National Economy or by the Council of People's Commissars, with the approval of the Supreme Council of National Economy." This was an essential difference between mere nationalization and centralization; it meant a carrying out of nationalization by the new centralization.

The Second All-Russian Congress of Economic Soviets (1919) already observed that "at present the nationalization of industry has been essentially completed," and established measures "for the purpose of further organization of production, of registration, and of industrial supply."

"The fundamental question of economic life," we read in the resolutions of this Congress, is the question of unifying the national economy, both rural and urban, and developing the productive forces in the field of the industries providing raw materials, as well as those working them, and also in agriculture." The matter had therefore already progressed to the point where it was possible to set up a unified economic plan. We here clearly see the relation of centralization to purposefulness and it may be observed that the development took the following course: first there was a period of distress in production and distribution, then a forced nationalization, then a centralization for abolishing the distress in production and distribution, with the aid of nationalization. This line is followed in a single and unbroken course.

It is only logical, only self-evident, that the decision of the Third All-Russian Congress of Economic Soviets should begin with the following words:

"The centralization of the administration of national economy is the surest means in the hands of the victorious proletariat for the swiftest possible development of the productive forces of the country. It is likewise the necessary prerequisite for a Socialist reconstruction of the national economy, and for drawing the smaller enterprises into the unification of economy. Centralization is the only means of preventing a scattering of the national economy."

Immediately after that, the necessity of an auxiliary decentralization became the subject of discussion, a problem that will occupy us later. In this chapter we had first to discuss the necessity of centralization, as a revolutionary necessity, as an obligation of the proletariat, if the latter was to carry out its redeeming function.

The period of local nationalization had thus been overcome. The autonomy of nationalization was hostile to the revolution, much as it may have aided the revolution and made it possible. It was necessary for the revolution at one time. Later arose the question of recovering these self-determining powers, of preserving them, of reestablishing them. Centralization and individual unit determination, these are the two poles of the modern economic revolution.

The French Revolution, as a proletarian revolu-

tion, went to pieces owing to the weakness of the central authority, the impossibility of uniting or securing a common effort on the part of all the cells. There was, as a matter of fact, no possibility as yet of a proletarian revolution. It was only a relaxation of what had been rigid, a birth of bourgeois spirit. The Russian Revolution was faced with other difficulties. It had to unite the scattered bourgeois remnants. It was obliged to secure union. The French Revolution had to dissolve, to split up.

We must note this: the evolution was, so to say, more conscious of revolution than the leaders of the revolution. Many managers cast aside the guiding rope, deserted the helm, paid no more wages, left the factory. The complaining workers called upon the local Soviet, which was asked to nationalize and provide financing. This resulted in a confusion, a lack of unity which was contrary to the essence of this revolution. This revolution was at first nothing more than a hasty expansion of capitalistic forms of administration, with a socialistic tendency.

After that decree a systematic nationalization began, a trustification by the application of centralized power was undertaken. For example, all great machine building industries in the Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod, Kolomna regions were centralized by trustification. (Gomza — G-O-M-Za — "National United Machine Construction Works.")

The thing was not accomplished at a single stroke, but it was accomplished quickly. The first administration of this trust was a pure workers' administration, with a few engineers aiding. The chairman was a worker, Chubar, a member of the Supreme Council of National Economy. He did all business with that as his sole source of power. The trust was placed under the Metal Section of the Supreme Council of National Economy (the organization of the Supreme Council of National Economy will be described later).

The second nationalized contraction was the Volga-Kama Trust (chemical industry). There were placed in it chiefly the enterprises of the firm of Ushkov. The chairman was a director of the capitalistic Ushkov company, an old revolutionist of 1905, not a Communist. The Supreme Council of National Economy sent Bogdanov (now President of the Armament Industry) as a delegate to the administration). In addition to the representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy, all the members of the administration were elected by the workers, including Ushkov, and they were confirmed by the trade unions after their election by the workers. Here began the influence of the trade unions on the economic organization. This influence is today of decisive nature. But these are questions of organization that cannot be discussed in this place.

Further, the great labor factories, whose trustification had already been prepared by private capital, were nationalized and combined. The administration was as follows: three representatives of the workers, three representatives of the engineers and

technologists, three representatives of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

There were all sorts of nationalizations which were really not nationalizations in purpose. A number of factory owners demanded nationalization in order to get raw materials, fuel, etc. For the delivery of raw materials and fuels was already in the hands of central bodies. These manufacturers had no idea however of actually delivering any finished products. They were perfectly willing, hoping that the Bolsheviki would some day be eliminated, to be served by them, but they had no thought of themselves serving. They obtained permission for new constructions, extensions, transfers of machinery. Their object was to obtain installations by the use of which they could fight down competition after the fall of the Soviet power. It is self-evident that this period was simply a period of general profiteering.

In November, 1918, a great textile trust was organized (Centro-Textile). These were the beginnings of a new system. Now the advances were very fast. By the end of 1919 the nationalization of Russian industry, the centralization of production as well as its distribution, had been carried out. That is a condition that can no longer be changed. The centralizing power is so great, the fact of centralization so impregnable, that it must be recognized willy-nilly. You cannot change the situation.

What was the origin of and what is therefore, the Russian economic revolution, as far as we have pursued it?

It is a continuation, accelerated by the war, of the great economic crisis of Russia. It was accelerated and hastened by the war, by the devastations and destructions of resources by the war. The November Revolution was the consolidation and the continuation of an already present condition. It simply drew the inferences from this condition.

What were these consequences? A gathering together of all productive forces, with the aid of the liberated proletariat, an elimination of the depreciated money system, an expropriation of the means of production.

After many delays, it was a swift expansion of the forms of administration that had been created in peace and in war by private economy and by the old state, with the assistance of ever more rigid centralization, and with the aid of individual unit forces, that is, the workers, engineers, etc., in the industries.

It was the beginning of socialistic economy, made possible by the Communist Party of Russia.

The problem of the Russian Revolution is therefore a production problem and the production problem is a problem of organization. The production problem being a problem of organization (decentralization up to the point of an actual self-determination by each cell is also a problem of organization), this book will occupy itself essentially with the organization of Soviet Russian economy, and particularly with the organization of Soviet Russian industrial economy,

But let us say at once: organization arises from mechanical and organic causes. At any rate, organization is the executor of an unheard of elemental force, which is simply moving towards order. An elemental force that will adjust all economic human handiwork, all the mobilizations achieved by human power, so that an organic whole will be produced.

Crisis may possibly arise in the course of this process. But it is to be hoped, possibly even to be proved, that these crises will be eliminated by the elemental force of which mention has been made. The profundity of Communism lies, to my opinion, right here.

If you understand the Russian economic revolution, you must recognize not only its inevitability, but also its rigidly consistent course. You must furthermore recognize that the economic organization that is to be described is not an outline imposed from above, but nothing more than a means of order created by that elemental force itself. Organization is the revolution. It is the revolution to the point of its own self-destruction, to the point of that absence of organization which is the final form of the organization of economy.

GREETINGS TO A REBORN UKRAINE

By LEON TROTSKY

Ukraine has suffered severely from the imperialist war and from the countless changes of regimes. Its industry is ruined, its life is shaken. It will take long to heal the wounds. Nevertheless it may be said even now that the turning point has been reached. Ukraine is recovering, its industry, its life is on the upgrade.

The village is improving. The poor peasantry are uniting in Committees of the Poor, they are becoming the masters of their own destiny. The Soviet Government is getting firm support in the country.

Grain deliveries are being fully and regularly carried out creating a basis for the regenerated industries of the country.

The devastated, depopulated basin of the Donetz is being restored. The output of coal is increasing. All the indications are that the Donetz Basin will again become the bunker not only of Ukraine, but of the whole of the Soviet Republic.

In consequence of the Committees of the Poor the Petlura and other bands are losing ground in the country.

The working population of Ukraine is becoming more and more infused with the consciousness that the industries and transport must be regenerated. The productivity of labor is increasing. The working population which has suffered in succession from the Rada, the German oppression, Skoropadsky, Petlura and the French is now desirous of establishing a firm Soviet order. As soon as Wrangel is done with, Ukraine will devote all its energy to free and brotherly work.

The body of Ukraine is covered with severe wounds, but the turning point has been reached already. The process of recovery has already set in.

Greetings to a reborn Ukraine!

The Finnish Treaty

[From the "Manchester Guardian" of December 8 we take the following description of the Finnish Treaty, with the accompanying map.]

The preamble having established the fact that "Russia has recognized Finland as an independent and sovereign state within the frontiers of the Grand Duchy of Finland," the first three articles are devoted to a detailed delimitation of these frontiers. They follow in essentials the old boundary lines. But Russia cedes to Finland "the territory of Pechenga" (art. 4), along with the coast and the territorial waters belonging to it, "for all time in full sovereignty." Finland undertakes not to establish naval bases on its coastal territory at the Arctic Ocean, or to maintain in those waters armed vessels with a displacement exceeding 400 tons each.

"The Russian State and Russian citizens are guaranteed free right of transit through the Pechenga territory to Norway and back therefrom" (art 8). Goods in transit will be exempted of all inspection or charges.



Map to indicate boundaries of Finland and Russian territory ceded to Finland.

By article 10 Finland undertakes to withdraw its forces "from the communes of Repola and Porajarvi. These will be reunited with the Russian State and incorporated with the territory of Eastern Karelia, to be formed, on the basis of national self-determination, by the Karelian populations in the Archangel and Olonets provinces." (This solution apparently is based on the principle of "personal nationality.")

"The contracting powers will severally support the principle of the neutralization of the Gulf of Finland and of the whole Baltic Sea, and will cooperate towards its realization" (art 2). The following article enumerates a number of minor islands which are to be neutralized in a military sense in the Gulf of Finland. And according to art.

14 "Finland shall take measures, immediately after the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace, for the military neutralization of Hogland, with international guarantee. . . . Russia pledges herself to give support in obtaining that international guarantee."

By article 16 "the contracting parties undertake not to maintain military establishments, for offensive purposes, on Lake Ladoga and its banks, nor on the rivers and canals debouching into Lake Ladoga, nor on the River Neva, as far as the Ivanovska falls. . . . They further undertake, in the event of the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic Sea becoming neutralized, to extend the system also to Lake Ladoga."

The very liberal economic provisions of the treaty go a long way towards the establishment of free intercourse and economic cooperation between the two countries. By article 17, for instance, "Russia pledges itself to allow to Finnish merchantmen unimpeded navigation on the Neva between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga, on the same conditions as obtain for Russian vessels. Finnish vessels may not, however, carry war material or military requisites."

Special agreements are foreshadowed for the regulation of passport and customs matters, of traffic, of fishing, &c.

Article 22 lays down that "property of the Russian State and its establishments in Finland passes, without compensation, into the possession of the Finnish State. In the same way property of the Finnish State and its establishments in Russia passes without compensation to the Russian State."

"The contracting powers mutually forego all claims to compensation for war expenditure. Finland will bear no share of the expenditure incurred by Russia for the purposes of the world war, 1914-1918." (Article 24.)

"Neither of the contracting powers is under a liability to be held responsible for the other's public debts and other obligations." (Article 25.) "The debts and other liabilities of the Russian State and its establishments towards the Finnish State and the Bank of Finland, and the debts and other liabilities of the Finnish State and its establishments towards the Russian State and its establishments, shall be regarded as liquidated on both sides." (Article 26.)

A special committee is to be set up at once to draw up proposals for the immediate resumption of trade relations, as well as for a commercial treaty. (Article 31.) In the meanwhile certain preliminary principles are laid down. Among them, that the "imposition of import, export, and transport restrictions will be reciprocally permitted only in pursuance of legislation concerning public safety, sanitation, the control of spirits and of the internal food supply." The contracting parties "reserve to themselves the right to monopolize various branches of commerce and industry." The subsequent arrangements are to be governed, in general, by the "most favored nation" principle. "Finnish natural and industrial products exported to Russia will be exempt of all customs and other import duties." (Article 32.)

Article 33 provides for direct goods and passenger traffic on the railways, while article 34 recognizes to Russia the exclusive use, until 1946, of a number of telegraphic lines running across Finland.

After a number of other provisions relating to the exchange of prisoners, &c., the treaty establishes a joint authority which shall direct the execution of its clauses, and which shall seemingly have power to deal also with "matters of urgency" not necessarily included in the present agreement. The decisions of the committee and of the special sub-committees it may appoint shall be taken by a majority of votes. If in a question submitted to a plenary session of the committee an equal number of votes shall be cast on each side, the matter shall be referred to the governments for decision.

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

THE poem, "Death by the Kremlin Wall, to John Reed," which was printed on one of the editorial pages of SOVIET RUSSIA in the issue of January 1, was not accompanied by the name of its author. For this omission we present our regrets to the latter, Mr. Joseph Koven, and assure him the omission was not intentional.

* * *

ON THE last day of the old year France sent a threatening note to Germany, charging that country with deliberate failure to carry out her disarmament pledges. On January 19, according to Lincoln Eyre's January 5 message from Paris to the *New York World* (printed January 6), the premiers of all the Allied governments are to convene in Paris in order to determine what will be their attitude with regard to the German reply to this note, which is now in the hands of all the Allied governments. Mr. Eyre suggests that in spite of former frictions between the governments of Great Britain and France on the subject of France's treatment of Germany, a common ground has been found between the two countries for a new basis of conciliation with Germany, for he believes that before the premiers meet the representatives of Italy, Belgium, and Japan, there is to be another, quite different conference at Paris, one far more important than the formal consideration of Germany's reply to the recriminations recently addressed to her by France. This conference is to be an "informal" conversation between Raiberti, the French Minister of War, and Winston Churchill, British Minister of War. Mr. Eyre can put his surmise very well in his own words:

"I learn on high diplomatic authority that Minister Churchill is coming to urge upon the French Government a project he has long cherished—namely, to use Germany against the Bolsheviks. He hopes to advance this project not only with the French War Office, but also with Marshal Pilsudski, Chief of the Polish state, should Pilsudski arrive here in the near future, as he is expected to do.

"It is understood that he will lay stress on the perils in prospect for Poland and the other Russian border states, from an offensive by the Red Army in the spring. Taking this much heralded menace as a text, the British War Minister is expected, according to advices received here, to urge that Germany be made a second line of defense against Bolshevik advances.

"Adoption of any such measure would entail postponement of the plan for German disarmament, and for the maintenance under arms of the *Einwohnerwehr*, or Ger-

man communal guards. This is an essential part of the Churchill scheme."

For a moment the reader will be tempted to reflect on the volume of abuse that issued forth from all the Allied countries only a few years ago on the uncivilized nature of the Hun, his savage and untutored love of peculiar and inscrutable modes of thought, the impossibility for cultured people to live in the same world with him. Evidently these observations were as little intended to be taken seriously as were the corresponding effusions on the part of the Germans, on the subject of "treacherous England", "decadent France", "dollar-hunting America". A well-known German novelist, Thomas Mann, wrote early in the war a brilliant and quite engaging—though entirely misleading—essay, called "Civilization and Kultur" (*Neue Deutsche Rundschau*), in which he showed to his own satisfaction that "civilization" was an Allied phenomenon, "Kultur" a German.

But tables have turned. Thomas Mann will have to rewrite his specious epigrams. The time has come for reconciliation: England, the "master mind" of Western Capitalism, has discovered that in order to crush the example of a proletarian dictatorship, the interests of the British Empire and of the German Republic will make them act together as "saviors of civilization." Again all the paid geniuses of the European forcing-house will rally to the new slogan, and English pedagogues who have not yet recovered from the momentarily profitable task of damning the Hun will be taught that the historian Edward Augustus Freeman considered the Teutonic heritage of language and customs to be the common property of both the English and German peoples. The ideologies will operate as smoothly as did opposite ideologies a year or two ago, for the rulers of England and Germany, both eager to put down the Russian manifestation of proletarian dictatorship, know on which side their bread is buttered.

It is a pretty plan, and our readers may have already noticed some of the details of it. A similar proposal is quoted in this week's *SOVIET RUSSIA* from a Swedish daily. The *New York Volkszeitung*, a daily printed in German, has been repeatedly pointing out suggestions in the Entente press to place the reins of the next anti-Bolshevik campaign in the hands of General Hoffmann of Brest-Litovsk fame, who, while consulting with Trotsky and the other Soviet delegates to the conference, placed his booted foot on the table and looked bored. "General Hoffmann's boot," said Trotsky at the time, "was the only tangible and frank assertion at the conference, and his putting it on the table was a refreshing illustration of candor otherwise absent from the proceedings." This frank and unconcealed German militarist is seriously proposed as the mentor of the new onslaught against Soviet Russia. Without committing ourselves as to General Hoffmann's military abilities, concerning which we know little, we have no reason to assume that the Allied leaders would make a poor choice in the person of a general needed for so serious a job. But we

do think it is a big task and that it will immensely accelerate the process which the Allies are most eager to put down.

No doubt if any great nation in Europe could be mobilized in a military sense as perfectly as it was mobilized in 1914, a serious campaign against Soviet Russia could be undertaken, and a big advance could be made against the proletarian armies. But neither Germany, the proposed new buffer-state, nor any other country of the Europe of 1914, is really still in existence. The nations are no longer military units, as unfortunately they still were, contrary to all expectations, in 1914; they are now overlaid by class lines: revolution everywhere in Europe is delayed only by the military measures of "Socialist" governments, and accelerated by the slings of awkward reactionaries.

It is possible therefore, that an effort will be made to drag Germany's rulers into the open attack that will be launched against Soviet Russia in the Spring. It is more than likely that the effort, if made, will stimulate the revolutionary movement in Germany to such an extent as finally to overthrow the "socialist" government of Germany that is so ready to condone the slaughter its former masters aided in bringing on, and equally ready itself to bring upon the German people a more disgraceful servitude still—that of helping to put down the proletarian revolution in Russia.

FINLAND'S Treaty with Soviet Russia, signed three months ago at Dorpat, appears in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA in a complete translation from the official Finnish text. There are also official texts in Russian, French, and Swedish, but we have not yet seen these versions. Concerning a text of the treaty, in its possession, the *Manchester Guardian* says (December 8):

"The Russo-Finnish Treaty of Peace, of which we are able to publish the main features today, is a moderate and satisfactory document. Its advent had been long delayed by the stubborn claim of Finland to Eastern Karelia. However plausible this may have been in view of the character of the population, the demand suffered from the fatal disability of involving the surrender of Russia's line of communication with the ice-free section of the Murman coast. With the cessation of hostilities in the west, Finland evidently no longer was in a position to press this claim. On the other hand recovery of power does not seem to have made the Soviet Government unreasonable. To begin with, it has granted the Karelian population national autonomy; and it has, in addition, ceded to Finland a strip of the Pechenga territory on the extreme north which provides it with an outlet to the unfrozen coast of the Arctic Ocean. This is an invaluable concession, and it is also an arrangement not without importance to the outside world, for it brings a new power into the waters through which access can be had to Russia all the year round. The Russian Government has made it a condition of this cession that Finland shall not maintain any armed forces on the Arctic coast. There are some other excellent provisions aiming at the promotion of general peace. Thus the contracting parties undertake to work for the neutralization of the Baltic, of the Gulf of Finland, and of Lake Ladoga. The financial and economic clauses of the treaty are drawn up with a like apparent desire for friendly co-operation. Both parties wisely renounce all claim to a war indemnity, and they agree to resume relations upon conditions which may be summed up as free traffic and free trade. Not the least interesting and hopeful provision

is that setting up what almost amounts to a permanent joint arbitration committee, charged not only with the application of the treaty, but also with the handling of any other urgent matters likely to threaten the peace so well begun. As to all of which we can only add: Other European States please copy."

New Attack on Russia

The counter-revolutionary newspaper *Volya Rossii* published at Prague, prints a letter from Paris containing an interesting document. The matter concerns one of the well-known Western adventurers, Avalov-Bermond, who wrote a memorandum in which he, according to the correspondent of *Volya Rossii*, submits to French Government circles a new plan for a Russian Allied intervention. This "memorandum" contains, as the newspaper states, the following magnificent new plan:

1. Prince Avalov shall place, on territory to be assigned in accordance with the French and Polish Supreme Command, a large army recruited from the following contingents, which it is assumed are completely at his disposal: (a) The remainder of General Bredov's detachment at Posen; (b) the remainder of the Western Army; (c) the remainder of General Livens' troops; (d) the Ukrainian prisoners of war in Germany; (e) the remainder of Avalov's army; (f) the remainder of the detachments of Virgolin, Glazenap, and Count Pahlen, organized as sections of the soldiers of the Red Army interned in East Prussia (!); the Baltic Landwehr.

2. All the work of organization as well as that of the general staff shall be assumed by a special officer from the French General Staff, to be designated for this purpose by the Chief of the Army Staff, and whose duty it shall be to call together a staff and instructors from France, at his own discretion.

3. After the occupation of Moscow, the government shall be installed according to agreement between Wrangel and the French Government, whereupon the newly established government shall immediately conclude a treaty with France on the exploitation of the mineral resources of Russia.

4. Parallel with the erection of this army an intensive anti-Bolshevik propaganda shall be carried on behind the front.

5. The enterprise is to be financed by France and Poland, partly by a consortium of Scandinavian bankers (an offer to do this is at hand), partly by commercial contracts with the French firms.

6. The formation of the army may proceed either with the assistance of Germany, as the price for a number of concessions to Germany with regard to the fulfillment of the Versailles Treaty, or, should this turn out to be impossible, in some one of the following manners: (1) under the cloak of a Red Army in Prussia, that is, with the occupation of German "left" circles; (2) under the cloak of a White anti-Allied and anti-Polish Army, that is to say, one supported by Germany's "right" parties; or (3) in a private manner, that is to say by bribing Germans who are interested.—*Politiken*, Stockholm, December 4.

New Note to Poland

The following telegram was sent out by Chicherin to the Polish Foreign Minister Sapieha and received on December 1, 1920:

"In reply to your radio dated November 26 the Governments of Russia and Ukraine cannot restrain from expressing their great astonishment in the face of the unusual procedure of carrying on negotiations by means of radios, setting aside both the properly accredited delegations, which are at Riga. The guiding line of conduct of the Russo-Ukrainian delegation strictly corresponds with the views of their governments, which do not see any reason compelling them to choose a different mode of negotiations with Poland. It is all the more improper on the part of the Polish Government to express any dissatisfaction because of the well-grounded protests of the Russo-Ukrainian delegation since, in view of the constant violations by Poland of the Riga agreement, Russia and Ukraine cannot pass them by and proceed to the order of the day without formal opposition, basing themselves on their rights.

"To wit, was it not a flagrant violation of the Riga agreement on the part of Poland to permit the bands of Petlura and Balakhovich to prepare for military operations under the protection of the Polish military occupation forces, leaving to Petlura the whole zone called the 'neutral Zone of Petlura'? Was not the refusal on the part of the Polish troops to retreat to the new boundaries a violation of that agreement, after the exchange of ratifications? Was it not a violation of the supplementary agreements from November 14 when the Polish troops were reluctant to retreat at the time designated and the speed agreed upon, to new lines which they were to occupy? Other violations of the terms of the treaty were enumerated in the appeals of the Chairman of the Russo-Ukrainian delegation at Riga. Even the demobilization of seven annual contingents, referred to in your radio, had as its aim to make it easy for the Polish Government to conduct military operations against Russia and Ukraine, through the medium of Petlura and Balakhovich, supported and maintained by the Polish Government.

"These violations of the treaty already concluded shall not be forgotten when the accounts between Poland on the one hand, and Russia and Ukraine on the other, shall undergo their final adjustment, for the latter have been rejecting unswervingly any thought of violating the agreements already concluded by them.

"In contradiction to the Polish Government, which had signed the treaties and the protocols and later violated the obligations assumed by itself, the Russian and the Ukrainian Governments have stood immovably on the position of their treaty obligations and are carrying them out strictly. Not only are they not following the steps of the Polish Government in the way of suspicions, which might endanger the cause of peace that concerns them

greatly, but the conciliatory spirit which animates them is so strong that they hail with joy the suggestion of the Polish Government to accelerate the negotiations of the Peace Conference, and therefore propose that the Chairmen of the respective delegations be entrusted with the elaboration of a program of peace negotiations, in order to be able at the first opportunity to determine the final date for the conclusion of peace.

"A speeding up of the work of the conference is much the more desirable, since the late arrival of Chairman Dombiski, and the principal members of the Polish delegation, their not presenting new powers after their arrival, and the long absence of the most important Polish experts have already considerably delayed the work of concluding peace. Already the Polish delegation quite often refuses to assign time for the session of the commission, in consequence of which the work of the commission is being protracted. The delay of the Polish delegation in presenting its new credentials is still more surprising inasmuch as the Polish Government, at the time when it was negotiating for the transfer of the peace conference from Minsk to Riga, emphasized the necessity for the Polish delegates to provide themselves with new plenipotentiaries while those in possession of the Russo-Ukrainian delegation had been empowered from the very start to conclude peace, although at that time only preliminary peace terms were under consideration.

"In the hope that the obstacles created by the Polish delegation in the conduct of the negotiations will be removed in the future, the Russian and the Ukrainian Governments simultaneously state that military guarantees may be given by Russia and Ukraine only in case they receive corresponding guaranties from all hostile governments, which may be brought to fruition by means of negotiations with all the governments mentioned.

"Russia and Ukraine fully share Poland's desire for peace, and the allied Soviet Governments express the conviction that upon such a basis the work of peace can be built on a firm and durable basis at the conference in Riga.

*"People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs
of the Russian Soviet Government,*

"CHICHERIN.

*"Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars,
and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic,*

"RAKOVSKI."

EVACUATION OF THE CRIMEA

MOSCOW, December 20, 1920.—While the evacuation of Sebastopol was in full swing, and Wrangel's band were murdering and plundering in the city, a revolutionary committee was set up to restore peace and security in the town. However, Kutepov's White Guards captured all members of the Revolutionary Committee and killed them. The resistance against the advancing Soviet troops was continued, and there were many victims. After the setting up of the Soviet power, no more countermeasures were adopted, and only the normal procedure for the preservation of orders was put into effect.

The Self-Exiled Intelligentsia

By MOSES KATZ

Languishing in many lands. Suffering terribly and consoling themselves with dreams of revenge.

THERE are at present two Russias. One, Soviet Russia, which is struggling and creating, and arousing in the rest of the world either passionate enthusiasm or burning hate; a Russia which is toiling and starving, but which serves at the same time as a torch for the world and inspires in half of mankind a desire to emulate her.

And there is another Russia—the former Russia, the old, rotten and decayed Russia of the princes, the generals, the officers, the manufacturers, the speculators, and the writers who sold themselves like harlots, who now live like prostitutes, after losing through hunger and suffering, every last bit of shame. This Russia is now scattered over the whole world; like rats that flee a plague, they have fled to every corner of the earth, and you can find them in New York and in Washington, in Japan and in Czecho-Slovakia; in Paris and in Constantinople; in Egypt and in Siberia; in Bulgaria and in Poland; in China and in Jugo-Slavia—in a word, wherever there is a crevice into which they can crawl.

Their life is not an enviable one. In general they do not know the foreign languages, they cannot or will not do any work; few of them have money, for what they had was either left behind in Russia or spent abroad. They had only their hopes—hopes that they would soon see a return of the good old times in Russia, and that they would some day obtain again the means not only to “live a grand life” there, but also to avenge themselves upon the hated peasants and workers for the suffering which they had to go through in exile. But the stronger the Soviet Government becomes, and the more decisive the defeat of the various counter-revolutionary generals, the more completely do their present hopes vanish, and in their place remain only a wild, powerless rage, and a mere dream of how good it would be if they should some day be able to obtain some revenge. . . .

The Russian newspapers now being published in Paris and in Warsaw, in Vienna and in Prague, in Berlin and in Riga, print much that characterizes the survivors among the exiled Russian counter-revolutionaries.

In the Russian newspaper, *Svobodnaya Misl*, now appearing in Paris under the editorship of Vassilievski, are being published articles by the well-known Russian publicist, Tefi. Tefi was at one time one of the best known among the Russian writers in the liberal press, but after the Soviet revolution she went to Kiev, where she poured out in the counter-revolutionary press her hatred of the Bolsheviks. Vassilievski, who also fled to Kiev from the Bolsheviks, tried, after the Soviet power had occupied Ukraine, to “adapt” himself, and in the middle of the year 1918, he wrote pamphlets for the Red Army. They are now both in Paris,

and Tefi expresses her feelings as follows in Vassilievski's paper:

“I am sick today, and unhappy,
Of thoughts my head is empty,
And though of perfumes I have spilt a whole flagon,
I cannot finish my feuilleton.
And so now a new form has my weariness taken,
And every norm has forsaken.
My lot is beyond even the words of a critic,
What I want is a birch rod and a sober muzhik.
Of Moscow I dream, and of Lobnoye Place*
And of how they will give me on a platter,
In order to make me a little happier,
That same muzhik in the same Lobnoye Place,
And the self-same birch rod,
That I may inflict without mercy a fine dose,
A portion of a few hundred blows
That he would never forget . . .
Such is at present my longing . . .”

A fine longing, is it not? And it must be remembered that it is not just any body at all who thus longs to deal those blows to the unwilling muzhik; it is not some former gendarme, or general, or petty officer, but a woman, one of the most intelligent women in the old Russia, one of the most respected among the women writers in the bourgeois press.

And do you think that there is any question here of sentimental ideals, of any longing for a higher and more beautiful life that which the Bolsheviks have attained? Nothing of the kind! Let us see of just what the suffering of the exiled Russian consists, according to the description of another talented Russian publicist, a former radical, Arkadi Averchenko, who in the same number of the same paper writes an article under the title “A Russian Tale”:

A father is sitting with his small son in a cold room in Sebastopol, and he tells him a wonderful story of the fine life he lived in the good old times. The child, grown up in exile, cannot understand much of the story, and either does not believe it or laughs at it. The father speaks:

“Mother and I used to go to balls.”

“How?”

“Simply took and went. We had music, we would hire a whole choir . . ., we decorated the garden with colored lanterns, and we danced.”

“What kind of a thing is that?”

“Dancing? It is this way: the man takes the lady's hand with his, and with his other hand he holds her where you have your bottom button, and then both begin to beat with their feet and jump. The music plays and they jump.”

“What for?”

“Just so. Only just so. There's no use in it. And after dancing they were all given something to eat.”

“I suppose they had to have tickets to eat?”

* The place where, formerly, criminals were tried and beaten.

"Who?"

"They."

"God bless you—who takes money from guests for eating. One doesn't charge for it, but any way I did my best for them. The cook prepared the food, champagne, fruit."

"What did it cost you? A nice sum, I suppose."

"Well, how shall I tell you? I have it . . . This afternoon we drank some nasty warm stuff with saccarine. Citra, do they call it, or what? Well, do you remember how much I paid for the bottle?"

"Fifteen hundred."

"Right. Well, at one time, the whole ball, with the eating, the music, the lanterns, cost half the price of such a bottle."

"Does that mean I drank out a whole ball today?"

"And imagine, you have not burst at all."

"Ah, that's a fine story. A little has a whole ball in his belly, Ha, Ha, Ha!"

"Ha, Ha, Ha! You see, that's a nicer story than the one about the witch. May she perish!"

"He, He! Certainly, and even nicer than the one about the mother and the three sons . . . The devil take them!"

"Of course . . . And it is especially unlike the story about the little girl who had a red cap, a curse take her from now to next year!"

That is how those of the Russian intelligentsia now feel, who fled their homes to await the downfall of the Bolsheviks, and who have only fallen upon real disaster abroad, or under General Wrangel's "strong hand".

Now as to how they live in the Crimea, after General Wrangel established "absolute order" and again revived the dying Russian capitalism. In the advertisements printed in the Russian newspapers in the Crimea we find such interesting bits as this:

"Wanted: a room in center of city, electricity and steam-heat, to cost not more than 100 thousand rubles a month. Deposit, 100 thousand rubles."

"Wanted: room and board with quiet family. Willing to pay 300 thousand rubles a month and three months in advance."

"An American journalist is seeking stenographer who understands English. Fifty thousand rubles a month for four hours a day."

"Wanted: five-room apartment in center of city. Willing to pay five hundred thousand rubles to vacate."

From these figures only can we get an idea of the value of Wrangel's rubles even in the Crimea, and also the crowded conditions in the cities which he occupied. The American correspondents who report such "terrible" stories with regard to the high cost of living in Soviet Russia have not, so far as I know, mentioned a single fact showing how "well" the people in Crimea are living under Wrangel's revived capitalism. And one can imagine further how the counter-revolutionary intellectual lives, who saved himself from the Bolshevik "hell" by fleeing to Wrangel "Paradise".

It is no wonder that the counter-revolutionaries remain abroad in terrible suffering; their only con-

solation is in their empty fantasies with regard to Russia, which they themselves create, or in the empty dreams of revenge upon Russia which enter their heads.

For example, there is Alexander Kuprin, the well-known Russian writer, now in Paris, who writes in Burtsev's *Obshcheye Delo*, a daily newspaper supported by the French Government, this story claiming to come from Moscow:

"A terrible story has recently come out of the Moscow schools. It is confirmed by a member of the Commissariat of Popular Education (what commissar, his name, and where he confirmed the story, are of course, not mentioned, not even the name of the school is given. M. K.). A ten-year-old boy persuaded another, thirteen years old, to murder a little fellow and bury him in a garden. For several days they ate the flesh of the murdered boy, which they roasted on sticks or swallowed raw. At the trial the younger boy said cold-bloodedly:

"At first it did not taste so bad, but later it was not so good . . ."

And again: when, with whom, it happened, not a fact, no place, no name, is given. The story bears all the ear-marks of a wild fantasy born in a brain on fire with alcohol or insanity (Kuprin is a terrible drunkard, as is well known), but a famous Russian writer has written it, a newspaper owned by a former revolutionist prints it, and the wonder is only that the story has not yet been cabled to America from Paris,* or given out as an "authentic report" from Washington . . .

And if Kuprin writes such fantasies about a few children, why should not another refugee, Professor Antsiferov, do the same with regard to all Russia? And Professor Antsiferov does actually write in the Paris *Svobodnaye Misl* an article under the title, "Perishing Russia", in which he draws the following conclusion:

"Russia is dying. According to reports from Soviet sources, there are now per thousand 26 more deaths than births. Let us suppose that in the future 20 die out of every thousand. Simple calculation shows that in five years there will remain of Russia's present population of 150 millions, only 71 millions. In ten years (in 1930), there will be only 20 millions, in 15 years—less than 2 millions, and in 17 years only a few hundred thousand . . ."

I do not know which shows the greater demoralization among the Russian "refugees": Kuprin's fantasy or Antsiferov's statistical reckoning.—*Jewish Daily Forward*, November 16, 1920.

* As a matter of fact, this little morsel has been "literarily" treated in a letter addressed by the Russian literary critic, Dimitri Merezhkovsky, to the English novelist, H. G. Wells, reprinted in a recent Sunday edition of the *New York Times*.

The Russian Soviet Government Bureau does not object to the reprinting in other periodicals of articles taken from SOVIET RUSSIA. It asks, however, that in return for the privilege of reprinting, editors extend the courtesy of sending a marked copy to SOVIET RUSSIA of each of their issues containing a reprinted article.

Books Reviewed

By A. C. FREEMAN

THE GROPING GIANT. By William Adams Brown, Jr. Yale University Press.

THE IMPERIAL ORGY. By Edgar Saltus. Boni and Liveright.

Mr. Brown's work bears the subtitle: "Revolutionary Russia as seen by an American Democrat." Now a genuine democrat could scarcely have failed to experience a distinctly favorable reaction to Soviet Russia. The Soviet educational system, which aims to give every child in Russia an equal measure of technical and cultural instruction, is one of the most ambitious experiments in pure democracy ever undertaken. The equality of food rationing, which excludes the possibility of profiteers feasting in the midst of starvation and grants special favors only to children, invalids and active workers, is another impressive demonstration of the democratic ideals which animate the Russian republic.

Mr. Brown's democracy, however, seems to function with only seven per cent efficiency. The workers and peasants who formed approximately ninety-three per cent of the Russian population at the time of the November Revolution are pretty effectively excluded from its beneficent consideration. So, arriving in Moscow, rather inopportunistically, on the day of the Bolshevik revolution, he anxiously asks:

"What would it really mean if the force represented by that angry, red-faced peasant, and that slouching, dark-complexioned shifty-looking workman of the Red Guard became all-powerful in the land?"

The author's democracy operates under other restrictions as well. Such phrases as "ladies and gentlemen of the better class," "my admiration and respect and friendly feeling for Russian people of the better classes," "a group of Russian better class people," sounded rather incongruous in the mouth of a self-styled apostle of democracy. Mr. Brown deplures the tendency of Russian revolutionists to emphasize the theory of the class struggle. Yet he constantly recognizes class lines himself. Describing the civil war in Moscow he speaks of the "side with which an American college man's natural sympathies lay." Mr. Brown had scarcely been in Russia long enough to familiarize himself with the points at issue between the Bolsheviks and the Kerensky government. But he knew instinctively that his sympathies were with the cultured, refined, aristocratic "Russian people of the better classes" and against the rough, uncouth Red Guards, whom he rather amusingly characterizes as "slovenly-looking workmen, of menacing appearance, armed with rifles."

Mr. Brown's democratic sensibilities were frequently offended in revolutionary Russia. He finds a strange and sinister meaning in the slogans of the Revolution: "Down with War, Long live the

brotherhood of peoples." He is shocked to find a regiment of common soldiers quartered in the former Nobles' Club of Petrograd. His naive outburst of democratic indignation at this desecration of a hallowed edifice might well have been uttered by the dispossessed nobles themselves:

"What a life of confusion and squalor was going on here in the very place where the beauties of Petrograd had sat looking down at the splendors of their exalted caste!"

Mr. Brown, sturdy champion of democracy that he is, shows himself completely captivated by the members of the former Russian aristocracy whom he met. He speaks with sentimental pity of "that brilliant Russian aristocracy which had sinned so deeply and had now to suffer so much, but whose representatives could boast a refinement of civilization unsurpassed anywhere."

If Mr. Brown were less impressionable, or better acquainted with Russian history and Russian life, he would know that Russia's contributions to culture and civilization have come not from her aristocracy, but from her intelligentsia, who were generally revolutionists. The Russian aristocrats, with few exceptions, were as frivolous and pleasure-loving, as incapable of mental and practical achievement, as their French predecessors in 1789.

The author is generally content merely to record impressions; and seldom ventures to make statements of historical fact. He is unquestionably well advised in pursuing this policy: for his knowledge of Russian revolutionary history is, to say the least, very imperfect. For instance, he observes that "in September, 1918, the Czechs, who had been fighting their way eastward toward the sea against overwhelming odds in their effort to join the Allies on the western front, at last joined forces with Semionov at Manchuria Station." This statement is grossly inaccurate. So long as the Czechs showed any inclination to join the Allies on the western front, the Soviet Government did everything in its power to expedite their departure. The fighting began when the Czechs, acting under orders from the Allies, made a treacherous attack upon the Soviet Republic and seized a large stretch of the Trans-Siberian railroad. In the light of Mr. Brown's statement that the Czechs were moving eastward in September, it is interesting to recall that the American-Japanese note on intervention in Russia, issued early in August, refers to "the westward moving Czecho-Slovaks."

Mr. Brown mentions "the Zemstvo—that peculiarly Russian organ of self-government."

The Zemstvos doubtless had their uses under the Czar; but they were certainly not organs of self-government. They were bodies originated from above, in which the landowners and propertied classes always held predominant power. They were in no sense the spontaneous creation of the masses,

like the Soviets. Since the Revolution they have served only as centers and instruments of reaction and counter-revolution.

Good intentions, combined with an invincible crust of provincial prejudices, constitute rather scanty equipment for an intelligent interpretation and appraisal of a mighty and unprecedented revolution in a strange country. Mr. Brown's work is more interesting for its revelation of his own peculiar brand of democracy than for any information it gives about revolutionary Russia.

"The Imperial Orgy" is a vivid narrative of the crimes of the Czars, written in Mr. Saltus' familiar

brilliant, rhetorical, flamboyant style. It reveals the saturnalia of lust and cruelty that characterized the Russian court, which emulated all the vices of Versailles under Louis XV without any of the redeeming wit and grace of the earlier period. At the present time, when an attempt is being made in some quarters to arouse sentimental pity for the fate of the late Czar Nicholas, Mr. Saltus' book serves a useful purpose. It reveals the true features of the barbarous, degenerate despotism from which Russia was delivered by the November Revolution and the subsequent victories of the Red Army over Kolchak and Denikin.

The Same Old Story

By KARL RADEK

THE Batum correspondent of *Pravda* describes in a very humorous way the entrance of Messrs. Vandervelde, Huyamans, and Kautsky, the latter with his inseparable Louise,* mounted on an ass, in a country where there blossomed not only speculators (of the political-economic variety), semi-socialism, and a rathskeller democracy, but also the luscious grapes of Kazbek and Kachetia, of which Mr. Huysmans—and no doubt rightly—speaks with such enthusiasm in his farewell letter. Apparently Huysmans, through affection for his Flemish ancestors, was unable to renounce his love for these charms. You may gather out of the Georgian press quite an accumulation of the most amusing sketches from this visit. For instance, picture to yourself the situation of the unhappy Kautsky, with his whole staff, deserting water-logged Germany and decaying France, like a Sancho Panza, and seeking in the Caucasus, like another Jason, a land ready to greet the "enthusiastic" Second International. Or, picture to yourself the entire usurious press of Georgia placing a wreath of laurel on the bald pate of the honored teacher of the Second International, and repeating with tears in its eyes the words: "Behold how Georgia has separated from the barbarous Muscovites and attained contact with European culture." But even if we might admit that the honored theoretical mummy of the Second International, in spite of his chronic stomach trouble, has weathered the storms of the Black Sea, on his voyage to Georgia, merely in order to secure a moral repose after all the mixup of that cursed European trouble, with its imperialism—which is only the consequence of an incomprehensible error on the part of capitalism**—and with its thrice cursed Communism, which has its origin in the crass ignorance of the workers and the evil character of Lenin—we can nevertheless by no means make the concession that either M. Renaudel, or Minister Vandervelde, or Thomas Shaw, the courageous pioneer of the Parliamentary Commit-

tee of the British Labor Party, went to Georgia merely for the sake of the Kachetian grapes, no matter how greatly they may admire the latter, from what follows below the reader will learn what these gentlemen were really looking for in Georgia.

The Geneva Congress of the Second International declared itself opposed to military intervention in Soviet Russia on the part of the Allies. Simultaneously, however, it expressed its opposition to the alleged Soviet imperialism, which was said to be annexing independent countries, such as Azerbaijan. When Azerbaijan was occupied by the English, the leaders of the Second International displayed not the slightest interest in the affairs of that country, aside from the fact that the police agency at Baku was administered by worthy British trade unionists. Only after the Tartar usurers, the party of the Musselman bourgeoisie, was overthrown, and the oil stocks and oil tanks of Baku had fallen in the hands of the workers of Baku, who, in spite of the difficulties of the situation, made every exertion to supply the Russian workers with oil, only then did Shaw learn of the existence of Azerbaijan and it was only then that the Second International began to take an active interest in their affairs.

The trip of the delegates of the Second International to Georgia coincides with the negotiations between the British Government and that of Georgia on the subject of a loan to the latter. Georgia can give but little security for this loan. Its deposits of brown coal are very insufficient in the opinion of the British financial world, and the British Government asks as a substitute that Batum be leased to it. The British need Batum as a base against the Turkish rebels, and as an outpost for the conquest of the Caucasus, and, above all, of the Baku region. Once they have Batum in their hands, the British imperialists hope to destroy the center of Bolshevik and Communist agitation in the Near East, and simultaneously to cut off Soviet Russia from its oil wells.

It is clear that so extended an operation cannot be undertaken without some political "excavations",

* Mrs. Louise Kautsky, wife of the well-known Second International theorist.

** A facetious allusion to Kautsky's erroneous interpretation of Imperialism.

and precisely this work was done by the delegates of the Second International. Some of the members of the delegation, such as Kautsky and Debroukere, are unconscious tools, while others, such as His Excellency Vandervelde, M. Renaudel—no one knows who paid the expenses of his trip to Poland—and Mr. Shaw are well known political agents of England.

How did these gentlemen go to work to carry out the criminal game of the British Foreign Office? They spoke not only as admirers of Georgian independence and democracy as opposed to the barbarous Soviet regime, but also as defenders of Georgian independence against the encroachments of the United States.

It will be recalled that shortly before the arrival of the Delegation of the Second International, the American Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Secretary of State) sent to Georgia a long note directed against Soviet Russia, and also against the British policy of splitting up Russia. While British capitalism is engaged in the effort of cutting off Russia from its border states, which served either as commercial gateways to Russia, such as Latvia and Esthonia, or which united Russia with the Near East, so much desired by England, as is the case with the Caucasus—American capitalism on the other hand would like to keep Russia intact in order to be able to exploit the country uniformly through its trusts. American capitalism has accepted the idea of a separate Poland and of an independent Finland, for these countries have all represented a certain military power, but is decidedly opposed to the independence of the small border states. Secretary Colby's note disturbed the Georgian Government considerably. Messrs. Tseretelli, Giordani, and other, who grew up in the struggle against the separatist tendencies, of course advocate the independence of Georgia only in so far, and for so long, as Russia shall remain in the hands of the working class. Should Russia tomorrow have a capitalistic government, they would immediately fall upon the breasts of the Kuchkovs with tears of joy while Mr. Gegechkory, in his answer to Colby's note, in the columns of the *Tribuna* of Rome, proves that Russia, by failing to fulfill the obligations assumed toward Georgia, has thus annulled the treaty of unity voluntarily undertaken with Georgia; the party organs of the Georgia Mensheviks swear that they are separatists only through compulsion, not through their own desire. But aside from the reasons impelling the Georgian Mensheviks, who have otherwise always been good Russian patriots, now to come out for the independence of Georgia, they would for the present like their independence to be recognized by the Allies, since it would be very difficult for them to obtain a loan without such recognition. Now that the English Government, with the approval of the Georgian traitors, is about to lead a new attack against Soviet Russia through Georgian territory, and intending, with the approval of the Georgian Government, to occupy Batum, it sends out the gentlemen of the Second International to Georgia, and thus trans-

forms a burlesque donkey journey to the source of the Kachetian wine into a skilful political intrigue.

The esteemed delegation of the Second International plays its role without a hitch. It shakes its fist at Soviet Russia, even rages against Soviet imperialism, and simultaneously declares to Georgia that the Second International, in whose ranks there are ministers of the Entente, will defend Georgian liberty and Georgian independence. (See Renaudel's speech in *Tifliskoye Slovo*, September 21).

This declaration is intended to smooth up the matter raised by Colby's note. We have before us the preparations for an agreement between the Georgian Mensheviks and British imperialism, under the banner of the Second International. The Second International is simply continuing its old policy. During the war it served, with its various parties, as a channel through which the belligerent governments of both camps might influence the working classes. With the victory of the Allies it became an agent of their influence and spread among the masses a belief in Wilsonism. Now the Second International has been transferred to London, and has become a tool of the British policy. It would like to conceal this fact with pacificistic and democratic phrases, but then, even Lord Curzon is a pacifist, an adherent of democracy, not to mention Mr. Lloyd George, who literally oozes pacifism whenever he gets ready to deliver a speech. Those who are surprised by this new role of the Second International know very little of the world situation. While it opposes the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Second International must support bourgeois democracy against this dictatorship. The leading power in Europe is now England, which knows better than anyone else how to veil the dictatorship of capital in democratic phrases, and therefore Lloyd George is a Messiah for Messrs. Huysmans, Vandervelde, and the other brethren of the Second International. On his suggestion they will now go out to prepare the soil for the attacks of British imperialism. Their journey to Tiflis was only the first step on this road.

Volume Three

of SOVIET RUSSIA will be offered for sale and delivery. Orders should be sent immediately, accompanied by remittance of amount, five dollars. The volume is durably bound in cloth, stamped in gold, with title page and index. It is the largest volume of SOVIET RUSSIA thus far issued; there are 652 pages of text and illustrations, including many maps and facsimiles, in addition to sixteen full pages of half-tone plates on calendared paper.

Soviet Russia

Room 304

110 West 40th Street

New York, N. Y.

Peace Treaty Between Finland and Soviet Russia

The government of the Finnish Republic and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, in view of the fact that Finland in the year 1917 declared itself an independent state and that Russia has recognized the State of Finland not to be obligated by the boundaries of the Grand Duchy of Finland, and to be sovereign, and desiring to put an end to the war that later broke out between the two states, to create permanent peaceful relations between them and to settle definitely the relations growing out of the former union between Finland and Russia, have decided to enter into an agreement to that effect and have, for this purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The government of the Finnish Republic:

Juho Kusti Paasikivi, Juho Heikki Vennola, Alexander Frey, Karl Rudolph Kalden, Väinö Tanner, Väinö Voionmaa and Väinö Gabriel Kivilinna.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic:

Ivan Antonovich Berzin, Plato Mihailovich Kerzhentsev and Nikolai Sergeyevich Tihmenyev.

who after meeting in the City of Dorpat, and after a reciprocal exchange of credentials which were found to be in the proper form and in good order, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

As soon as the treaty of peace goes into effect the state of war between the contracting parties shall cease, and both states pledge themselves to a mutual state of peace and to maintain good neighborly spirit.

ARTICLE II

The frontier between the states of Finland and Russia shall be as follows:

1. Dividing the Bay of Vaidalahti to the point of the eastern peninsula in its remotest corner (close to 69 degrees, 57 minutes latitude, and 31 degrees, 58 minutes and 5 seconds longitude); thence south along the meridian until it crosses the northerly chain of the Cherv Lakes; thence southwest along this chain of lakes to the meridian at 32 degrees, 18 minutes longitude; thence to a point at 69 degrees, 46 minutes latitude and 32 degrees, 6 minutes, and 5 seconds longitude; thence dividing in two at its narrowest point the isthmus Puumangi (Bolshaya-Volovkovaya-Guba) and Oserko Fjords to a point that is midway between the mainland and the Sredin Peninsula (69 degrees, 39 minutes, 1 second latitude, and 31 degrees, 47 minutes longitude); thence in a straight line along the present boundary between Finland and Russia to the Korvatunturi boundary stone No. 90 to the Ladoga and across it, and along the Isthmus of Karelia following the present boundary between Finland and Russia all the way to the mouth of the Rajajoki (Systerbäck).

Note 1. The Heinasaari (Ainoviostrova) and Kiisaari Islands become Finnish territory.

Note 2. The boundary set forth in this article is marked by an imperfect line on the maps attached to this treaty, viz., the Russian marine chart No. 1270 and the land map. The boundaries mentioned in the first clause of this article shall be surveyed in accordance with these maps, taking into consideration wherever possible the natural features of the places if the text and maps are found to be conflicting. In reference to the Kalastaya and Sredin Peninsulas the marine chart shall be final, but in reference to the other boundaries the text shall be binding. All measures of longitude are figured from Greenwich.

ARTICLE III

The extent of the territorial waters of the contracting parties shall be four nautical miles measured from the coastline; or where there are islands, from the farthest island or reef rising above the surface of the water. The following exceptions are made to this:

1. From the main point of the land boundary between Finland and Russia on the shores of the Gulf of Finland to the meridian at the Seivästö lighthouse, the extent of the Finnish territorial waters shall be one and one-half nautical miles and shall run at the beginning of this boundary along the parallel with the Sevästö lighthouse meridian beginning from a point 60 degrees, 8 minutes, 9 sec-

onds latitude. The boundary of the Finnish territorial waters shall run along a line which connects this point with a point 59 degrees, 58 minutes, 8 seconds latitude and 28 degrees, 24 minutes, 5 seconds longitude south of Seiskari, to the point where this line intersects the four nautical mile territorial water boundary of Hogland.

3. The extent of the territorial waters around the islands belonging to Finland and located outside the united territorial waters of Finland shall be three nautical miles; the following exceptions, however, are made in this instance:

On the south side of Seiskari and Lavansaari the boundary of the Finnish territorial waters shall run through the following points:

(1). Latitude 60 degrees, 0 minutes, and longitude 28 degrees, 31 minutes, 4 seconds. (2). Latitude 59 degrees, 58 minutes, 8 seconds; and longitude 28 degrees, 24 minutes, 5 seconds. (3) Latitude 25 degrees, 58 minutes, and longitude 27 degrees, 55 minutes. (4). Latitude 59 degrees, 54 minutes, 6 seconds, and longitude 27 degrees, 52 minutes, 2 seconds. On the meridian on the northerly cape of Suuri Tytärsaari, beginning at a point located three nautical miles north of this cape, the boundary of the territorial waters of Finland runs in a straight line to the meridian on the northerly cape of Riuskari, and through a point one nautical mile north of this cape until the line cuts the three nautical mile boundary of the Riuskari territorial waters.

4. Finland does not and will not object that the boundary of the Russian territorial waters in the eastern portion of the Gulf of Finland shall run as follows:

Along the boundary of the Finnish territorial waters, beginning at the point of ending of the Finnish and Russian land boundary, and until it reaches the meridian of the Seivästö lighthouse and a point at 60 degrees, 8 minutes, 9 seconds latitude; thence to a point on the south-side of Seiskari, 59 degrees, 58 minutes, 8 seconds latitude and 28 degrees, 24 minutes, 5 seconds longitude; thence to a point at 59 degrees, 58 minutes latitude and 27 degrees, 55 minutes longitude; thence toward the Lighthouse Tower of Wigrund until a line drawn in this manner intersects the Russian general four nautical mile territorial water boundary, and thence along this line.

Note. The boundaries of all these territorial waters have been marked on the Russian nautical charts. Number 1492 and 1416, appended to this peace treaty. In case the text and charts are found to be in conflict, the chart shall be decisive. All measures of longitude have been figured from Greenwich.

ARTICLE IV

The Territory of Pechenga, which is bounded on the southeast and east by the boundary mentioned in paragraph 1 of Article 2; on the west by the present boundary between Finland and Russia from the Korvatunturi boundary stone No. 90 near Kauri Lake to the tri-state boundary stone No. 94, where the Finnish, Russian, and Norwegian boundaries join; and on the northwest by the present boundaries of Russia and Norway; immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty Russia shall relinquish its territorial waters to Finland for all time to be owned with full sovereign rights, and Russia shall surrender for the benefit of Finland all its privileges and claims in reference to the territory thus relinquished. Russia shall remove its troops from the territory of Pechenga within 45 days after the ratification of this treaty.

ARTICLE V

During one month after the treaty of peace has gone into effect the governments of Finland and Russia shall each select two members on a special commission, which shall, during a period of nine months, perform the surveying of boundary marks, as set forth in paragraph 1 of Article 2.

ARTICLE VI

1. Finland binds itself not to keep any battleships or other armed vessels in the waters on the coast of the Arctic Ocean owned by it, not including armed vessels of less

than one hundred tons, which Finland may keep without limit, and not more than fifteen battleships and other armed vessels, each of which shall not be over four hundred (400) tons. Finland further binds itself not to keep in the waters aforementioned any submarines nor any armed aeroplanes.

2. Finland also binds itself not to build on this coast any naval harbors, naval bases, or naval repair shops which are larger in scope than the aforementioned vessels and their arming make necessary.

ARTICLE VII

1. The contracting parties hereby grant to the citizens of the other contracting party the right to carry on fishing and to ply freely with fishing boats in the territorial waters on the coast of the Arctic Ocean, relinquished to Finland, as well as on the territorial waters off the northern and eastern shores of the Kalastaya Peninsula, which remain the property of Russia, as far as the Sharapov Point.

2. On the coast territory mentioned in the foregoing paragraph the citizens of both states shall have the right to land and to build necessary shelters and storage sheds, as well as other buildings and establishments necessary to carry on fishing and dressing of fish.

3. The contracting parties hereby agree after the peace treaty goes into effect to draw up a special agreement on the conditions and regulations governing fishing and the plying of fishing craft in the territorial waters on the coast mentioned in the first paragraph.

ARTICLE VIII

1. The State of Russia and Russian citizens are granted free passage through the territory of Pechenga to Norway and back.

2. Goods which are transported from Russia to Norway through the territory of Pechenga as well as goods which are transported through the same territory from Norway to Russia, shall be free of all inspection and overseeing, except such overseeing as is necessary for arranging through traffic. And no customs fees shall be collected on these goods, nor transit nor other charges. The supervision of the above-mentioned goods in transit shall be permitted only in the form established in international transportation in cases of this nature.

3. Russian citizens, who travel through the territory of Pechenga to Norway and from Norway back to Russia, shall be entitled to free through passage on passports granted by the proper Russian officials.

4. While complying with the general regulations now in effect, unarmed Russian aeroplanes shall have the right to carry on aerial transportation between Russia and Norway over the territory of Pechenga.

5. Through fares on lines over which travel and transportation of goods from Russia to Norway and vice versa, through the territory of Pechenga, is permitted without hindrance, and further conditions for carrying out the regulations mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, as well as the consular representation of Russia in the Pechenga Territory, shall be set forth in a special agreement to be drawn up between Finland and Russia after the treaty of peace has gone into effect.

ARTICLE IX

Russian citizens, who have their domicile within the Pechenga territory, shall without further action become citizens of Finland, with the exception, however, that those who have passed the age of eighteen years shall have the right, within one year from the day the treaty of peace goes into effect to choose Russian citizenship. The husband shall make the choice for his wife, providing no agreement has been made between them to the contrary, and the parents for their children until the age of eighteen. Persons choosing Russian citizenship may, during the following year, freely move away from the territory, and transport with them all their chattels free of all customs and export duties. These persons shall retain all their rights in real property which they leave in the territory relinquished to Finland.

ARTICLE X

Within forty-five days after the treaty of peace has gone

into effect Finland shall remove its troops from the parishes of Rapola and Porajärvi, which shall be restored to the State of Russia and shall be annexed to the East-Karelian autonomous territory, formed by the Karelian population of the governments of Archangel and Olonets and now enjoying the right of national self-determination.

ARTICLE XI

In reference to the more definite conditions for the annexation of the parishes of Repola and Porajärvi to the East-Karelian autonomous territory, as mentioned in the foregoing article, the following has been agreed upon for the benefit of the local population.

1. Residents of the parishes shall be granted full amnesty in accordance with Article 35 of this treaty.

2. The maintenance of local public peace within the territory of the parishes during the two years following the ratification of this treaty shall be left to a militia organized by the local population.

3. The residents of the parishes shall be guaranteed the right of ownership of all their personal belongings within their parishes, as well as the right freely to control and use the estates owned and cultivated by them, and other real estate in their possession, within the limits of the laws in effect in the East-Karelian autonomous territory.

4. Every resident of these parishes, who desires, shall have the right during one year after the peace treaty has gone into effect, freely to move away from Russia. Those moving away from Russia in this manner are entitled to carry away with them all their personal belongings, and to retain all their rights in the real property they leave in the territory of the parishes within the bounds of the laws in effect in the East-Karelian autonomous territory.

5. Finnish citizens and Finnish companies, having in their possession timber-cutting contracts made prior to June 1, 1920, shall retain the right, during one year after the peace treaty has gone into effect, to carry out within the parishes mentioned the terms of their contracts in reference to the cutting of timber, and to carry away the timber so cut.

ARTICLE XII

The contracting parties support in principle the neutralization of the Gulf of Finland and the entire Baltic Sea, and pledge themselves to cooperate for the realization of this object.

ARTICLE XIII

Finland shall neutralize in a military sense the following islands belonging to it in the Gulf of Finland; Someri, Narvi, Peninsulaari, Lavansaari, Suuri Tytärsaari, Pieni Tytärsaari, and Riuseri. This military neutralization shall include, that no forts, batteries, war harbors nor naval bases shall be built or located upon these islands, nor any stores of military property or supplies, and that no troops excepting those necessary to maintain public order shall be stationed there. Finland, however, is entitled to maintain military observation stations on the islands of Someri and Narvi.

ARTICLE XIV

Finland shall, immediately after the peace treaty has gone into effect, commence the military neutralization of Suursaari Island under any international guarantee. This neutralization shall include, that no forts, batteries, radio stations of greater strength than one kilowatt, no war harbors and naval stations, stores of military and war supplies shall be built or located upon this island, and that more troops than are necessary for upholding public order shall not be stationed there. Russia pledges itself to support the obtaining of the aforementioned international guarantee.

ARTICLE XV

Finland shall, within three months after the peace treaty has gone into effect, remove the locks of all cannons, all aiming and directing apparatus and munitions from the forts of Ino and Puumala, and shall demolish these forts within one year after the peace treaty has gone into effect. Finland pledges itself not to build on the coast between Seivästö and Inonniemi, within 20 km. from the shore, any armored towers or batteries, the firing sectors of which make it possible to fire across the boundary of the Finnish

territorial waters, or on the coast between Inonniemi and Rajajoki (Systerbäck) within 20 km. from the shore any batteries the carrying capacity of which reaches over the boundary of the Finnish territorial waters.

ARTICLE XVI

1. The contracting parties pledge themselves not to maintain on the Ladoga, on its coasts, on the rivers flowing into the Ladoga, on the canals tributary thereto, nor on the Neva River from Ivanoski to Porori, any military fortifications serving offensive purposes; but warships of a capacity not exceeding one hundred tons and which are not provided with guns of a caliber over 47 millimeters may be kept, as well as naval stations corresponding in size. Russia, however, shall have the right to bring war vessels into its internal waters through the canals on the southern coast of the Ladoga, or in case traffic through the canals is blocked, also through the southern portion of the Ladoga.

ARTICLE XVII

1. Russia hereby grants Finnish trading and freight vessels unhindered passage on the Neva River between the Gulf of Finland and the Ladoga on the same conditions as Russian vessels. These vessels, however, shall not transport war materials nor military supplies. The contracting parties agree, in the event that either party so demands, not later than one year after the demand is presented, to commence negotiations for drawing up a treaty defining the conditions set forth in this article. This, however, shall not prevent the use of the right herein granted.

ARTICLE XVIII

The height of the water in the Ladoga shall not be changed without a prearranged agreement between Finland and Russia.

ARTICLE XIX

Questions concerning customs inspection, fishing, the care of maritime commercial establishments, the upholding of order beyond the territorial waters in the Gulf of Finland, the sweeping of this free portion of the Gulf of Finland of mines, the unification of the pilot service, and other similar questions, shall be left for consideration with one or more Finnish-Russian mixed committees.

ARTICLE XX

1. The contracting parties shall without delay, after the peace treaty has gone into effect, undertake to formulate an agreement to establish passport and customs regulations and the general organization of frontier trade on the Isthmus of Karelia with a view to satisfying the local conditions and the practical needs of both sides.

2. Frontier traffic on the other portions of the Finnish and Russian frontier shall also be arranged by the means of special agreements.

3. After the peace treaty has gone into effect, a mixed committee shall immediately be appointed to draw up a proposal for the adjustment of the aforementioned relations.

ARTICLE XXI

1. The contracting parties agree immediately after the peace treaty has gone into effect to begin negotiations for an agreement for the purpose of arranging the transportation and rafting of timber in the waters running from the territory of one of the signatories to the territory of the other. This agreement must be based upon the following principles: That transportation and rafting in such waters are permitted for both sides without hindrance as well across the frontiers as within the territory of the contracting parties as far as the sea, and concerning the rafting in particular the citizens of the states that are parties to the treaty are given the rights of the most favored rafter.

2. The contracting parties will also open negotiations with the purpose of effecting an agreement as to the maintenance of a main channel for passage as well as to the arrangement of fishing, and of taking measures that will advance pisciculture in the waters mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and also in the waters adjacent to the frontier between the contracting parties.

ARTICLE XXII

The property of the Russian State and state institutions in Finland is declared to be the exclusive property of the Finnish State without compensation. Likewise the property of the Finnish State or state institutions in Russia is declared to be the exclusive property of the Russian state without compensation.

N. B. Both contracting parties retain for themselves three city real estates with land and buildings of their former state property for diplomatic and consular service.

ARTICLE XXIII

1. The Finnish Government agrees immediately after the peace treaty goes into effect, to deliver to the Russian State Russian ships located within its territory or used by it, which were left there in the year 1918, according to a list appended to this treaty.

2. If private persons or companies present any claims concerning ships delivered to the Russian State, the Russian Government frees Finland of all responsibility for the delivery of these ships to Russia and agrees to assume the responsibility for settling all claims which may possibly be presented to the Finnish Government. The Russian Government undertakes to settle the question of ownership concerning these ships and therefore all such claims should be presented to it.

3. The Russian Government agrees to return to the former owners all ships owned by Finnish citizens or companies enjoying the right of domicile in Finland, which were confiscated by the Russian Government during the World War without any compensation to their owners as well as Finnish ships which without compensation have become the property of the Russian State. The ships mentioned in this clause are given in a list appended to the peace treaty.

ARTICLE XXIV

Both contracting parties renounce all claims to its payment of war expenditures. Finland does not take part in the payment of expenditures caused to Russia by the world war of 1914-18.

ARTICLE XXV

Neither contracting party is responsible for the state debts or other obligations incurred by the other party.

ARTICLE XXVI

The debts and other obligations of the Russian State and state institutions to the Finnish State and to the Bank of Finland as well as the debts and other obligations of the Finnish State and state institutions to the Russian State and state institutions are declared to be liquidated on both sides. Therefore the contract in regard to supplying grain made between the Finnish and Russian governments in 1917 as well as the agreement concerning rates of exchange made in the same year between the Bank of Finland and the Russian Chancery of Credit are considered null and void.

ARTICLE XXVII

Russia recognizes that Finland is not responsible for the losses of the ships or other property of citizens or companies of a third power that they have had in Finland, and that they suffered through the acts of Russian officials during the world war, before Finland became independent. Claims of this nature must be submitted to the Russian Government.

ARTICLE XXVIII

Finnish citizens and companies or associations enjoying domicile rights in Finland have in regard to their property in Russia as well as to their claims and other demands from the Russian state or its state institutions, the same rights and privileges as Russia has granted or will grant to the citizens of the most favored country.

ARTICLE XXIX

1. The contracting parties agree to return immediately the archives and documents of public offices and institutions, which are within its territory and which relate exclusively or chiefly to the other contracting party or its history.

In consequence hereof, the Russian Government will deliver to the Finnish Government also the archives of the

state secretariat of the former Grand Duchy of Finland with the exception, however, that the Russian Government retains for itself those documents of these archives which relate exclusively or chiefly to Russia or its history. The Finnish Government shall have the right to take copies of these documents retained by the Russian Government.

2. The Russian Government shall deliver to the Finnish Government copies of the latest topographical and hydrographical charts of Finland as well as materials concerning the unfinished triangulation work within the Finnish territory which charts and material are in the possession of the Russian Government.

ARTICLE XXX

The Finnish Government agrees to reserve in the Halila Sanatorium in the parish of Uusikirkko half of the sick beds for the inhabitants of Petrograd and its vicinity for the period of ten years under the same conditions as for the Finnish citizens.

ARTICLE XXXI

After the peace treaty has gone into effect economic relations shall be renewed between the contracting parties. For this purpose the contracting parties shall immediately after the peace treaty goes into effect appoint a committee consisting of representatives of both states to draft a plan for arranging the commercial relations between both countries and for bringing about a commercial agreement.

ARTICLE XXXII

Until the conclusion of a commercial agreement the following temporary provisions shall be followed in the commercial relations between Finland and Russia, both contracting parties having the right to give notice of the termination of this agreement to the other party six months beforehand.

1. Goods in transit passing through the territory of the contracting parties must be allowed to be transported on all transportation lines opened for through traffic, or transportation lines opened in the future, observing the rules given for the organization of traffic and for the ability of transportation and for the satisfaction of the traffic needs of their own country and for the general safety.

2. Freight rates and other fees involved, levied on the goods in transit or goods transported on state railroads or state ships shall not be higher than the rates of the same kind transported in the home country. The other fees of these shall be according to the principle accorded to the most favored nation. If the freight rates for transporting home goods in Russia are discontinued, the rates for goods in transit from Finland shall not be higher than the rates charged for the goods in transit of the most favored nation.

3. Freight rates for goods transported from one country to another, shall not be higher nor shall there be any other transportation fees than those charged for the same kind of goods for transportation in the home country. If the freight rates for transporting home goods in Russia are discontinued, the freight rates and other fees for Finnish goods shall not be higher than those charged for the goods of the most favored nation.

4. Prohibitive measures concerning import, export or transit are allowed only to the extent that they are based on legislation concerning public safety, public health, alcoholic liquors and adjustment of the economic life of one's own country.

5. The contracting parties reserve for themselves the privilege of subjecting certain commercial and industrial fields to a monopoly.

6. The freight and passenger carrying vessels of the contracting parties, under the obligation that they comply with regulations that are now in force in the respective countries or such as will be passed in the future, concerning the vessels of each country as well as with regulations and ordinances made necessary by the maintenance of public safety or by customs service supervision, are entitled to go to all those ports of the other country, use the harbor establishments and to fare through the territorial and inland waters, rivers and canals of the other country, which have been opened or in the future will be opened for the vessels of the home country. Charges that will be imposed

upon the vessels of the other country and their cargoes as well as fees for using the harbor establishments shall not be higher than charges that are levied upon the vessels of the most favored country and their cargoes. An exception can be made to these regulations in regard to traffic by coastal craft and fishing vessels. The traffic between Baltic and other regular Russian frontier ports and inland harbors will not be considered as coastal traffic. Russian trading and passenger vessels will be allowed free passage in all channels of traffic within Finnish territorial waters open to Finnish vessels, under condition that they comply with piloting regulations in force in Finland regarding foreign vessels.

7. Finnish raw materials, home industry and manufacture are, when exported to Russia, freed from all customs and other import duties.

ARTICLE XXXIII

The contracting parties will proceed immediately after the peace treaty has gone into effect to take necessary measures to arrange the railroad traffic between Finland and Russia and from Russia to Finland, to and from stations between Rajaoki and Petrograd, including the station at Petrograd, and to take up negotiations with the purpose of uniting the railroad systems of both countries and bringing about a direct connection between both countries.

ARTICLE XXXIV

The postal and telegraphic communication between Finland and Russia will be resumed after the peace treaty has gone into effect, and the contracting states have to enter into a separate agreement concerning the same. The Finnish Government does not place any obstacles in the way of arranging that the Russian state will to the end of the year 1946 be given the exclusive use, for the purposes of telegraphic communication, of the three direct telegraphic lines (former numbers 13, 60 and 42), that pass through the Finnish territory from Rajajoki to Nystad, connecting Petrograd with Stockholm, Newcastle and Fredericia and which the Finnish Government by an agreement of January 9, 1920, has transferred to "Det Store Nordiske Telegraf Selskabet" to be used by it for telegraphic exchange with Russia under the condition that the provision of the said agreement regarding the arrangement of the telegraphic communication be complied with. The Russian Government will remit to the Finnish State all the transit charges to Finland as an independent state in accordance with the regulations contained in the manual of the International Telegraph Association and the rules and regulations attached thereto, until these charges become payable by the sender on the basis of a mutual agreement of the respective states. The Russian State will also retain for the same period of time the rights, which it possesses on the strength of an agreement made with the Det Store Nordiske Telegraf-Selakabet" to two cables running from Nystad to Grislehamn and maintaining a direct telegraphic connection with Sweden.

ARTICLE XXXV

1. Finnish citizens dwelling in Russia and Russian citizens dwelling in Finland are allowed after the ratification of the peace treaty to return to Finland, unless they have been arrested in the other country for a felony.

2. All war prisoners of the contracting parties shall as soon as possible be returned to their native country. The contracting parties will determine in a separate agreement, in which order this repatriation shall be effected.

3. Other citizens of the other state, who have been detained or confined on account of the state of war or for political reasons, shall be liberated at once and returned to their native country at the earliest opportunity.

4. A Finnish or Russian citizen, upon whom a sentence has been inflicted before the signing of this peace treaty for a political offense perpetrated in favor of one of the contracting parties or because he has had connections with the armies or the governmental organs of the other contracting party or because he has committed a punishable act with the purpose of accomplishing the right of national self-determination, will be freed from suffering any fur-

ther punishment and liberated at once. If he is under indictment or under arrest for such an offense, but has not yet been tried and sentenced or if he has not yet been indicted, the right of indictment will be annulled, whether he be within or without the borders of the country and in the future no such indictment shall be resorted to. If he has either in addition or exclusively been guilty of any other offense against the prevailing political or social order of his country and after that fled to the territory of the other contracting party, he shall enjoy the amnesty proclaimed in his home country about such offenses in the same manner as those remaining in the home country, who have been indicted and sentenced, enjoy it.

ARTICLE XXXVI

The diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties shall be arranged immediately after the peace treaty has gone into effect. After the peace treaty has gone into effect the contracting parties will proceed to draw an agreement about the consular service.

ARTICLE XXXVII

To carry out the peace treaty as well as to settle any such questions of common or private law as may be evolved from the peace treaty, a Finno-Russian mixed committee will be created immediately after that has gone into effect, which committee is authorized to create sub-committees to deal with territorial questions, to arrange economic rela-

tions, to exchange war prisoners and refugees, and to deal with other necessary questions. The composition and the program of work of the committee mentioned in this article will be determined by an agreement to be entered into later on. The tasks, privileges and duties of each sub-committee will be determined by separate regulations, which will be approved by the committee. Whenever no decision will be arrived at in the sub-committee on account of a draw, the question shall be submitted to the plenary session of the committee for decision. If there is a draw also in the committee, the question will be submitted to the governments for settlement.

ARTICLE XXXVIII

Of this peace treaty copies have been drawn in the Finnish, Swedish, Russian, and French languages and the texts of all these have the same validity.

ARTICLE XXXIX

This peace treaty has to be ratified. The exchange of the ratified copies will take place at Moscow. The peace treaty will become legally valid immediately after the exchange of the ratified copies. In faith whereof the delegates of both contracting parties have set their hand under this peace treaty and attached their seals thereto. The original has been drawn in two copies in each language and signed at Dorpat October 14, 1920.

THE NEXT ISSUE OF

SOVIET RUSSIA

which will appear January 22, coincides with the Sixteenth Anniversary of "Bloody Sunday", the first open incident that precipitated the Russian Revolution of 1905. January 22 is a legal holiday in Soviet Russia, and this issue will be largely devoted to material commemorative of the 1905 events. Among other items of interest will be:

Leon Trotsky: The Revolution of October 1917 [disposes of the fiction that the revolution was a Soviet coup d'etat executed by a small circle].

Lincoln Colcord: British Denial of Russian Sovereignty.

Alfons Goldschmidt: Russia's Resources of Potash.

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The Proletariat on Its Knees

By ROSA LUXEMBURG (Born May 5, 1871—Murdered January 15, 1919)

[This article appeared in 1905 in one of the February numbers of "Die Neue Zeit", which was then edited by Karl Kautsky. Its brilliant analysis is perhaps better understood by those who are acquainted with the German conditions to which reference is frequently made, as the author was then living in Germany. Particularly amusing is the analogy suggested between Gapon and Friedrich Naumann, the "Christian" Socialist who was destined to become one of the leading pan-Germans.]

THERE is nothing so well calculated to liberate our modes of thought from the restrictive fetters of routine as a revolutionary period. Real history, like creative nature, is far more bizarre and fruitful in its caprices than the classifying and systematizing pedant.

When the first news of the entreating pilgrimage of the Petersburg proletariat reached foreign countries, it universally aroused very mixed and no doubt depressed feelings. It was a strange scene of primitive simplicity, not without a strain of tragic splendor, veiled in mystic, strange and disturbing raiment, that presented itself to the realistic eyes of the sober European, who shook his head regretfully over this disastrous blindness of a whole people. We were reminded of Paris, of the barricades, of the entirely western nature of the situation, only by the cannon brought up to Vassili Ostrov, by the literally "dead" earnest with which the strange procession was received by the Czarism. And we were completely convinced that it was not an oriental caravan, but a modern proletarian revolution, when we read of the commotions in all the other cities of Russia, which were assuming the Russian form, that of the general strike, together with a very extensive distribution of socialistic leaflets. In spite of all our respect for these leaflets, we must nevertheless point out how erroneous it would be to assume that it was they that put the

revolution in motion. In the Russian Revolution also, which we now witness, the task of the Social-Democracy is simply that of formulating the revolutionary aspect of the proletarian revolution, of affording it clear expression, of freeing it from the envelope of an elementary eruption. The revolutionary kernel is present from the very start, in all the manifestations—both in the general strike, spreading with the speed of lightning, and in the entreaties of the Petersburg proletariat itself.

The illusion that the political troubles in the country are to be assigned to a "misunderstanding" between the monarch and his people, maintained by a systematic intrigue on the part of the "advisers" of the crown as well as the entire court clique, who insert themselves between the people and its misled monarch, does not even need to be regarded as an exotic outgrowth of the peculiar circumstances in Russia, or of its mystic semi-darkness. We in Germany have no need to cast about elsewhere in the world for a parallel example. Is it not an old and yet ever-new device of the political stock in trade of German liberalism to convince itself and others that the German kaiser is "badly informed" by his advisers, and prevented from securing a direct understanding with the people? The fact that in Germany "the people" means all the liberal champions themselves, with their many grievances over Jewish judges not admitted

to office, and other like troubles, does not alter anything about this profound interpretation.

But there is a profound difference between the political value of such an illusion in the minds of a declining liberal bourgeoisie and of a rising modern working class. The theory of the "misled monarch" is a completely adequate political expression of the political aspirations now dwelling in the breasts of present-day German liberalism. An ingratiating whine at the foot of the throne, as a *means*, and an old-maidish carping at the minor blemishes of the best of all worlds, in which we live, as the *purpose* of the liberal policy, furnish together a perfect harmony, a perfect balance, one that assures to this policy a century of undisturbed existence, with no less prospect of success, enabling German liberalism to look ever hopefully heavenward, ever attending the celestial dew of the imperial favor, ever patiently removing from its countenance whatever other fluids may descend from above.

On the other hand, between the myth of the "good monarch" and the historical ambitions, the class interests, of the modern proletariat, there lies a great gulf. All those who were dismayed at the first moment by the humbly beseeching attitude of the people of Petersburg, when solemnly, with moist eyes, the image of the Crucified in their hands, they set out to meet the Czar, forgot the principle for the spectacle, the little point that the humble "entreaty" of the masses to the Czar meant nothing else than a request that His Holy Majesty might with his own gracious hands decapitate himself as the Sole Ruler of All the Russias. It was a request that the Autocrat exterminate Autocracy, that the wolf now feed on tender herbs instead of warm blood. It was the most radical political program, clothed in the form of a touching patriarchal idyll, the most modern class impulse of a profoundly earnest and mature proletariat, concealed as a phantastic whim of an old nurse's fairy tale. And it is precisely this contradiction between the revolutionary kernel of the proletarian interests and the primitive shell of the illusion of the "good monarch" that could not fail to produce the kindling spark of street revolution as soon as it met the test of reality.

But this test was not slow in coming. With the full elemental power of popular masses in times of storm the working classes rush to put their conception to the test, for their attitude toward their beliefs is just as much one of holy faith as that of the liberal bourgeoisie, to its own creed, is one of cowardly cynicism. The Petersburg proletariat acts seriously on its faith in the Czar, and, with the impressive simplicity of great decision it marches to the palace of the Autocrat. But here it becomes at once apparent that the monarchic idea—in Russia as well as elsewhere—simply cannot exist without the protective wall of the "bad advisers", the court clique, and the bureaucracy, without the screen of half-darkness behind which it conceals itself from its subjects. It is enough to have the aroused masses hit upon the thought, childish in

appearance, but terrible in reality, of looking their country's ruler in the eye, and realizing the myth of the "social royalty", or "social empire",—to reveal the encounter necessarily as a collision between two mortal enemies, a day of reckoning between two worlds, a battle of two eras.

Only the indestructible stupidity of the present-day liberal crowd could sooth itself with the notion that all that was to blame for the revolutionary outcome of the episode of the Neva was the circumstances that the Czar did not come out good-naturedly to the Petersburg "mob" and listen graciously to them, that it was only the ill-advised reception of the proletarian procession with cold lead that prevented the whole scene from being transformed into a genuine liberal farce of reconciliation between the country's ruler and his dear children, with mingled tears of both, and mutual hurrahs, a touching "play for the people", after the Iffland pattern, such as German liberalism has executed in innumerable performances, from the memorable Rotteck Mayoralty days of 1833 at Freiburg, to the very latest times.

For such a spectacle was not entirely new in history, and it began quite in accordance with the liberal recipe. On October 5, 1789, when the Paris proletariat, with their women at the head, marched to Versailles to bring back their fat Capet and have a word alone with him at Paris, the matter at first proceeded with due decorum and without a hitch. Louis XVI, with quaking lips, to be sure, gave assurance that he would return "confidently and gladly" to his dear Parisians, and soon thereafter there was a great display on the Champ de Mars of mutual exchanges of oaths of fealty and eternity, which really did seem to be unending, somewhat in the manner of a lovesick Frenchman and a blushing "chicken", under the mistletoe. And yet the kindly Louis became so involved in the play, with his people, so idyllically inaugurated, that he finally lost his fat head altogether.

The Russian Revolution has begun differently, but might very easily have a similar outcome in this respect. And we must give little Nicholas and his "poor advisers" the credit of admitting that from *their* standpoint they have evaluated the situation much more correctly than the German-Liberal shysters of restricted despotism, and that they grasped the dangerous revolutionary content of the humble utterance of the Petersburg proletariat much more rapidly than did even many a Western European Social-Democrat, when they decided to answer the very first step of the proletarian petition with despotism's very last card.

If the dear cousins and colleagues of Nicholas desire to draw a lesson from the events of the immediate past, it would be first of all that they should threaten "with the severest penalty, including penal servitude", not those workers who are on strike and engaged in frank and sober conflict, but those who seek to cherish and spread among the people the belief in the "good, misled monarch". It is from such heretical teachings that the most dangerous notion of the popular masses may later

arise to have direct conversation, face to face, with their ruler, and "beg" him for certain things that may be just as hard to grant as the striking off of one's own head.

And we ourselves may also, among the many other teachings of the Russian Revolution, learn from the Petersburg events the habit of removing from the content of the revolutionary mass movements their often contradictory outer shell, instead of permitting them to be confused one for the other. Should the proletariat in some country or other

hit upon the idea of moving spontaneously before the honored legislative assemblies and government buildings, with the solemn decision to demand a transfer of the helm of state from the hands of the ruling classes to those of the toiling masses, or else, as said the Petersburg workers, "rather die themselves", even if Pastor Naumann himself be their leader, we may with due peace of mind prepare for the strongholds of capitalist wage-slavery those placards that once adorned the square of the already taken Bastille, "Dancing Here".

The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia

(From "Vperyod", Geneva, January 31, 1905)

[The periodical from which the following article is taken was the official organ of the Bolshevik section of the Social-Democratic Party, appearing under the editorship of N. Lenin, with the assistance of Bonch-Bruyevich and others. The article itself is very probably from the pen of Lenin himself. The division between the Bolshevik and Menshevik sections of the Social-Democratic Party had already taken place in 1903.]

Geneva, Wednesday, January 25, 1905.

THE greatest political events are taking place in Russia. The proletariat has revolted against Czarism. The proletariat has been brought to revolt by the government. At present there can hardly be any doubt as to the fact that the government had purposely permitted the strike movement to develop without hindrance and the great demonstration to start, in order to bring matters to the point of applying armed force. And this is the result! Thousands of killed and wounded—such is the outcome of the bloody Sunday of January 9 (22) in Petersburg. The army conquered the unarmed workers, women and children. The army overpowered the enemy, killing the workmen lying on the ground. "We gave you a good lesson," with unspeakable cynicism the czarist servants now say, and their European lackeys from the conservative bourgeoisie repeat their words.

The lesson was great, indeed! The Russian proletariat will not forget it. The most unprepared, the most backward strata of the working class, who had had faith in the Czar and who had sincerely desired to hand peacefully to the "Czar himself" the supplications of the exhausted people, all of them received a lesson from the armed force, led by the Czar or by the Czar's uncle, the Grand Duke Vladimir.

The Russian proletariat has received a great lesson in civil war; the revolutionary education of the proletariat has made in one day such progress as it could not have achieved by months or years of its gray, dull life of every-day. The slogans of the heroic Petersburg proletariat: "Life or Liberty!" are reverberating and resounding over all of Russia. Events are developing with a striking rapidity. The general strike in Petersburg is growing. The entire industrial, social, and political life is paralyzed. On Monday, January 10 (23), collisions between the workmen and the army are becoming sharper. Contrary to the lying official communiques, blood is running in many, many

parts of the capital. The workers of Kolpino rise. The proletariat is arming itself and the people. The workers are said to have captured the armory of Sestroretsk. The workers are providing themselves with revolvers, they are forging their instruments into arms, and seizing bombs for the desperate struggle for freedom. The general strike has even embraced the provinces. In Moscow, 10,000 workmen have struck already. For tomorrow (Thursday, January 13 (26), a general strike is declared in Moscow. A riot took place in Riga. Workers are making demonstrations in Lodz; an uprising is in preparation in Warsaw; demonstrations of the proletariat are taking place in Helsingfors. In Baku, Odessa, Kiev, Kharkov, Kovno, and Vilna unrest is growing among the workmen, and the strike is spreading. In Sebastopol the store and arsenals of the Naval Department are in flames, —and the army refuses to shoot at the revolting sailors. There is strike in Reval and Saratov. An armed encounter has taken place between the army of the workmen and the reserves at Radom.

The revolution is growing. The government begins already to stagger and to lose its head. From a policy of bloody repression it tries now to shift to economic concessions and to extricate itself by means of a sop or a promise of a nine-hour working-day. But the lesson of the bloody day cannot pass by in vain. The demand of the Petersburg workers—immediate convocation of a constituent assembly on the basis of a general, direct, equal, and secret vote—must become the demand of all the workers on strike. Immediate overthrow of the government: this is the slogan in response to the slaughter of January 9 (22), on the part of the Petersburg workers, even those who have faith in the Czar, which was expressed by their leader, the priest Gapon, who said after the bloody day: "We have no more a Czar; a river of blood separates the Czar from the people. Hail the struggle for freedom!"

Hail the revolutionary proletariat! say we. The

general strike raises and mobilizes the masses of the working class and of the city poor. The arming of the people becomes one of the immediate aims of the revolutionary moment.

Only an armed people can be a true support of the people's freedom. And the sooner the proletariat shall succeed in arming itself, the longer it will be able to withstand, on the war position of a striker-revolutionist, the sooner will the army stagger, the more numerous will become among the soldiers such men as will understand at last what they are doing, who will side with the people against the outcasts, the tyrants, against the murderers of unarmed workmen, their wives and children. Whatever may be the outcome of the present uprising in Petersburg itself, at any rate it will inevitably and infallibly become the first step to a wider, more conscious, and more carefully prepared uprising. The government may perhaps succeed in delaying the hour of accounting, but the delay will only make the next step of the revolutionary onslaught the more grandiose. The delay will be merely of use to the Social-Democratic Party for rallying the ranks of the organized fighters and spreading the news of the initiative of the Petersburg workers. The proletariat will join in the struggle, leaving the factories and shops, and making arms for themselves. In the midst of the city poor, in the midst of the millions of peasants will spread wider and wider the slogans of the struggle for freedom. Revolutionary committees will be founded in every factory, in every district of the city, in every larger village. The revolting people will overthrow each and every governmental institution of the Czarist absolutism, proclaiming the immediate convocation of a constituent assembly.

Immediate arming of workers and all citizens in

general, preparation and organization of all revolutionary forces for the annihilation of all governmental authorities and institutions: this is the practical basis upon which all revolutionists may and ought to unite for the common weal. The proletariat must always march its own independent road, without losing its connection with the Social-Democratic Party, aware of its great ultimate aims of liberating all mankind from every form of exploitation. But this independence of the Social-Democratic proletarian party will never make us forget the importance of a common revolutionary onslaught at the moment of real revolution. We, Social-Democrats may and must march independently of the revolutionists from the bourgeois democracy, but we must march hand in hand at the time of insurrection, while delivering direct blows at Czarism, resisting the army, attacking the bastille of the cursed enemy of the Russian people.

The proletariat of the whole world is looking now with feverish impatience upon the proletariat of all Russia. The overthrow of Czarism in Russia, heroically initiated by our working class, will be the turning point in the history of all countries; it will make easier the cause of all the workers of all countries, in all states, at all the ends of the earth. And let every Social-Democrat, let every class conscious worker remember how great are the aims of the struggle of a whole people, aims resting also upon his shoulders. Let him not forget that he represents the interests also of the whole peasantry of the whole mass of laboring and exploited people, of the whole people, against the enemy of all the people. All behold now the example of the hero-proletarians of Petersburg.

Long live the Revolution!

Long live the proletariat that has risen!

The November Revolution

By LEON TROTSKY

[The following article was written by the People's Commissar for War, in connection with the celebration of the third anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet power. It is particularly interesting for the light it throws on the methods used in the seizure of power, and for its emphasis of the fact that this seizure was not accomplished by a small group of conspirators, but was supported by the entire people, with the full knowledge of when the coup d'état would take place.]

IN CONNECTION with the November Revolution it is a good point to emphasize a fact that various reports and articles have not sufficiently considered. The November Revolution had so to speak, been set in advance for a definite date, namely, November 7 (October 25 according to the old calendar). It was not fixed in a secret conference but openly, before the whole people, and this victorious revolution took place just as it had been planned, on November 7, 1917.

The history of the world records many revolts and revolutionary uprisings. But one would seek in vain a second revolution by oppressed classes, which fixed in advance for a certain day, was accomplished on the day indicated, and with com-

plete success. From this standpoint, as from many others, the November Revolution is unique, without parallel. It was decided that the seizure of power at Petrograd was to coincide with the Second Congress of Soviets. This "coincidence" was not due to calculation on the part of conspirators. It was the direct consequence of the preceding course of the Revolution, and particularly of the work of organization and propaganda by our party. We asked for a transfer of power to the Soviets. Under the banner of our party, the majority in the most important Soviets grouped around this banner. Consequently we could no longer "demand" the transfer of power to the hands of the Soviets; for, being a controlling party in the Soviets, it was

our duty to "take" this power. We did not doubt that the Second Congress of Soviets would give us the majority. Our enemies did not doubt it either. For that reason they opposed, with all their might, the convocation of the Congress. Therefore, in the session of the Soviets Section of the Democratic Council, it was attempted, by every means, to prevent the calling of the Second Congress of Soviets, and failing in this—to delay it. The Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries assigned as their motive for their resistance to the calling of the Congress, that the Congress might serve the Bolsheviks in their attempt to seize the power. We, on our part, insisted on a speedy convocation, without in the least concealing the fact that, in our opinion, the Congress would be necessary for the precise purpose of anatching the power from the hands of the Kerensky Government. Finally, on the occasion of the vote of the section of the Democratic Council, Dan succeeded in delaying the convocation of the Second Congress from the 15 to the 24 of October. In this way the realist politician of the Mensheviks succeeded in cheating history out of ten days. At all the meetings of workers and soldiers in Petrograd, we treated the question in the following manner: The Second Congress of Soviets will meet on October 25; the Petrograd proletariat and garrison will ask, first of all, that the Congress put the question of power on the order of the day, and will resolve that, from that day on, the power shall be placed in the hands of the Congress of Soviets. In case the Kerensky Government should attempt to dissolve the Congress, then—numberless motions ran to this effect—the Petrograd garrison would say the decisive word.

Tireless propaganda was carried on. In fixing the Congress for October 25, and in putting on the order of the day, as a capital and essential question, the realization (not the discussion but the realization) of the transfer of power to the hands of the Soviets, we practically fixed October 25 as the day of the Revolution and did it openly before the eyes of "society" and its "government". Closely connected with the preparation of the Congress was the question of the calling of an important part of the Petrograd garrison. Kerensky feared the soldiers, and with reason. He proposed to Cheremissoff, who was then in command of the Army of the North, to send to the front those regiments whose allegiance was doubted. As is proved by the correspondence of October 25, Cheremissoff evaded this demand, for he considered the Petrograd garrison to be "worked up by propaganda", and consequently not fit to be used for an imperialistic war. But, under the pressure of Kerensky, who permitted himself to be guided by purely political motives, Cheremissoff issued the order as demanded.

As soon as the General Staff had given to the Executive Committee of the Soviets at Petrograd the order to displace a portion of the troops, we saw clearly, we the delegates of the proletarian opposition, that, in its further development, this fear was going to attain a capital importance. Restlessly expecting the revolution that was fixed for

October 25, Kerensky tried to disarm revolutionary Petrograd. There was nothing for us to do but to oppose him in this matter, not only with the workers, but also with the whole garrison. First of all it was decided to create, in the form of a revolutionary military committee, an organ that was to investigate the military motives put forward as an explanation for the transfer of the Petrograd garrison. Thus, side by side with the political representative of the garrison, the soldiers' section of the Soviets caused the creation of a revolutionary general staff.

The Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries understood immediately that the machinery for armed revolution was being created, and said so openly in the session of the Soviets. Although they had voted against the formation of a revolutionary military committee, the Mensheviks now advocated it—that they might play, in the revolution, the part of notary or scribe. After having first succeeded in prolonging their political existence by ten days, they now assured themselves of the privilege of registering their own political death, as spectators.

The Congress was then fixed for October 25. The party which was assured of a majority assigned to the Congress the task of seizing the power. The garrison, which had refused to leave Petrograd, was mobilized for the protection of the future Soviet. The revolutionary military committee, created in opposition to the General Staff, was transformed into a revolutionary general staff of the Petrograd Soviets. All this was done openly, in the eyes of all Petrograd, of the Kerensky Government, of all the world. It is an act unique of its kind.

During this time, the armed revolution was openly discussed in the party and in the press. The discussion often digressed considerably from the course of events. No connection was drawn between the revolution and the Congress and the transfer of the garrison, and the uprising was considered a plot engineered by conspirators. In reality the armed uprising was not only "recognized" by us, but it was prepared for an advanced date, and even, according to the resolution, was prepared at least for Petrograd by the spirit of the garrison, and its position with regard to the Congress of the Soviets.

Several comrades remained skeptical toward the idea that the revolution should be fixed "by calendar". They considered it safer to carry it out strictly in a conspiracy manner, by exploiting the great advantage which accrues from a sudden coup. In fact, in anticipation of a revolution, Kerensky might cause reinforcements to be brought up by October 25, might undertake the cleaning-up of the garrison, etc.

But the point was that the question of shifting a portion of the garrison became the chief point of the revolution that was being prepared for October 25. The Kerensky plan to change the effectives of the Petrograd regiments was considered in advance as a continuation of the Kornilov adventure. Furthermore, the "legalized" revolt hypno-

tized the enemy. In not having the order to transfer the troops to the front carried out he largely increased the confidence of the soldiers in themselves and still more assured the success of the revolution. After the revolution of October 25, the Mensheviki, and chiefly Martov, often spoke of the seizure of power by a handful of conspirators behind the back of the Soviets and the working class. It is difficult to imagine a more malevolent misrepresentation of the spirit of an event. When, in the session of the Soviet sections of the Democratic Council, the majority fixed the Congress for October 25, the Mensheviki said: "You are fixing the date for the revolution." When we refused, by a crushing majority furnished by the Petrograd Soviets, to remove the regiments from Petrograd, the Mensheviki said: "That is the beginning of armed uprising." When out of the midst of the Petrograd Soviet a military Revolutionary Committee was created, the Mensheviki declared: "That is an instrument for armed insurrection." And when, on the fixed day, thanks to this instrument, appointed in advance, the revolution that had been predicted really took place, the same Mensheviki complained: "A handful of conspirators has made a revolution behind the back of the working class." In reality the worst of which we could be accused is of having prepared, "behind the back" of the Menshevik onlookers, certain technical details in the military revolutionary committee.

There is no doubt that the attempt of a military conspiracy, made independently of the Second Congress of Soviets, would have brought about in this period only a confusion of the progress of events, and would perhaps have broken the revolution in spots. The garrison, to which belonged also regiments not politically organized, considered the seizure of power by the party by means of a conspiracy as something foreign to the garrison, and certain regiments would have taken it frankly as a hostile act, while the refusal to leave Petrograd and the duty to protect the Congress of Soviets to which the power in the country was to belong, became for these same regiments an absolutely natural, clear and necessary thing. The comrades who considered as a utopia the fixing in advance of the

date of the revolution, simply underestimated our power and the strength of our political influence at Petrograd as compared with that of Kerensky.

The openly constituted revolutionary military committee sent its Commissars to all detachments of the Petrograd garrisons and thus became master of the situation in the full sense of the word. We had before our eyes the political chart of the garrison. At any moment it was possible for us to undertake the necessary groupings of effectives and to secure the strategic points in Petrograd. We had still only to eliminate frictions and to avoid a possible reaction on the part of the more backward troops, particularly the cavalry regiments. We succeeded beautifully in this. In the meetings which took place in the barracks of the various regiments our watchword: "Don't leave Petrograd before the session of the Soviet and make sure by armed force of the transfer of political power to the hands of the Soviet" met with almost unanimous acceptance. In the conservative Semionov regiment, to whom the latest tid-bit was related, the approaching diplomatic trip of Skobelev to Paris, in order to influence Lloyd George and Clemenceau, the machinations of the Skobelevs and Gotzes not only produced no enthusiasm but even suffered a complete defeat. The majority voted our motion. At the Modern Circus, where the meeting of camion chauffeurs, who were considered supporters of Kerensky, took place, our motion was passed with an overwhelming majority. General Paradelov spoke in a conciliatory and courteous manner. But his evasive motions were defeated.

The enemy received the final blow in the heart of Petrograd in the Fortress of Peter and Paul. In view of the sentiments of the garrison of the fortress, which had taken part to the last man in our meeting in the court of the fortress, the vice-commandant proposed, most amiably "a conference to remove the misunderstanding." And as a matter of fact, a few days later the Kerensky Government, the greatest misunderstanding of the Russian Revolution, was removed.

History turned a page and took up the chapter of the Soviets.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

IN 1905, when the Russian empire was ablaze with the revolutionary struggle which was the first serious effort of the Russian workers and peasants to overthrow the hated regime, the decisive part in that struggle was taken by the army. It must be noted that at that time the Russian armies in Manchuria, after a series of reverses brought upon them by Japan, represented the solid figure of about one million bayonets concentrated on the Hsi-ping-kai positions. This army was completed mostly by the reservists of advanced years, and only 100,000 young, well-trained recruits were taken from the

standing-army corps which still remained unmoved in different parts of the empire. Not one regiment of the Life Guards was sent to the battle zone; they were retained by the government in Petrograd and Warsaw in case of emergency for purely internal services. It is well-known that they fully deserved the confidence of the Russian rulers.

We must admit that in 1905 the revolutionary masses of the Russian people were inexperienced and poorly organized, and entirely intrusted the leadership of the revolutionary movement to the so-called intelligentsia who belonged almost entire-

ly to the bourgeois or semi-bourgeois class. There were but few among the leaders who conscientiously realized the seriousness of the coming fight which had to be waged to the utmost to keep the revolution from ending in terrible disaster. The important question that in order to overthrow the existing government and seize the power, the revolutionists had to have at least a part of the army on their side, was entirely overlooked.

It is true that some revolutionary organization existed in the rank and file of the Russian army, but this movement was in its infancy, and was absolutely lost in the reactionary atmosphere which ruled in the Russian military organization. We must not overlook the fact that for centuries the Russian officers and men were educated according to a monstrous system of lies which succeeded in attaining its height of demoralization in the imperial army. Therefore, it was not a difficult task at all for the Russian rulers to set part of the workers and peasants in uniform against the rest of the people, to make them lay hands on their own fathers and brothers, and often kill the people of their own villages.

In those days there were not many men like those the Bolsheviki gave to Russia, whose language these misfortunate fratricides could understand; and even had such revolutionary propagandists been present they would scarcely have been successful, because the atmosphere for a general uprising had not yet been created in Russia. The Japanese were not permitted by America and England to bring upon the Russian army a defeat similar to the one on the sea. The government of Russia realized the disastrous consequences for the Romanov dynasty in case such a debacle took place in Manchuria and perhaps even in Siberia, and hastened to sign a peace treaty with Japan thereby delaying the coming revolution. By every means the Government of the Tsar, in spite of the political confusion throughout the country, tried not to lose its control over the army and navy,—and it succeeded in this. Though shattered to a certain extent, even in the period of the general strike, when the whole industrial life of the country was at a standstill, and the ways of communication, together with the post and telegraph service were paralyzed, the Central Government of Russia remained in full control of the army and navy. At the first order of the Tsar, without hesitation, the Russian troops moved against the revolutionary population. It is remarkable how quickly the punitive detachments were organized, and with what lightning speed they were sent out into all parts of Russia, into Siberia, the Caucasus, and the Baltic provinces, stifling our workers and peasants in their blood.

Led by such monsters as Generals Orlov, Meller-Zakomelsky, Rennenkampf, Minn, Dubassov, Alikhanov and many other outcasts of the Russian people, aided by the officers who had sold their honor and conscience to the crown, these abominable expeditions inspired horror and hate in the Russian population, and henceforth no compromise with a band of executioners of the upper class

could be expected, nor could any pity be shown them by the oppressed Russian people at the moment when the hour of justice would come . . . It came in November, 1917 . . .

Though the Russian army during the Revolution of 1905 remained the blind weapon of imperialistic reaction a certain revolutionary movement was already noticeable among the members of the Russian naval and military organizations. The mutiny, for instance, on the "Potemkin", "Pamiati Azova", and other battleships, the uprisings in several regiments in Central Russia, in the Caucasus, and the military revolt of the Garrison of Vladivostok prove it; but all this was of a purely local character started on the initiative of the men, and on very rare occasions with some support from the officers. Only Lieutenant Schmidt personally led a real revolutionary campaign on board the famous battleship "Potemkin", but he was not supported and finally was captured and executed.

After the Russo-Japanese War the revolutionary spirit of the Russian people began to develop with great rapidity, and it became clear that only through war would the revolution in Russia be successful. If we look back in history we shall see that every war brought certain great changes to the defeated nation. For instance, after the disastrous Crimean War radical reforms took place in the Russian Empire. A republic in France was established after the defeat of the French army in 1871, and at last Russia, the most despotic of all the autocracies in the world, after Tzushima and Mukden obtained a sort of Parliament, a ridiculous one, but still a step forward.

There is no doubt that the European war, which practically annihilated the original standing-army of the Russian crown, and automatically created instead an armed people, had to deprive the absolutist government of its main means of defense, thus offering the revolution an opportunity to triumph. And this has happened in Russia earlier than in other states involved in the Great War because her army and population suffered more than any of the respective countries which, in their turn, will not be able to escape the fate of Russia.

I had the privilege of observing the revolutionary movement in the Manchurian army in 1905. This army, if it had been near to Russia after the famous provocative manifesto of October 17, without any hesitation it would have energetically supported the revolution. Its spirit was sufficiently revolutionary, and there were present some energetic and determined leaders even among the officers. Very little is known about the events which took place in the Far East after the ratification of the treaty of Portsmouth and especially during the period of the general strike in Russia.

Manchuria was absolutely isolated from the rest of the world, but more than a million Russian soldiers separated by thousands of miles from their native land anxiously watched events in the country where they had left their nearest and dearest. In all the regiments of the Manchurian army as soon as the manifesto of October 17 became known

to the men, revolutionary committees were established in each company, squadron and sotnias. The meetings took place everywhere and in spite of the drastic measures of the commanding element, it was impossible to stop this movement. Those superiors who tried by means of iron discipline and punitive measures to arrest the growing danger were dismissed by the soldier committees, and even arrested and replaced by officers who inspired confidence in the men.

There was no possibility for the local military authorities to organize a punitive campaign in the Manchurian army. General Batianov, the chief of the 4th Army, tried to send some troops with machine guns against the mutineers, but nobody would obey him, and at last when he, together with some troopers ordered his train to start, threatening to kill the engineers, the locomotive ran away alone, leaving the general's train stranded. General Kuropatkin, the chief of the First Army, kept strict neutrality and waited, while the Field Marshall, General Linevich, to the astonishment of all his staff, showed a revolutionary inclination. The poor old man, as a devoted servant of the Tsar, had taken the manifesto of October 17 as a real document in which the sincere will of his monarch was expressed. By the order of General Linevich any drastic measures against the railway strike committee who were practically the only rulers in Manchuria, were strictly forbidden. He did not oppose the meetings of the soldiers, and as much as he could protected the officers who expressed their "revolutionary" tendencies. "A manifesto of the Tsar is a law," repeated this old soldier, "and whoever is against it, is the enemy of the Tsar, and my own enemy." Nobody could contradict the decision of the commander-in-chief and the revolutionary movement rapidly progressed among the officers and men.

The most reactionary general in Manchuria in those days was the Chief of the Main Rear of the Manchurian Army, Lieutenant-General Nadarov. This officer had great power not only over the troops in his district, but also over the whole civilian population. His headquarters were in Kharbin, thickly populated with more than a million souls. He certainly would not have hesitated to shed as much blood as he pleased had not Linevich obstinately repeated his final decision.

Meanwhile, the plan of moving a great part of the Manchurian army on foot to Siberia was being discussed by the officers and men. It was projected to reinforce the Siberian local garrison and to proclaim Siberia as an independent republic. The failure of the Vladivostok uprising in November, 1905, did not discourage the Manchurian revolutionists, but the Cadets who were at the head of the Manchurian railway strike committee, Mr. Ossendovsky, the President, Mr. Lepeshinsky and Novakovsky, categorically refused to support such a project. At last on December 2, 1905, a great meeting of the revolutionary officers took place in the barracks of the Staff of the Rear of the Army. More than 2,000 officers attended this meeting, and

a resolution was passed that the army was ready to support any party which held the power at the moment. A deputation of officers was sent to the Railway Strike Committee. Mr. Ossendovsky received the deputies and after consulting with his colleagues brought the answer that the Russian revolution had to be carried out without the support of the military forces and that the army must be kept out of politics.

Such an answer from the revolutionary authorities greatly discouraged the military element in Manchuria, but, nevertheless, the order among the men continued. There was not one mutiny, nor was there one open rebellion. The men were ready to follow those of their leaders whom they had selected among their superiors and only awaited an order to start. But the order did not come. Already in November, 1905, a large party of prisoners of war from Japan reached Manchuria. These men were held in Kharbin, from where they had to proceed to Russia as soon as normal railway traffic would be restored. With the arrival of this element the revolutionary movement in the zone of the Manchurian army became of a considerably acute character.

It must be noted that there were about 71,000 prisoners in Japan, two-thirds of whom returned with militant revolutionary ideas, thanks to wonderfully organized propaganda work by certain revolutionary organizations of Europe and especially of America.

On the initiative of Dr. Isaac Hourwich of New York, after the fall of Port Arthur, when a considerable number of prisoners arrived in Japan, Dr. Nicholas Russell (Sudzilovsky), a Russian political emigré and the former Senator of the Hawaiian Republic of the United States, was sent to Kobe where he established his headquarters and began to publish in the Russian language a magazine under the title of "Japan and Russia". His first experiences when he tried to approach the officers and men in the different depots were a complete failure. Especially in the officer concentration camp "Hokkaido" in Matsuyama (Sikoko), the met fierce opposition from the Russian officers. Several boxes of books which he brought to the Russian prisoners were torn up by the latter in the court-yard of the depot, to the great astonishment of the Japanese.

The situation became so hopeless that Dr. Russell was ready to drop his work entirely, and retire to Honolulu. By chance, however, he met a Russian officer, Boris Taguyev,* who expressed his sympathy for his cause and volunteered to be the intermediary between Dr. Russell and the men. In a considerably short time Lieut. Taguyev succeeded in organizing a group of his colleagues who began a very fruitful work among the men in numerous depots, and later transferred their influence also to other cities of Japan where Russian prisoners were being held. Finally, the circle of revolutionary officers attained considerable importance

* Boris Taguyev Roustam Bek.

and not less than 23,000 men were regularly supplied with all kinds of literature which, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Hourwich and his assistant, Dr. Shupack of Philadelphia, as well as others in Paris, Berlin, and Geneva, reached Japan in abundance. The Russian revolutionary organization in Japan, in 1905, prepared for Russia thousands of propagandists because each of its members, according to the rule of the organization, had to organize a revolutionary autonomous group for propaganda purposes in the place to which he would return after his military services terminated.

It can be imagined what happened in Manchuria when these people arrived there with a tremendous amount of literature which, due to the temporary

freedom in consequence of the Manifesto of October 17, was not restricted.

It must be remembered that the Japanese authorities did not interfere in the activity of the Russian revolutionists among the prisoners of war, and didn't notice the complaints made by the reactionary element.

In January, 1906, when reaction triumphed in Russia, Field Marshall Linevich was suddenly dismissed and replaced by General Grodekov. General Rennenkampf's punitive expedition started its sanguinary march through Siberia and the White Terror began in earnest . . .

But there is no terror in the world which can kill the idea . . . It remained alive, it has grown stronger and stronger, and is now victorious.

Resources of Potash in Soviet Russia

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

IF THE reconciliation of industry and agriculture, of city and country, is to be achieved, industry must not only deliver its products to agriculture, but agriculture must be able to satisfy the city also, to satisfy not only itself, but also the city. This is one of the main conditions of the conciliation. Without intensifying, without fructifying the Russian farm, no conciliation of city and country, of industry and agriculture, will be possible. This is self-evident.

The soil cannot travel, cannot be transplanted. But the product of the soil can be transplanted, can be shifted into the country, can be transported over the country. The wealth of the soil, synonymous with an awakening of the soil, may be shifted. The teaching of wealth, the fructifying example may travel. If the fructifying example does travel, agriculture is traveling. It is transformed, it becomes a collective agriculture. The scattered agriculture, the primitive and cut up form of agriculture, ceases. Large scale agriculture begins. The centralization of the soil begins; the new agricultural geography begins, the new cultivation, the new form of administration is adapted more than before to the needs of the people, particularly to the needs of the city. The regulation becomes an entirely different one. Thus the awakening of the wealth of the land does not only mean collectivism in agriculture, but also a better distribution of the agricultural goods to the whole people. This is no longer a problem of political education, a problem of dictatorship; it is rather a technical and chemical problem, while political socialism is a means of solving the technical and chemical problem, a means of liberating the proletariat, a means of eliminating classes, which would be stupid if it would not make use of all technical possibilities. The agricultural theses of the Communist Party of Russia prove that the Bolsheviks have grasped this problem. They seek not only to transform agriculture in an administrative-

technical sense; they also carry on, very purposefully, a very energetic policy of cultivation. Their program demands: the mobilization of all agricultural forces, a comprehensive and planful supply with agricultural implements and machines, with seed and grain in good state, and artificial fertilizer, cattle breeding, implements of the soil, preparing inventory, establishment of model farms, spread of agricultural knowledge, etc. It must be admitted that this *realpolitik*, economic policy is not a mere building of air castles, but building on a solid foundation, a consideration of local needs, of farm needs, peasant needs. Not a village terror, but, with the aid of the village Soviets, of the agricultural loan institutes a systematic development of Russian agriculture. It is only a beginning, but it is a beginning. It will continue, Russian agriculture will become the richest agriculture in the world. Unlimited fields of grain, of beets, potatoes, tobacco, cotton, flax, will be the possession of Russia. No one can doubt that. And these unlimited resources will become all the more unlimited, the more the centralizing, systematizing, local displacement of agricultural wealth continues.

One of the chief means in this shift is fertilizer, and one of the chief fertilizers is potash. I have in my hands a very full account of all the potash resources but I can give in this book only the main points. Perhaps I shall devote a separate publication to the matter about potash as I already have one on the subject of electricity.

The war cut Russia off from its imports of potash from Germany. In 1914 Russia obtained somewhat more than 1,000,000 poods of potash (potash salts, potash supplies of all kinds, from foreign countries, particularly from Germany). Owing to the war, this supply of fertilizer was cut off. Agriculture and the industries that make use of potash were hard put to it. To this day Russia has not received any more of this potash, aside from what it has produced itself, and there was not

much of that. Russia sought to supply its Allies with potash, but only in very small quantities. The estimates of the total consumption of this potash vary.

Potash is needed in Russia by the glass industry, the soap industry, the leather industry, the pharmaceutical industry, and a number of other industries.

Agriculture requires enormous quantities of potash salts. If the total amount used should be increased only ten-fold in the next few years, the demand would amount to at least 10,000,000 poods. Together with the industrial need of potash, the amount required would be at least 13,000,000 poods.

The isolation of Russia from its potash supply, produced by the way, as was the case in other countries, a very great search for home resources of potash. But during the war this search was practically without result, for even though isolated deposits were found, they were not energetically exploited.

During the war Germany maintained its potash monopoly, although all over the world a zealous search for potash had been undertaken. England discovered such deposits in India and New Zealand, but they were insignificant and their exploitation not profitable. America sought to obtain potash salts from all sorts of minerals. In Spain also a few deposits were found, not to mention Peru, Abyssinia. But all these deposits were lilliputian in size compared with the German deposits.

The hunger for potash found its expression at Versailles, when the peace conditions bound Germany to deliver potash.

For a long time in Russia a fertilizer containing potash has been derived from the ashes of sun flowers, weeds, rye stubble, oat stubble, buckwheat stubble. In the Kuban, in the northern Caucasus, in the Province of Saratov, in the Provinces of Perm, Kazan, Samara, Penza, Tambov, Simbirsk, potash was obtained—much is still obtained from wood, from plants, from roots. Also from the remnants of the sugar beet industry, of the distilling industry, from vermuth. But all this was not sufficient and is not sufficient. The obtaining of potash from the sun flowers furthermore destroys the fruitfulness of the soil. It is an extremely damaging form of exhaustion of the soil.

At present Russia is poorer in fertilizer than ever before and it is high time that the production of these materials should be again taken up, organized, accelerated, and agriculture thus made as independent as possible of foreign fertilizers. For foreign countries also, particularly in western Europe, are lacking fertilizers, for reasons that need not be explained. The Supreme Council of National Economy tried to get the peasants to collect wood ashes. But the Council was not successful in making them believe that the wood ashes would have a fertilizing value and the attempt failed. The blockade of Russia made it impossible to obtain potash by evaporating sea water, at least to regulate such an industry in a satisfactory manner. It

had been planned, under the stimulation of the success of France and America (exploitations at the mouth of the Rhone and in San Francisco) to obtain potash from sea water. Everything was attempted, but the thing was practically useless, for only small quantities were thus obtained. At once laboratory tests were made for obtaining potash from various minerals. But all such attempts have been on a very small scale.

There are in Russia hundreds of similar possibilities for obtaining potash, possibilities of obtaining nitrates, but these are not directly tangible situations, and what we need is things that can be of immediate use.

Nevertheless Russia will within a reasonable period have enormous quantities of potash. For such quantities are at hand. They are ready to be utilized. They lie at a slight depth, they need only to be seized and taken out.

That portion of Russia that was once covered by the sea in the so-called Permian period, has a sublayer of salt, of potash. It is an enormous region in the east and northeastern part of Russia. Already for a long time common salt has been obtained in these regions, sporadically, without any system. For instance, in the Province of Vologda, particularly, however, in the vicinity of Solikamsk and in the Province of Perm.

In these places 20,000,000 poods of common salt have been taken out and are taken out every year, and cooked, a proof of enormous quantities of salts and potashes available. These potash salts were formerly thrown away, as at Stassfurt, thrown into the river Kama. They lie over the rock salt deposited at a depth of about 800 feet. In the Provinces of Perm, Viatka, North Dvina and South Urals I heard speak of a depth of 250 feet.

In their need for salt, Russia has thus far been looking for common salt and ignoring potashes. But now the latter are receiving attention and a great opening up of the entire region all the way from Cherdin and Solikamsk to the Caspian Sea, in other words, over a distance of more than 1,500 versts the presence of potash salts has been ascertained. In addition there are such deposits in the Province of Vologda, Samara (in the neighborhood of Novo-Ussensk) and in other regions also. Many potash deposits are so easily reached that it is really only necessary to scrape the surface.

There are a number of deserted mines which are still usable and which it is now planned to exploit. Kurakov calculates the annual production of the Solikomsk region at 2 to 4 million poods of potash. I was told they were good salts, containing as much as 98 per cent of K_2CO_3 .

The advance of Kolchak had disturbed the attempts to prospect and carry on mining. Now, however, it was possible to go about the task of getting these enormous quantities of potash from the Russian soil undisturbed. They will be taken out, if not today then tomorrow.

Already during the war, America showed a desire to exploit these Russian resources. An Ameri-

can company was willing to pay \$4,000,000 for the exploitation of the Solikamsk region.

Russia needs foreign aid in winning its potassium treasures. We must not be petty. We must not be guided by shabby considerations of profit. We must perform a work of socialist solidarity. The potash must be gotten out of the Russian soil. Russia, Russian agriculture, must be drenched in potash. Russia's treasures will be our treasures too. We have the engineers, potash miners, the potash chemists. Send to Russia as many as you can spare of them; you will not regret it.

Do not think of world power competition. Be far-sighted, help in the task of opening up Europe's sources of nutrition. You will then be doing a real work in the fraternity of nations. You will be helping to feed Europe, hungering Europe, decrepit Europe, limping, anemic, spineless Europe, made bloodless by the war.

But Russian agriculture will be raised on wings of potash. The peasant will obtain this rich food

for his plants direct from the potash mines, the village Soviets will distribute it according to a plan. There will be first a small concentric intensive exploitation around the mouths of the pits. This exploitation will draw larger concentric circles, taking in more and more area. The potash, together with the artificial nitrates, together with artificial irrigation, with electric current, down to the smallest motors will bring about a collectivization of agriculture almost automatic. The time devoted to agricultural labor will be reduced, fruitfulness of the soil will nevertheless be increased. We shall have a favorable apparatus. Then, when this new regulation of affairs, after the success of this example, moving from place to place, the selfishness of the peasants will also disappear, their adherence to the soil, and to the doctrine of private property. There will be a collectivistic attachment to the soil, a new feeling of property, a feeling of collective ownership, a Communistic feeling of ownership. This can and must be realized.

Three of Wrangel's Supporters

By MOSES KATZ

Two Former Socialists—One Inciting Pogroms,
The Other Persecuting the Jews—A Jewish Sup-
porter of General Wrangel.

THE ferocity of the Russian counter-revolutionaries is indicated in the following, taken from the last number of the Paris *Svobodnaya Mysl*:

"Some time ago, throughout Crimea proclamations signed by 'Russian Priests' were posted, calling upon the Christian population to wipe out, root and all, exterminate, all the Jews, because all Jews were Bolsheviks, enemies of Christianity, and destroyers of 'Holy Russia'. These posters remained on the walls a long time, and petitions to Wrangel from the Jewish communities, and even from Jews who were holding office under his government, were ineffectual. At last Wrangel's ambassador in Paris, Maklakov, also forwarded a request that the proclamations be removed, as they created an unfavorable impression abroad, and might interfere with Wrangel's prospective Paris loan. Only then were the proclamations removed."

But that is not all. The most terrible feature only appears further:

"After the proclamations were removed, the Russian priests began to read and interpret them to their congregations at every holy service. When the Sebastopol Jewish community again protested to Wrangel, he explained that he could do nothing, because he did not dare to interfere in the affairs of the Russian Church. He advised them to send their petitions to the Archbishop of Crimea, 'Father' Bulgakov. But when they communicated their protest to Bulgakov he simply replied—'How can I forbid the reading of the proclamations in the churches, when it was I who composed them and ordered the priests to read and explain them to pious Christians?'"

But who is Bulgakov? Do you think, perhaps, that he is some terrible Czarist priest, a member of the former "Union of Russian People"? No. "Father" Bulgakov is none other than he who was once famous as Professor Bulgakov, an economist and a philosopher, who, not so long ago played a great part in the Russian radical and liberal movements. Up to the year 1904 he was one of the group who, together with the former Social-Democrat, Struve (for a time one of Wrangel's foreign ministers), declared war on Marxism in the name of idealistic philosophy. Up to the year 1913 he was a well-known writer and leader of the bourgeois-liberal party, the "cadets". In 1914 he became a priest, "from conviction". Now he is an Archbishop in Wrangel's former Crimean government, and writes appeals to exterminate all Jews—also from conviction . . .

This terrible transformation can be appreciated only by those who know what role Bulgakov played not so long ago, not ten years back in all, in the history of the idealistic striving of the Russian intelligentsia.

And at the same time one finds a Jew also, a Zionist, in fact, D. Pasmanick, (in Petrograd they once changed his name to Paskudnick) who writes in Burtsev's *Obshcheye Dyelo*:

"Polish events have dealt a severe blow to Bolshevism, but it is after all not a fatal blow. Only an All-Russian force, well-organized and wisely directed could deal such a blow. This task fell to the lot of General Wrangel.

"When Wrangel first appeared on the scene and the editors of *Obshcheye Dyelo* came out boldly and absolutely for Wrangel, our newspaper was alone. Everybody, even those who shared our views, approached with a little terror the question of sup-

porting Wrangel; they looked about them on all sides, and barely countenanced even the thought that one could support him 'only just so far as his guarantees would warrant.' We took another course. Because we saw no other way to save Russia and because we believed in the wisdom of the people upon whom fell the great responsibility for the fate of Russia . . ."

D. Pasmanick at that time believed in Wrangel's wisdom and still believes in it now, despite Bulgakov's appeal . . .

And this is what we find in another Russian newspaper published in Paris:

"The former Social-Democratic depute in the Second Russian Duma, Gregory Alexinsky (who at the time of the world war and the Russian revolution was already so disgraced that he was not even admitted to the meetings of the recent congress of the Second International) has issued an album of photographs of murdered and mangled victims, as evidence of 'Bolshevik atrocities'. The photographs show ears and noses cut off, mangled heads, hands and feet devoured by dogs . . . Alexinsky explained that these were all photographs of victims of the Bolsheviks, and that he tried to have them printed as such in the French journal, *L'Illustration*. But even the editor of this chauvinist journal refused to publish them, declaring that he would gladly do so if Alexinsky furnished him with the least proof that they were really Bolshevik atrocities. Now Alexinsky himself (at whose expense?) has published these photographs with an explanation that they disclosed facts which the Socialist committees that recently visited Russia want to conceal.

"And what happens? Those who have seen the album declare positively that they are Jewish victims of the pogroms perpetrated by Petlura's followers and the Poles. (This fact has, incidentally, been already mentioned in *Forward*.) Alexinsky could not have been ignorant of it, and yet . . .

So deep is the abyss into which the "former people" of old Russia have now fallen! Alexinsky, Kuprin, Burtsev, Pasmanick, Savinkov, and Antsiferov are not the only ones there.

But let us look further into the abyss.

Not everybody suffocates there. Several still manage to live a "grand life". *Svobodnaya Mysl* comments upon this with sorrow:

"Not only French society, but even the French Government is beginning to show more and more its displeasure at the disgraceful conduct of many Russians who succeeded in fleeing from *Sovdepiya* (so the "former people" call Soviet Russia) with a sum of money, and who are living there a life which robs the Russians of the sympathy which they need so much in a foreign country, and often they only disgrace the Russian name.

"Who haunts the Paris night restaurants? Who swim in seas of champagne? Who flood all the most expensive restaurants? Who excite the people with their expensive clothes, and by smashing glassware and mirrors?

"Go into any night restaurant at all, you will be told how these fine guests break the glassware and mirrors.

"Go into any card club, you will see who play for the largest stakes and lose hundreds and thousands in one night with a light heart—they are mostly Russians.

"French society is being given a strange impression: are these then the Russians whom the Bolsheviks have robbed, who seek abroad a refuge from the Bolshevik terror?"

And at the same time we hear stories of the most terrible want:

The Berlin newspaper, *Russki Emigrant*, writes:

"The situation of Russian refugees is becoming constantly worse. A year ago the governments and society and private organizations still helped the Russian emigrants a little; if in the Balkan countries they still exchange Russian money at preferred rates, and in France they give a little support—this charity has now ceased altogether. The Russian 'story' is being dragged out too long, the foreign governments are hesitating more and more in their search for a key to the situation, and appear to be less interested in the condition of the Russian emigrants, who have found among them a temporary refuge."

And the result is this:

In Constantinople there were registered 2,655 Russian women who are openly prostitutes. And thousands sell themselves unofficially. Among them are wives of former generals, officers, bankers, manufacturers, and others who "saved themselves from terror"—from Soviet Russia.

In Czecho-Slovakia many former Russian generals and princes have organized themselves into a "cabaret theatre" which travels about and gives performances. And their director is . . . the former president of the last Russian Duma, Rodzianko.

In Poland groups of former Russian officers organized themselves into artels to dig peat (a kind of fuel) from the swamps. For ten hours' work they were given two meals a day and sleeping quarters. When the Bolsheviks were at the Polish frontiers, the Polish Government released from the camps the Russian officers of General Bredan's army, who were held there, and proposed to them that they enter the Polish army or Balakhovich's army. But the officers had had such a pleasant life in the Polish camps, where the Polish soldiers used to maltreat them day in and day out, that they thanked them and fled to other lands. In Japan the former Russian officers die of hunger. The same in China. The same in Germany. The same in Egypt. Only in Serbia the Serbian Government supports them with a little charity, and in Paris many of them live grandly on the loan of 100 million francs which the French bankers made to General Wrangel on his notes.

The few Russian capitalists who are in Paris are also not unprosperous. They sell—their hopes, and Russia. The Crimean newspapers complain that they have sold to French capitalists

the last few Russian trade ships which were still in the Crimea. The Russian newspapers in Paris report that a group of French bankers have bought from the Russian sugar manufacturers who are in Paris the great sugar refineries of Babushkin, Count Bobrinski, Prince Radziwill, Count Branitski, Prince Dolgorukov, and Duke Mecklenburg-Schweriniski, which are in the Ukraine. This is indeed to count unhatched chickens and buy the skin of a bear which has not yet been captured.

But the "Russians" abroad have their greatest trouble with . . . the right of domicile. At last they also are being given a taste of the "Jewish" medicine. They are wanted nowhere, they are always being asked to depart. Warsaw ordered all Russians to leave within a period of 24 hours. The same in Riga. And in Czecho-Slovakia. In Italy they are not admitted, in Egypt they are held as "guests of the British Government" in a "concentration camp" in the desert, where Turkish prisoners were formerly confined. The well-known Russian publicist, Alexander Yablonsky, who is also there, complains:

"Why must I sit here while Trotsky can spend his time at a nice writing table in a warm room. Where is the justice of it?" . . . The *Russian citizens* in Batum (in the Caucasus) who want to go to Crimea must get a visé from . . . the French consul, and the trouble is that he does not give any visés . . ."

The Paris *Svobodnaya Mysl* printed an interesting little cartoon which expresses well the position of the Russian refugees.

Between four frontier posts which are encircled with a rope sits a stout Russian bourgeois on a full valise. He cannot depart. Near each post stands a soldier with a rifle: a Frenchman, a Britisher, an Italian, and a German or a Pole. And on every post is written: "No visés given out." The poor fellow sits between the frontiers and does not know where to go . . .

And in the Berlin *Russian Emigrant* a certain *Leri* writes a lament entitled "Emigrant Life".

As a flock that is scattered,
Mournfully we hang our heads,
Sadly we wander about Belgrade,
And gather together on Lemnos Island.

Life drags on without hope, without faith,
We live our days in a dark hole,
Worn out already are hopes and clothes,
And empty—both heart and purse . . .

Officers, teachers, physicians,
Wear out the door-steps of offices,
Force themselves into committees,
And curse their days and years.

Seeking positions, something to earn,
Either for self or wife and sister,
But foreign lands care not for strangers,
And mock their tears . . .

Gradually nerves become hard,
The bitter insult gnaws at the heart,
The dried crust sticks in the throat,
They curse their days and years.

Oh, you to blame for Russia's sorrow,
You devil who make festivals,
Show me a single nook,
Where no Russian refugee suffers.

He groans in Rome and in Warsaw,
He laments on mountain and sea,
Where he hungers, even when some stranger
Gives him cold alms.

How many tears of shame have been shed
By our wife in friendly Warsaw,
How many tears now weeps Lisa,
When she sells herself in Stamboul.

And the frontier, the passport, the visé?
Ah, Europe, how harsh you are to us Russians? . . .

Peace! Heap ashes upon your heads,
And among indifferent people
In Lemnos, in Berlin, in Egypt,
Pray for holy Russia.

Ah, beloved, arise, lift up thy head,
Arise, see what has befallen us!
The day will yet come . . . We shall with song
One day return to the homeland.

And meanwhile, in Berlin, or in Warsaw,
Let us suffer, brothers, a little more! . . .

Thus is exile now borne by the Russian counter-revolutionaries abroad. That is how they now sing on foreign shores their "By the Waters of Babylon", hoping that the day will come when they can avenge themselves for their suffering. What a "revenge" they plan one can see from an editorial notice in Burtsev's *Obshcheye Dielo*:

"The government of A. B. Kolchak, which was a very cultured one, a government of Slavic good nature, did not understand the meaning of civil war; civil war has as its aim the annihilation of the moral and military leaders of the opposing parties. For that reason ruthlessness towards the enemy and discipline in one's own ranks are the necessary conditions for prosecution of a civil war.

"Truly, civil war is terrible, but in order to continue (?) the terror one must make use of forces which cannot be employed in peace times. No merciful feelings can be shown towards those who have declared a ruthless war against the very foundations of society. One must defend oneself . . ."

And if Burtsev is so bloodthirsty, what can one expect of Wrangel and of the other counter-revolutionaries who were always hangmen and perpetrators of pogroms? . . .

Soviet Russia

will continue publication; we make this statement in answer to several inquiries on the subject. Continue to send us lists of your friends who might appreciate sample copies. Subscription remittances should be made payable to L. C. Martens.

"SOVIET RUSSIA"

110 W. 40th St. Room 304 New York, N. Y.

Russian Frightfulness

By GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

[On January 29, 1920, George Bernard Shaw delivered a lecture at Kingsway Hall, in London, which was announced and later printed under the title "Socialism and the Labor Party." We are presenting to our readers only so much of Mr. Shaw's lecture, taken from the printed version, as deals with Soviet Russia and the attitude of Great Britain to that country. Much matter concerning the British Labor Party and other institutions in England has therefore had to be omitted.]

THE Russians seem to very thoroughly appreciate the practical lessons of history that we learned from the early experiences of the robber class. The Russian soldier did a very eccentric thing. He went on fighting for a long time; he was made very uncomfortable; then he had a curious idea, he suddenly stopped fighting, went home, and seized the land of the country. That from the point of view of the robber class in other countries was the first great atrocity. It may have been an atrocity but it was a jolly practical atrocity, and when they began to organize, they started on the idea which I suggested, that they were going to organize the industry of the people for the benefit of the people, that they were going to extirpate idlers, and democracy stood in the way. There is only one really interesting statesman in Europe at the present time and his name is Nicholas Lenin. Nicholas Lenin had a tremendous controversy on the subject of democracy with a German Social-Democrat, Karl Kautsky. Kautsky said all the usual things which Socialists have been saying, which I have said all my life, the thing must rest on the will of the people. You have no right to introduce Socialism until you get a vote, until you get majorities throughout all the constituencies in favor of Socialism. I have always said that my reason at bottom has been this, that I knew perfectly well as long as I waited for that I would never be asked to do anything but talk. I have talked all my life and I have managed to get beyond the age of sixty without ever having been called on to do anything really dangerous or important. Accordingly, I intend to go on talking in that way, but Lenin did not see that. Lenin entirely agreed with Mr. Winston Churchill on the subject and with the robber class. Lenin said, these things are not done by the great mass of the people making a vote, they are done by an energetic minority which has got a conviction and is determined to go on carrying out that conviction until it is stopped. That is precisely what our upper class did, what they are doing, and have always done. It is the practical thing to do. There is no use in waiting until the mass of the people throughout the country, who know a little about football and very much less about politics, whose business is not politics and you cannot move them in the matter at all, there is no use in waiting to get the majority of votes from them with all the powers of the press and newspapers bemusing and bewildering and bedevilling them with all sorts of nonsense. *We Socialists when we are a little comfortable are perfectly willing to wait, but the peo-*

ple who really want to have something done, like Lenin, do not wait. When Lenin saw a Constituent Assembly muddling about doing nothing he did not wait but went ahead and like our governing class there was no nonsense about democracy; he organized the thing in such a shape that it would work. He got his combination of Soviets, a certain method of indirect election which was not at all what we call a democratic method of election because it was very indirect, it was doubly and triply indirect, but susceptible of being managed in such a way that Lenin got working with him the sort of men he wanted to agree with him, which is precisely how our governing classes work elections in this country, and there was no nonsense about toleration at all. He believed in Socialism, in organizing the proletariat. Those were his ideals and he put it down as a minimum of social morality: *We are not going to have any more idling or unproductiveness; we do not allow liberty of opinion with regard to that; if you have any doubts about that we regard you as a dishonest person and we shoot you.* They shot him; he has several bullets in his body; that will show he was educating them practically. But he realized when it came to the point that as between the people who believe in a great system of what is practically the robbery of the poor, and the people who believe in another system, an intelligent minority, they have simply to fight it out with what forces they have at their command. Of course, the very first thing he had to institute was what Mr. Lloyd George has held up in the House of Commons as his blackest atrocity, and as was felt in the House of Commons really to be his blackest atrocity, and it is felt I think by every respectable man to be his blackest atrocity, he introduced compulsory labor. He actually said every man must work or he will starve. He had not much food to give the people who did work, thanks to the fact that we are trying to starve them out; you do not get much to eat in Russia, but at any rate what there was going he gave. Only if people would not work they did not get any tickets, and they got on as best they could, they lived on their own fat. That was the great atrocity. He was after all carrying out compulsory labor for the benefit of the system of society. He was carrying out the ideas of the upper classes in this country who are also in favor of compulsory labor. Only they find the threat of starvation is sufficient to do the compulsion in this country, except on themselves. Lenin was logical; he brought in a method of compulsory labor from which nobody could get utterly exempt. We have a system of compulsory labor

in this country which applies to everybody except people with a considerable amount of property. They can escape from it because they cannot be starved out. Under Lenin's system you do get starved out.

Lenin did something else which is perhaps the most remarkable thing. Supposing the Bolshevik Red Army captures you; what is it that happens to you? You are told beforehand if you are a European you are fighting Bolsheviks because you know they are monsters and committing atrocities. You are told if the Bolsheviks capture you, they will put you slowly to death over a period of twenty-one days by cutting off the tips of your fingers and nose and ears, and by horrible scientific tortures slowly kill you, therefore you fight pretty hard—if you believe it. Supposing you are taken prisoner, in spite of your heroic struggle, if you are an Englishman you naturally do struggle, if not to the death, still very close to it. But supposing you are overwhelmed by numbers, say one Englishman by 200 Bolsheviks, what happens to you? You are brought into a military depot and the first thing that happens to you is they give you a meal, and when you are in a tolerably good humor a man comes in with a lot of literature; he says, "Are you an Englishman?" You say, "I am an Englishman"—proudly. He immediately produces a bundle of Bolshevik literature in English, and you are set to read that literature. You are not given anything else to do. Of course, if they would let you do anything else, being an Englishman you would do it rather than read—play football, for instance—but they throw you back on your own mental and intellectual resources to such an extent that you begin to read their literature. Then you find out the truth about what they are actually doing. They send you about three times a week to the theatre and let you go about pretty freely and see what is going on. They give you these things to read just like the upper classes in our church schools; they stick their ideas into your mind.

I am emphasizing this thing they have taken from our governing classes. They recognize the fact that you must get at people's minds. What they are doing to the mind of the adult person they are doing to the children of Russia. The children of Russia are now taught to believe from the very beginning that it is dishonest in the last degree for a person not to be a productive worker and not to pay his way in society. I must not carry the parallel any further. I think this is a very good loose end to leave off. I think it is a very good place to stop and begin thinking about it. As I say I do not see in the Labor Party as it at present exists the Party which will act solidly and practically and thoroughly and radically and unitedly like the Party represented by Mr. Winston Churchill, which I have impolitely called the robber class, and like the Bolsheviks. I see in the Labor Party the most extraordinary heterogeneous mass of people, full of opinions of different kinds. I see there are Methodists and atheists; jingoes and conscientious objectors; there are Protectionists and Free Trad-

ers; I see the most amazing mass of people of all sorts and kinds immensely equipped for any kind of discussion, for the most violent electioneering, and for no action whatever.

We have got to simplify the matter. If we believe in the principles which I have sketched out, being the principles that I myself believe in, this belief in the obligation of every man to leave the world in his debt, or at least to pay his way, then that must be made to be a religion; it has got to be the basis of the whole religion in the country. I am tired of seeing Labor and Socialism rolling the stone up the hill with frightful labor only to have it rolled down again. Here you have seen movement after movement, the movement of the Utilitarians, the movement of the Free Traders under Cobden and Bright; the Christian Socialists under Kingsley; the Marxian Socialists, you have seen the Labor Party by an immense amount of labor, by talking on platforms, as I am doing now, get one generation of men educated into ideas about Free Trade or Socialism or what you like. What does that matter to the upper classes? Those men die out and meanwhile the children are coming into the schools where they are taught from the very beginning the creed of the robber class. The stone is always rolling back. It is because we do not go to work in the practical way of Mr. Winston Churchill and Nicholas Lenin. I take off my hat to both gentlemen. It appears to me until we get to work in their ways it will be all talk, talk, talk, and nothing will come of it.

PROHIBITION OF CURRENCY IMPORTATION

The following instructions regarding the prohibition against the carrying of foreign currency into the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic have been received by the Representative in the United States:

Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic
People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade
Financial Accounting Department

December 15, 1920.

Circular

To the Representative of the People's
Commissariat for Foreign Affairs,
Comrade Martens, New York.

No. 2539/Moscow.

We bring to your knowledge herewith that an order has been issued to all customs offices of the R.S.F.S.R. to the effect that all foreign currency must be taken away from persons entering Russia, payment for it to be made here, at the center, according to the value of the foreign currency in rubles as set by the Acting People's Commissar for Finances, in view of which we ask you to advise all persons leaving for Russia of this order as well as to propose to the latter to deliver all foreign currency in their possession to you for transfer to Russia, in accordance with the instructions received by you relative to foreign drafts through the medium of accredited Representatives of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

Acting People's Commissar for Foreign Trade,
(Signed) LEJAVA.

SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the

RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



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

THE index to SOVIET RUSSIA is ready. It has been received from the printer. It will be sent free of charge to all names on the subscription list. Others wishing to receive it should request it by mail, enclosing a two-cent stamp for postage. The complete bound volume for July-December, 1920 (Volume III), will be ready by February First.

“SOVIET RUSSIA” is probably making its last appearance this week as the Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau. With the departure, probably on January 22, of Mr. L. Martens, Representative in America of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, together with his staff, for Soviet Russia, the Bureau and with it the mechanism that published this paper ceases to exist. But SOVIET RUSSIA will continue its weekly appearances. It will go on printing the articles of foremost Soviet statesmen, as heretofore, and the three instalments of Leon Trotsky’s “Problems of Organization of Labor” (taken from his inimitable answer to Kautsky’s book *Terrorismus und Kommunismus*) may bridge the transition from government to private ownership. For it is very probable that the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will come out no longer as the Bureau’s Official Organ, but as the weekly publication of an American publisher, whose name, as well as the prospective new material to appear in the paper, will then be announced. The editorial policy of the paper will not change, nor will the character of the contents.

THE “Russian Information Bureau”, after its organ *Struggling Russia* had progressively prolonged the intervals between its appearances until a confession of dissolution had to be made, has resuscitated it in the form of a *Weekly Bulletin* of which real weekly appearances are promised. A friend sends us a copy of a letter issued on December 31 by the “Russian Information Bureau”, announcing, among other things, excellent reprints of declarations by former Russian princes and social-traitors, and making, finally, the following tempting offer:

“If you desire to have your name placed on our mailing list for the receipt of our Bulletin regularly, kindly fill out the enclosed blank and send it to us, if possible, without

delay. The Bulletin will be sent to you complimentary, without any charge.”

And then, we may add, you will still need information about Soviet Russia. For all that is in the *Bulletin* is of counter-revolutionary character. But you will have to pay for SOVIET RUSSIA, for our weekly will not have the resources of money that enable the “Russian Information Bureau” to give away its *Bulletin* free of charge. These sources flowed abundantly in the early days of *Struggling Russia*, but then dried up for a period. They have thawed again with the warmth of heart of some kindly counter-revolutionist, and largess to the public that reads free literature is the result.

PROFESSOR Joseph French Johnson, Dean of the School of Commerce of New York University, in an interview that was printed in a recent Sunday edition of the *New York World*, expresses the opinion that the failure on the part of the United States Government to explain to the people of the country why trade is not being carried on with Russia is the result of a mistaken policy. Professor Johnson thinks that if this trade should appear to be dangerous to the United States, the reasons for so believing should be frankly stated. Yet, Professor Johnson does not himself seem opposed to the trade. To quote his own words:

“I, for instance, am an economist. I have specialized in the study of finance and trade and should be in a better position than the average citizen to form an opinion on the matter of trade with Russia. Still, I could not enter any movement for or against such a proposition. I do not know what the facts of the situation are. The stories that come from Russia are so conflicting that readers usually believe what they wish to believe and line up accordingly. But business cannot be carried on that way, and any department manager who would pursue such tactics in any business organization would lose his job.

“I presume, however, that Mr. Gary and Mr. Schwab have the facts on file. Such men make it a business to get accurate data, though they do not always consider it their business to keep the public informed. But these facts, whatever they are, could be known by American business as a whole if American business as a whole had any agency devoted to such service.

“It is possible that we cannot trade with Russia. It is possible that the authorities with whom we would now be compelled to deal could not give us a clear title to the things which they presume to sell us in return for the shoes and machinery which they want to buy. It is possible that we would have to recognize the Soviet Government before we could effect any commercial deals, and it is possible that such recognition would result in such a strengthening of Bolshevism and such a weakening of our own industrial system as to more than offset the advantages which the opening up of such a market would bring. But while all these things are possible, we do not know that they are actually so.

“Personally, I don’t see anything to be afraid of,” Dean Johnson added, “because I have much more faith in capitalism than many capitalists have. I believe that capitalism is the strongest, most efficient and most nearly perfect system of production and distribution which the world has yet discovered. In open competition with it I believe that Bolshevism would break down. But if it should turn out that Bolshevism is such a superior system that capitalism cannot hold its own with it, then we want Bolshevism. The best is none too good for America.

“The great trouble as I see it just now is that we are not giving capitalism a chance. War conditions brought

us to an untenably high price level from which it was evident we would some day have to descend. But we have no machinery with which to make the descent, and we are beginning already to feel the bruises of the fall."

Whatever may be the outcome in the American situation which Dean Johnson then proceeds very gloomily to depict, it would be regrettable if the possibility of trade with Russia should not be considered as one of the eligible remedies.

* * *

IN A letter written on January 8 to Mr. Alton B. Parker, President of the National Civic Federation, Mr. Norman H. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, discusses the American policy toward Russia, in the matter of passports, relief work, aid to military intervention, and postal communications. We understand the National Civic Federation has replied to Mr. Davis' letter, approving some portions and condemning others, but we have not yet seen a complete copy of the Federation's reply. We shall for the present take up only the portion of Mr. Davis' letter that concerns itself with relief work in Russia, and point out what organizations have really tried to do real relief work in Russia, and what organizations have made much feebleness attempts to undertake such work.

Mr. Davis seems to have the impression that all the relief organizations, or the great majority of them, are convinced of the impossibility of doing "just", "impartial" relief work in Soviet Russia, without "interference" from the Soviet Government.

Representatives of the large relief organizations, with the knowledge and approval of the Department of State, have visited the central Soviet authorities in Moscow, in the hope of establishing a modus vivendi for such work, but with two exceptions have been met by rebuffs. In this matter the experience of this government has been identical with that of European countries, both those which were associated with us in the war and the northern neutrals. The only relief work which the Soviet will tolerate is the direct gift of supplies to the Soviet Government, to be distributed by them as their own largess. Quite aside from the question of whether this would be politically expedient, it is the opinion of almost all of those experienced in such work that it would be impossible to raise funds from private subscription on this basis.

The two exceptions to this have been, first, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which, contrary to the opinion of their colleagues, have felt that it was possible to extend relief in Soviet Russia on the conditions drawn up by the Soviet authorities, and, second, the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), which has been operating almost continuously in Russia on a small scale under British management.

It is unfortunate, for the reputations of the other bodies as philanthropic organizations, that they should appear as so much more fastidious in selecting the conditions under which they will distribute relief than are the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the American Friends Service Committee. No doubt the American Red Cross would like to have Russia by the throat and dole out its pittance to a humble and starving population, under its own modest officialdom, as it does in Vienna and the other ruined centers of the defeated and "associated" countries. But Soviet Russia fortunately can afford to reject aid that is conditioned upon a practical surrender of proletarian sover-

eignty. Soviet Russia has not been penetrated by the enemy as far as Moscow, and cannot yet be forced to admit counter-revolutionary relief organizations to distribute charity on its boulevards, under foreign and unfriendly auspices, to Russian men, women and children, as foreign propaganda.

Two organizations at least are ready to do what they can to give real relief to the people of Soviet Russia, and admit that the conditions under which the Soviet Government will permit them to do so are reasonable conditions. Furthermore, one of these organizations, the American Friends Service Committee, appears never to have relinquished its work in Soviet Russia, even after all other such organizations, including the American Red Cross, had been ordered out of the country, the order coming, by the way, from the United States, and not from the Soviet Government. No doubt the American Red Cross would like to distribute relief in Soviet Russia in such manner as to strengthen the morale of the expropriated counter-revolutionary classes, and to buy away the support of the underfed and less class-conscious proletariat from the Soviet Government; needless to say the latter will never permit them to operate under these circumstances.

Mr. Davis seems to suggest that the failure of some organizations to conduct relief work in Soviet Russia is due to the weakness and instability of the government of that country. We should be inclined to differ here: it seems to us that Soviet Russia is strong enough to conduct what forms of food distribution it considers proper, and that the failure to permit Soviet Russia to supervise relief is rather the suspicion that the Soviet Government is strong enough to conduct it in its own way, and might deal very effectively with any side-shows that might be set up outside the main tent.

We may have occasion to revert later to other sections of Mr. Davis' letter. For the present we shall conclude by asking him how he reconciles with his statement that the American Friends Service Committee and the Jewish Joint Relief Committee are conducting relief in Soviet Russia his other remark:

"The difficulties which have stood in the way of any accomplishments in this matter have been raised, not by this government but by the Soviets, who cannot find in their theory of Communism any excuse for private philanthropy."

* * *

NEWs recently came from Switzerland that the government of that country was trying to make arrangements under which it would be possible for Swiss merchants to obtain markets for their goods without the costly operations of exchange, with the present unfavorable and fluctuating rates. It is very probable that the circles which recognize the necessity of eliminating cash payments or exchange operations under the present poor conditions will widen, thus emphasizing more and more the sensibleness of the Soviet economy in Russia, which is gradually abolishing money altogether. See also the similar remarks of Dr. G. Vissering, a Dutch economist, in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, Vol. II, page 184.

Problems of Organization of Labor

By LEON TROTSKY

(*Second Instalment—Mobilization of Labor*)

THE carrying out of obligatory labor is inconceivable without an application of the methods of the militarization of labor in greater or less measure. As soon as we express this view, however, we at once encounter the most dreadful superstitions and the most heart-rending cry of dismay on the part of the opposition.

In order to grasp what the militarization of labor means in a labor state, and what are its methods, we must make clear to ourselves the task of the militarization of the army itself, which, as all must still recall, by no means possessed the necessary "military" qualities in its first period.

In the course of these two years we have mobilized for our Red Army only slightly fewer soldiers than would equal the membership of our trade unions. But the members of the unions are workers, while the workers constitute only 15 per cent of the army, the rest being peasant masses. And yet there cannot be the slightest doubt for us that the true architect and "militarizer" of the Red Army is precisely the advance worker who is placed in the foreground by the party or trade organization. Whenever the situation at the fronts became difficult, whenever the newly mobilized peasant masses failed to show the proper firmness, we turned to the Central Committee of the Communist Party on the one hand and to the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Russia on the other hand. From these two reservoirs we attained advanced workers for the fronts and they erected the Red Army after their image,—trained, steeled, militarized the peasant masses. This fact must at present be borne in mind with great clearness, because it throws the necessary light on the whole situation of militarization in the Workers' and Peasants' state. The militarization of labor in the bourgeois countries of the west was made a slogan as well as in Russia under the Czarism, and was actually carried out in certain branches of industry. But our militarization differs both in goal and in methods from these attempts precisely as the conscious proletariat organized for its own liberation differs from the conscious bourgeoisie organized for purposes of exploitation.

From the half-conscious, half-malicious confusion of the historical forms of proletarian socialistic militarization with bourgeois militarization, arises the majority of the prejudices, protests, misstatements, and wails in this farce. Upon such a confusion of notions is based the entire attitude of the Mensheviks, our Russian Kautskians, as expressed in their declaration of principles, submitted to the present trade union congress.

The Mensheviks did not oppose the militarization of labor, but obligatory labor in general. They reject these methods as "compulsory" methods. They preach that labor duty is equivalent to di-

minished productivity of labor, and that militarization is a purposeless waste of labor power.

"Compulsory labor is always very little productive" is taken literally from the Menshevik resolution. This statement takes us to the very kernel of the matter. For as we see, the point is not whether it be reasonable or not to declare this factory or that to be in a condition of war; whether it be advisable to assign to the Military Revolutionary Tribunal the right to punish demoralized workers who steal materials and instruments so valuable to us or sabotage the work. No, the Mensheviks formulate the problem much more profoundly. They maintain that compulsory labor is always unproductive; they thus attempt to deprive our entire economic system in the present transition period of its bases. For there cannot be any such thing as discussing the question of a transition from bourgeois anarchy to socialist economy without a revolutionary dictatorship and without compulsory forms of economic organization.

In the first clause of the resolution of the Mensheviks, mention is made of the point that we are living in a period of transition from capitalist production to socialist production. What does this mean, and above all, where did they get this idea? Since when have Kautskians recognized this? They accused us—and it was the main point of issue between us—of social Utopianism; they maintained—and it was the essential kernel of their doctrine, that there was no possibility of a transition to Socialism in our epoch that our revolution is a bourgeois revolution and that we Communists are only destroying the capitalist economy, that we are not advancing the country but retarding it. This was the fundamental difference of opinion, the most irreconcilable profound opposition from which all others arose. Now the Mensheviks say to us en passant, in the introduction of their resolution, as if it were a statement requiring no proof, that we are engaged in a process of transition from capitalism to Socialism. And this utterly unexpected admission which resembles a complete ideological capitulation, is made all the more readily and easily since—as the whole resolution indicates—it proposes absolutely no revolutionary duties for the Mensheviks. They remain entirely in the meshes of the bourgeois ideology. Recognizing that we are situated at a turning point to Socialism, the Mensheviks nevertheless attacked with all the greater bitterness the methods without which it is impossible to carry out the transition to Socialism, under these severe and trying circumstances of the present day.

Compulsory labor—they tell us—is always unproductive. We ask: What do they mean by compulsory labor; i.e. to what form of labor is it opposed? Obviously to free labor. What do they

mean in this case by free labor? This conception was formulated by the advance ideologists of the bourgeoisie in their struggle against unfree labor, i.e. the serf labor of the peasants, and against the normalized, regulated labor of the guild craftsmen. Free labor means labor that could be purchased "freely" in the market. This freedom was really a juristic fiction to conceal the underlying free wage slavery. There is no other form of free labor in history. Let the numerically inconsiderable representatives of the Mensheviki in this Congress explain to us what they mean by free, noncompulsory labor, if not the market for labor power.

History knew slave labor. History knew the regulated labor of the medieval guilds. In all the world today wage labor prevails which is depicted by the yellow journalists of all lands as the pinnacle of freedom as opposed to the Soviet "slavery". But we oppose the capitalist slavery, with a socially ordered labor on the basis of an economic plan that is binding for the whole people and therefore compulsory for every worker in the country. No other method is possible in a transition to Socialism. The element of the material, psychological compulsion, may be more or less powerful—that will depend on many circumstances: on the degree of wealth or impoverishment of the country, on its traditions of the past, on the stage of its civilization, on the transportation and administration conditions, etc.—but the application and therefore also the compulsion is an inevitable demand in order to bridle the bourgeois anarchy, in order to socialize the means of production and to labor and in order to reconstruct economy on the basis of a unified plan.

For the liberal liberty in the last analysis is synonymous with the market. Whether the capitalist can purchase the labor power at an exploitable price or not—that is his sole criterion for freedom of labor. This criterion is wrong, not only with regard to the future, but also with regard to the past.

It would be absurd to pretend that in the days of serfdom all work was done only under the club of physical compulsion, as if the overseer with his whip had always been standing behind the back of each and every peasant. The medieval economic forms required very definite conditions of production and created definite forms of life to which the plain man adapted himself and which he recognized at certain times as just or at least as inevitable. Whenever, under the influence of alterations in his material conditions, he would take a hostile position, the state with all its physical forces would fall upon him and thus illustrate the compulsory character of the labor organization. The basis of the militarization of labor is expressed in the forms of national compulsion without which the substituting of a socialist economy for a capitalist economy will always be an empty sound. Why do we speak of a *militarization*? Of course this is only an analogy. But it is a very pregnant analogy. No other social organization, with the exception of the army, has ever considered itself justified to

subordinate citizens to such an extent, to envelop them on all sides by the application of its will as the state of the proletarian dictatorship is doing and considers itself justified in doing. Only the army, precisely because it disposes of the life and death of nations, states, ruling classes in its own way—had the right to demand from each and every one a complete subordination to its tasks, aims, provisions, orders. And it attained this condition the more efficiently, the more the tasks of military organization coincided with the needs of social evolution.

The question "to be or not to be" for Soviet Russia, is at present being decided on the labor front. Our economic organization of production, and together with them our trade union organizations, have the right to ask of their members all the self-denial, the discipline, and zeal which has hitherto been asked only by the army.

On the other hand, the relation of the capitalist to the worker, is by no means based only on "free" contract, but contains elements of state regulation and of physical compulsion.

The competition of capitalist with capitalist, bestowed upon the fiction of free labor a certain very incomplete reality, but this competition now reduced by syndicates and trusts to a minimum has been finally eliminated by us, by our abolition of private property in the instruments of production. The transition to Socialism—which the Mensheviki recognize in words—means the transition from a rudimentary distribution of labor power (by the play of purchase and sale, by motion of market and labor wages) to a planful distribution of workers through the economic organs of the district, of the province, of the entire country. Such a planful distribution presupposes the subordination of those to be distributed to the economic plan of the state. This is the essence of labor duty, which unquestionably is contained as a fundamental element in the program of the socialist organization of labor.

If a planful economy is inconceivable without labor duty, the latter cannot possibly be carried out without an elimination of the fiction of free labor, without replacing it by the principle of obligation, which is supplemented by actual compulsion.

That free labor is more productive than compulsory labor is true, to be sure, for the period of transition from feudal society to bourgeois society. But you must be a liberal or (in our day) a Kautskian, to attempt to make this truth immortal and to apply it to the epoch of transition from bourgeois society to socialist society. If it be true, as the resolution of the Mensheviki maintains, that compulsory labor is always and under all circumstances unproductive, our entire system is doomed to destruction. For there is no other way to Socialism except that of an absolute full control over the economic forces and instruments of the country, of a centralized distribution of labor power, in accordance with a nation-wide plan. The Workers' State considers itself justified in assigning each worker to the place

where his work is necessary. And not a single serious Socialist will attempt to deny the Workers' State the right to lay a heavy hand upon the worker who refuses to fulfill his labor task. But the very trouble with the road that the Mensheviki would take to "Socialism" is that it is a milky way without a grain monopoly, without an elimination of the market, without a revolutionary dictatorship, and without a militarization of labor.

Without labor duty, without the right of giving commands demanding obedience, the trade unions will be turned into an empty form without content, for the Socialist State we are building does not need the trade unions in its struggle for better labor conditions—that being the task of the entire socialist and national organization, but in order to organize the working class for purposes of production, to train, to discipline, to distribute, to group, to attach the individual groups and workers for different purposes to their posts—in a word to attach the workers imperatively to the frame of the single economic plan, hand in hand with the state. Under such conditions to defend the "freedom" of labor is equivalent to defending a fruitless and helpless and planless groping for better conditions, a systemless, chaotic transfer from one factory to another, and all that in a hungry land, in which the transportation and provision system is terribly disorganized. What could be the outcome of the absurd attempt to combine a bourgeois labor freedom with the proletarian Socialism of the means of production, unless it be a complete collapse of the working class with a resulting economic anarchy?

Therefore, comrades, the militarization of labor in the fundamental sense that I have proposed, is not an invention of individual statesmen or our Commissar of War, but an inevitable method for organization and disciplining labor power in the transition period from capitalism to Socialism. And if the compulsory distribution of labor power, its shorter or longer assignment to individual branches of production or industries, its regulation in accordance with a nation-wide economic plan—if all these compulsory forms everywhere and always (as the resolution of the Mensheviki says) lead to diminishing of the productivity of labor—then let us bury Socialism. For Socialism cannot be based on a decreasing productivity of labor. And if our new organization of labor is to lead to a decrease in its productivity, the Socialist society which we are building will inevitably descend thereby to its final ruin, however much we may resist and whatever may be the remedies our ingenuity may devise against such a consummation.

That is why I said at the outset that the Menshevik argument against this militarization led us to the central question of labor duty and its influence on the productivity of labor. Is it true that compulsory labor is always unproductive? Our answer must be that this is simply a most lamentable and empty liberal prejudice. The whole question is by whom, against whom and for what purpose the compulsion is exercised—by what state,

by what class, under what circumstances, by what methods? Even the feudal serf labor was under certain circumstances a progress and led to an intensification of productivity of labor. This productivity rose enormously under capitalism, i.e. in the epoch of free purchase and sale of labor power on the market. But when free labor together with capitalism entered into the stage of imperialism, it exploded itself absolutely in the imperialistic war. The entire world economy is in an epoch of bloody anarchy, tremendous convulsions, impoverishments, degeneration, decay of the popular masses. Can we under such circumstances speak of a productivity of free labor, where the fruits of this labor are being destroyed ten times as fast as they are being produced. The imperialistic war and all that followed in its wake have shown the impossibility of a continuance of society on the basis of free labor or does someone perhaps possess the secret of accomplishing the divorce of free labor from the insanity of imperialism, of pushing back the social development for half a century or even a full century? If it should turn out that the planful and consequent compulsory organization of labor which is to succeed imperialism leads to a decline of the economic life, this would mean the destruction of our entire civilization, a recession of mankind to barbarism and savagery.

Fortunately, not only for Soviet Russia but also for all the rest of humanity, the philosophy of the low productivity of compulsory labor "under any and all circumstances" is only a belated variant of certain timeworn liberal melodies. The productivity of labor is the resultant of the entire complex of social conditions and will neither be cured nor determined by the juristic formula of labor.

The entire history of humanity is the history of the organization and education of collective man for work, for the attaining of a higher productivity. Man—as I have already permitted myself to point out is lazy—i.e. he is intensively inclined to attain the greatest possible quantity of products with the least possible exertion of effort. If he did not have this ambition, there could not be any economic development. The growth of civilization is measured by the productivity of human labor, and each new form of social relations must bear the test of this criterion.

"Free", i.e. freely purchased wage labor by no means began its existence clothed in the complete armor of productivity. It did not attain a high productivity until rather late, as a result of a rather long application of the methods of labor organization and labor compulsion. This training involved the most varied ways and means, changing furthermore from one epoch to another. At first the bourgeoisie drove the peasant with clubs out of his villages onto the highways, after first having deprived him of his land and when he refused to work in the factories they branded his forehead with red hot irons, hanged him, sent him to the galleys, and at last succeeded in adapting to the work bench of the factory the tramp that had been driven out of his native fields. In this stage "free"

labor, as we can readily see differs very little from compulsory labor, both with regard to material conditions as well as to the legal situation.

In the various epochs the bourgeoisie has united the red hot iron of repression in varying degrees with the method of mental suggestion, particularly through the sermons of the priests. Already in the sixteenth century it reformed the old Catholic religion, which was defended by the feudal order, and established for itself a new religion in the guise of the reformation, in which freedom of the spirit appeared together with free trade and free labor. It found new priests, who became the spiritual agents, the pious tabulators of the bourgeoisie. Schools, press, Council, Chamber, Parliament, were adapted by the bourgeoisie to the purpose of mentally influencing the working class. The various forms of wage labor—the daily wage, lump payment, piece work, collective agreement—all these are only varying means in the hands of the bourgeoisie for training the proletariat to work. We must add the following forms of encouragement to work and of spurring on the instinct of ambition. And finally, the bourgeoisie succeeded in making use even of the trade unions, i.e. the organizations of the working class itself, and particularly in England, devoting them in the most exclusive manner to the task of disciplining the workers. It tamed the leaders and through their intermediation inoculated the workers with the belief that peaceful organic labor, and unimpeachable fulfillment of duty, and a strict observance of the laws of the bourgeois state are a necessity. The climax of all this work is formed by the Taylor system, in which elements of the scientific organization of the process of production are united with the most concentrated forms of sweating.

From the above it must be clear that the productivity of labor freely hired is not something fixed, and finally, presented by history on a platter. No, it is the outcome of a long and stubborn policy of elements of oppression, education, organization and encouragement. Step by step the bourgeoisie has succeeded in drawing from the workers increasing quantities of commodities and one of its most powerful means of doing this has been its proclamation that free contract is the only free, normal, healthy, productive and wholesome form of labor.

A legal form of labor assuring *per se* a productivity of labor, has not existed in history and cannot possibly exist. The legal envelope of labor will correspond to the circumstances and conceptions of the epochs in question. The productivity of labor develops on the basis of the increase in technical powers, by labor education, by gradual adaptation of the workers to the altering means of production, and to the new forms of social relations.

The creation of a socialist society means the organization of the workers on new foundations, their adaptation to these foundations, their education to new forms of labor, with the one goal remaining unaltered,—increasing productivity of labor. The working class under the leadership of its vanguard

must educate itself anew on the foundations of Socialism. Anyone who does not understand that has not even learned the alphabet of the socialist system.

What means are at our disposal for the reeducation of the workers? We have incomparably more far-reaching means than the bourgeoisie had, and furthermore they are honest, straight, open means, infected neither with hypocrisy nor deception. The bourgeoisie was obliged to practice deception by designating its labor as free labor, in spite of the fact that this form of labor is not only one that is produced by social compulsion and even much resembles slavery, for it is a labor on the part of the majority in the interests of the minority. But we organized a labor in the interests of the workers themselves and therefore we can have no motives whatever to conceal or to mask the social compulsion underlying this labor organization. We need no fictions from the mouths of priests or liberals or Kautskians. We tell the masses frankly and plainly that they can only save their socialist country by hard work, by unconditional discipline, by punctual obedience on the part of each toiler; only thus can we raise it and bring about a flourishing condition of its life.

Our most important method is that of influencing ideas, is propaganda not by deed alone. Labor duty has a compulsory character, but this does not by any means imply that it is a violation of the working class. If labor duty should encounter the resistance of the majority, it would be destroyed and with it the Soviet system. The militarization of labor proceeding against the resistance of the workers, would be an Arakcheyev system. But a militarization of labor by the will of the workers themselves, this is a socialistic dictatorship. The fact that labor duty and the militarization of labor do not do violence to the will of the workers as was the case with "free" labor is evidenced by the flourishing of the voluntary performance of labor in the shape of labor Saturdays, a phenomenon unexampled in history. There never before has been such a practice anywhere. Through their voluntary, unselfish labor, once or more often in a week, the workers eloquently reveal not only their readiness to assume the burden of "compulsory" labor, but also their effort to give to the state a certain additional amount of labor besides that required. The Saturdayings are not only a splendid manifestation of Communist solidarity, but also the most unmistakable pledge for the successful execution of labor duty. This truly Communist tendency must be illuminated, extended and deepened with the aid of propaganda.

The chief spiritual weapon of the bourgeoisie is religion; with us it is a straight presentation of the actual state of affairs to the masses; a spread of scientific and technical knowledge, the initiating of the masses in the nation-wide economy on the basis of which all labor power must be applied, that is at the disposal of the Soviet Government.

During the preceding epoch the chief contention of our agitation was that of political economy: the

capitalistic order of society was a riddle and we have solved this riddle in the eyes of the masses through the simple mechanism of the Soviet Government which attracts all the workers to a participation in all the fields of administration. Political economy will now be relegated more and more as time progresses, to a merely historical importance. The foreground will now be occupied by the sciences that investigate nature and the means of making nature subservient to man.

The trade unions must organize the scientific-technical work of enlightenment with the broadest possible compass, so that each worker may receive stimulation in his own work for a theoretical intellectual labor and so that this latter may again lead him back to his work, affect it, make it more productive. The public press must take its cue from the economic tasks of the country, not only in the sense that is now the case, i.e. not only in the sense of a general agitation in favor of increasing labor exertion, but also in the sense of discussing and evaluating the great economic tasks and proposals, ways and means for solving them, and chiefly—checking, testing, estimating, the results of this labor. Day by day the newspapers must follow the production of the most important industries and other enterprises, must register accomplishments and failures, praise some and censure others.

Russian capitalism, which was a belated, dependent and therefore parasitic form of capitalism has had the opportunity of training the working masses in a technical manner, and disciplining them for production to the same extent as did the capitalism of Europe. This task now devolves fully upon the trade union organizations of the proletariat; a good engineer, a good machinist, a good locksmith, must become just as famous and well-known in the Soviet Republic, as were formerly the prominent agitators, the revolutionary fighters and latterly the most courageous and able commanders and commissars. The technical leaders, great and small, must occupy the center of public attention. The poor workers must be forced to be ashamed of the fact that they do poor work.

Wages for labor have remained in existence in our country and will probably continue to remain. In the long run their importance will consist more and more in the necessity of providing all the members of society with everything that they need; and precisely in this manner will it cease to be wages for labor. But at this moment we are not rich enough to do this. Our chief task consists in elevating the quantity of commodities produced and all other tasks are subordinated to this. In our present difficult period wages for labor are for us not a means of securing the existence of the individual worker, but a means for recording that which the individual worker accomplishes through his work for the Republic of the Workers.

Therefore wages for labor, both in the form of money and in that of commodities, must be made to coincide as far as possible with the productivity of the individual labor. Under capitalism, piece work and agreements for pay, application of the

Taylor methods, etc., had the object of increasing the exploitation of the workers by squeezing out a surplus profit. In socialist production, pay for piece work, premiums, have the object of increasing the social production and with it also the general well-being. Thus the workers who contribute more to the general well-being than others will have the right to a greater share of the social product than idlers, wastrels, and disorganizers.

Finally: if the Workers' State rewards some, it cannot do otherwise than punish others, namely those who openly violate the solidarity of labor, obstruct the general efficiency, inflict serious damage upon the socialistic restoration of the country. Reprisals in the interest of an attainment of economic aims are a necessary tool of the socialistic dictatorship. All the measures enumerated, not to mention a number of others, are to make sure that zeal in the field of production is to increase. Otherwise we shall never rise above an extremely insufficient level of mediocrity. This zeal is based upon an instinct of life—the struggle for existence—which under the bourgeois order assumes the character of competition. This emulation will not disappear even in a fully developed socialistic society, but, with the increasing supply of the necessary means of life, this emulation will assume a more and more unselfish, more and more ideal character. It will be expressed in the effort to perform for one's village, one's district, city, or for society as a whole as great as possible services, and to receive as one's reward the celebration, gratitude, and sympathies of others, or finally even one's own personal satisfaction in the performance of good work. But in the difficult transition period, in view of the extreme lack of material things and the still altogether insufficient development of the feeling of social solidarity, this emulation must be more or less connected with the effort of providing oneself with the products necessary for personal consumption.

That is the number of means, comrades, that are at the disposal of the labor state for the raising of labor productivity. There is no ready made solution to this question, as we may see. You will not find it written down in a book. In fact there cannot be any such book. We only begin now to set down this book with the sweat and blood of the workers. We say: men and women workers, you have entered upon the road of regulated labor. Only by this road will you erect a socialistic order. You are facing the task that no one will solve for you: the task of raising the productivity of labor on a new social basis. If you do not solve this question, you will go down. If you solve it, you will advance humanity.

(To be concluded in our next issue)

The Russian Soviet Government Bureau does not object to the reprinting in other periodicals of articles taken from SOVIET RUSSIA. It asks, however, that in return for the privilege of reprinting, editors extend the courtesy of sending a marked copy to SOVIET RUSSIA of each of their issues containing a reprinted article.

Patchwork and Petticoats

By JOHN S. CLARKE

"It is the fate of woman
Long to be patient and silent, to wait like a ghost that
is speechless,
Till some questioning voice dissolves the spell of its
silence,
Hence is the inner life of so many suffering women
Sunless and silent and deep, like subterranean rivers
Running through caverns of darkness, unheard, unseen
and unfruitful,
Chafing their channels of stone with endless and profit-
less murmurs."

—Longfellow.

Returning to the hotel one evening we met one of its lady officials accompanying four or five conspicuously well-dressed visitors. We knew they were visitors by the comparative completeness of their garb, for in Russia everybody wears anything that will hide their mother-nakedness, irrespective of whether it fits them or not, or whether it "becomes" them or not. Rags, oddments, and misfits are at present extremely fashionable in the large towns and cities. If by any chance a person is even immaculately attired no one takes the slightest notice of it. He or she has been lucky enough to get hold of something in the way of clothing that is new enough to *last the longer*—that is all.

The chief function of clothes is to protect the body, and whatever does this in any part of the world, or has done so in past epochs, is fulfilling and has fulfilled the supreme purpose of its manufacture. Paleolithic man wore the skins of wild beasts—modern ladies and gentlemen do exactly the same, but more cruelty is involved in procuring the skins now than there was in Paleolithic days. Civilization is infinitely more cruel than savagery.

The secondary purpose of clothing is to adorn, and so far as modern civilization has cultivated the taste for ornamental attire, feminine fashion has been largely dictated by sexual selection. Viewed from the standpoint of mere utility the Russians are *well clad*, and the maudlin pity showered upon them by fastidious dudes and animated female fashion plates, who have condescended to take a fleeting glimpse of them, is quite gratuitous. From the secondary or esthetic point of view the plight of the Russian people is indeed lamentable—to the male and female "knut" spectator, but fortunately the assiduity with which the majority of Russia's city dwellers apply themselves to the realities of life leaves them neither time nor inclination to sit and bemoan the temporary absence of its external trappings. They are clean—cleanliness of body is a positive obsession with them—and with the limited amount of makeshift but adequate clothing at their command they succeed in presenting a neat, if not superlatively attractive, exterior to the world. Certainly the desire to "look nice" is a highly laudable one in anyone, and the Russians are no different to others in this respect, but clothing has ceased to be an indication of "caste" in Russia, so no one is seriously perturbed at the necessity of having to appear in public wearing whatever he can get hold of it. All these tales about the

people staring bulging-eyed at a pair of boots and reverently fingering a cloth garment are so much romantic moonshine. The only people we saw minus boots were a few Polish war prisoners who had marched the boots from off their feet. These poor ragged, unkempt, and dejected creatures hobbled painfully along the cobbled streets to the prisons—some with pieces of rag tied around their bruised feet, some with naked bleeding feet—looking the very embodiment of war's most hellish misery. The tragedy of it all is that the Bolsheviki, under present conditions, cannot provide them with comforts for they lack these comforts themselves.

The tearful lament over cropping of hair on the part of pretty maidens and bourgeois women who cannot obtain hats ("creations") is another example of western ignorance and sickening sentimentality. Cropped hair has been fashionable with Russian women since Nihilist days in the sixties and seventies of last century, and the majority of Russian women (not bourgeoisie) have never at any time worn any other kind of headgear than the kind they at present wear—a kerchief tied around the hair and knotted. They, in their wisdom, prefer it too.

To return to our party. It was the French delegation returning home after making its peace with the Soviet Government. Its leaders were Marcel Cachin, editor of *L'Humanité*, and Frossard. We stood with them and chatted, through the interpreter, with Cachin, who told me he was a regular and appreciative reader of the "Worker". He is strikingly like Robert Blatchford in size and feature, and apparently as erratic, but infinitely more honest and sincere than that person. His attitude towards the Bolsheviki had been more or less unfriendly, although he had never relaxed in his whole-hearted support of the Revolution, but his visit to Russia, the sights he had witnessed, and the verbal castigations he had received were all conducive to a more rational frame of mind, and poor Cachin wept and repented. Frossard I did not speak to and know nothing about.

We bade them an revoir with mutual good wishes for the World Revolution, and turned the street just in time to watch an inspiring march of a Red regiment—of women.

They moved with the perfect precision of a battalion of pre-war Cameron Highlanders, their short blue skirts swaying with the rhythmical swing of the kilt, their shoulders back and heads defiantly erect. Every rifle was bayoneted, and from the tip of each bayonet a tiny scarlet pennon flew. A khaki "glengarry", perfectly-fitting neat khaki tunic with waist belt, which permitted the lappets to fall gracefully over the hips, and hose and boots completed the uniform. The usual military equipment—cross belts, haversack, and sheath for the side-arm, were in their customary places. Most of the soldiers were young women, and uncommonly

handsome women too, and the perfect ease, dignity, and grace with which they marched created an impression never to be erased from memory. What a marvelous part *woman* has played in recent Russian history. Since the early days of the Nihilist movement, which vindicated the equality of the sexes, the women revolutionists has been ever to the fore. For decades she worked away, hidden, at dangerous outpost work, which in many cases could not be trusted to men. She organized secret printing plants, manufactured bombs, planned and carried through successfully political assassinations and the executions of traitors, carried propaganda to the army, fought with heroism at the barricades, and continued to fight in prison and at Siberia. Russia is, and has been, the mother and nurse of heroes of undying fame and glory, but she has been not one whit less so the builder of heroines. Mistaken ideas, false tactics, wrongful methods—what you will—can never dim the glory which hallows the names of Vera Zassulich, Sophie Perovskaya, "Babushka"-Breshkovskaya, Marie Zebrikov, Vera Figner, Sophie Bardina, Marie Spiridonova, Zinaida Konopliannikova and Alexandra Kollon— which was laid by the Bolsheviks of Russia in 1917, tay. The World Revolution, the corner-stone of will owe a large measure of its success to militant and dauntless womanhood. It was the strike of women textile workers on the Vyborg side of Petrograd which gave the stimulus to the uprising of 1917. By pouring into the city, just as the French proletarian women did with the *Ca ira* on their lips, when they returned in triumph from their memorable march to Versailles over one hundred years ago, they gave the signal for the great proletarian revolt which culminated in the Social Revolution. Incidents of the past flashed through my mind as the musical beat of the drum gave the measure to the marching feet of the Petersburg Amazons. Here, thought I, is the acme of the triumph of rebellious womanhood. Militarism was forgotten. The dirge of woman's martyrdom of subjection to the unqualified demands of the man fled before the mighty epic of woman erect, proudly defiantly free, equal, and armed with the fighting instruments of the male. The killing weapons at her shoulder—and rightly so; too long has she fought without them. But killing is not woman's work! So says her oppressor, man, but he did not hesitate to use her for such a purpose during Tsarism. The women's "Death Battalions" existed in the Tsar's army, though they failed miserably—as miserably as the men soldier did—on the firing line. They had nothing to fight for unless it was the false sanctity surrounding the name of a little criminal lunatic. The women today are different—they fight because they want to, not for fighting's sake, but because they know who the greatest sufferers will be should Tyranny return to power. They are just different to any women who have trod the planet since womanhood was free under the Communism of the gens. Soviet Russia has been the first to exalt her, for Communism is returning, and with it must return the finer recognition of the wondrous potenti-

alities which have been denied activity and expression in woman, the property, slave, and plaything of man. Like the women of old, the women of Soviet Russia occupy important offices of state; they "sit on high councils"; they legislate under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—and fight on battlefields.

These women are volunteers; not one of them is conscripted unless she is a member of the Communist Party, then military duties are obligatory for her as for her men comrades. During the call for volunteers they swarmed in great numbers for mobilization, and fought in the trenches as bravely and fiercely as the men.

They are employed in countless ways; in the hospitals, libraries of the army, schools, on garrison duty and field post-office work. One result of the mobilization and militarization of women has been the elevation of the morality of men. Part of their duty at the front has been to inspire, not only courage, but good discipline, neatness, self-respect, and general fitness in the ranks. The moral effect of these fighting women has been tremendous, for one must always remember the *motive*. In ordinary capitalist wars a soldier is *encouraged* to take advantage of any license permitted him, because it is necessary to humor these weaknesses of the flesh which war's excitement and an enforced celibacy engender.* He is encouraged to do so because he is fighting the battles of his own economic enslavers, and were the light of manhood and knowledge to penetrate his dull and besotted brain, it might prove disadvantageous to his "superiors". Hence the establishment of brothels in occupied areas, the enviable immunity from supervision of the prostitute class in garrison towns, and the blinking on the part of the authorities at wholesale rape committed upon women by their "heroes".

In Soviet Russia the very opposite is the case. The soldier is not merely told that he is fighting for small nations, for the honor of "scraps of paper", etc.—*he knows that he is fighting for the Revolution, for his own liberty, for his hearth and home, for the future emancipation of the world's workers, men and women.* It is an uncomfortable and dangerous task he is engaged in, but his freedom from tyranny and economic servitude is *really* dependent on his courage, his patience, and his endurance, and because he is fighting for himself

* The staff of the 256th Brigade of French Army of Occupation issued instructions, which were published in *L'Humanite*, August last year, for the control of a German brothel. Some idea of the bestiality into which mothers unwittingly pushed their sons, girls their sweethearts, and wives their husbands during the great war may be gathered from this document. There were "only two women" in the brothel, and they had to serve the civil population first, or, as the instructions read, "regular German and Belgian clients must be attended to first." The resources of the town "did not permit any increase of the personnel" so cards were allotted to the soldiers. Here is the specific paragraph:

"In order to prevent disorder and in order not to exact from these women work beyond their strength, the following measures will be taken: These measures include the division of the time of the women amongst the men of the various battalions. In every battalion there will be on each allotted day twenty tickets—five to each company. Men wishing to visit the establishments will apply to their sergeant-major."

Readers might refer to "The Queen's Daughters in India" by Katherine Bushnell, wherein is quoted the frantic appeals for more brothels by the late Christian Lord Roberts, F.M., for proof that the British Government is as rotten as the French.

and his comrades he needs neither alcoholic drink to give him courage nor sexual indulgence to ease the monotony of his life. There is, accordingly, little expenditure of effort needed here to bring a soldier to the realization of the moral obligations placed upon him, and what little is needed is imparted almost unconsciously by the splendid women, whose very presence with him in defending the Revolution carries conviction of the sacredness of the cause.

When the White Guards threatened Petersburg, Odessa, Samara, and other large cities, the women inhabitants were given the opportunity of defending their homes. Mobilized first for auxiliary service, they went to the factories as the women in Britain did during the war. Many, however, left the workshops and volunteered for service under arms. They were equipped and drilled, trained to the use of firearms, and stood ready to defend the city to the last drop of blood. Now the "Voevobuch" or General Military Training numbers hundreds upon hundreds of proletarian women. I visited the district school at Petersburg on my second visit, and watched their evolutions. I saw one woman spin a service rifle, holding it in the centre, with the

strength of a man and the skill of a juggler. I watched another hit the bull's-eye four times in succession, firing with an automatic pistol at twenty-five yards. I watched them at gymnastic exercises and military drill, and heard some of them sing in deliciously sweet and delicate tones.

There is a special training school for women officers—the first woman to pass through left for the front in the autumn of 1919; she had previously been a factory hand in Petersburg. The very thought of a return to Tsarism, a return to the old tyranny, economic and domestic, which life so oppressive for the women of Russia, would be sufficient to bring thousands of women warriors flocking to the army to resist it. That is why the woman soldier fights with such unbounded enthusiasm today. She also is defending her newly acquired liberty—not waging a war to protect the profits and extend the power of exploitation of the capitalist class. Their behavior on the field of battle has been magnificent. They have displayed every virtue, courage, cheerfulness, indifference to pain and discomfort, and military ardor possessed by their men comrades.

British Denial of Russian Sovereignty

By LINCOLN COLCORD

THE latest monkey wrench in the wheels of trade with Russia has been thrown by the British Courts, in the judgment recently handed down by Justice Roche. To quote the case from a public statement issued by the All-White Russian-American Chamber of Commerce—the italics are mine:

"The facts were that timber belonging to a Russian firm was confiscated in 1918 by the Soviet Government. In August, this year, Krassin, the Soviet commercial agent in London, disposed of this timber by contract to an English firm. When part of the timber arrived in England the original owners laid claim to it, and now, by Justice Roche's judgment, the claim is sustained and the claimants declared to be the rightful owners.

"The practical effect of this judgment is to invalidate all such contracts made by the Soviet representative or in his behalf, if it can be proved that the goods in question have been seized by the Soviet Government from their rightful owners, or even if *the produce from the soil from which the real owners have been expropriated is exported as Soviet property*. The main point at issue in the case was that since the British Government had never recognized the Soviet Government no decree by the latter expropriating private property could be considered valid in England."

Here we have a plain case of the new international brigandage that has become openly current since the war; a case so flagrant, irresponsible and naive that it can only be supported by an opinion which refuses to take cognizance of the most ele-

mentary logic—that is, by the desire and determination of thieves.

The question actually at issue is not property, but rather sovereignty. British Courts are arrogating to themselves the establishment of fundamental law and the interpretation of that law *for Russia*. That is, they are assuming both a legislative and a judicial function for Russia, on the strength of the fact that the British Government refuses to recognize the Government of Russia. It is an interesting revelation, also, of the strength of capitalist internationalism, that this decision in the British courts runs contrary to British interests; for the institution of property must be maintained at any selfish cost.

It is easily to be noted, of course, how broad and inclusive this legal decision in England may become, as a weapon of the international thugs who require loot and exploitation, but who quaintly enough, in the best manner of diplomatic hypocrisy, always like to have a piece of paper and a few sounding phrases to cover the steal. I have italicized a clause which is self-revealing. The moment British courts refuse to validate the expropriation of land in Russia, that moment the case for every commodity, from toothpicks to diamonds and platinum, is thrown wide open.

But are the British courts, are the British and American governments, or is the Russian-American Chamber of Commerce, willing to accept the whole logic of this remarkable and fantastic decision? Applying nothing but straightforward common

sense to the cause, these facts stand out beyond denial:

1. If the British courts deny the sovereignty of the Russian people, and assume legislative and judicial functions for Russia, then the Russian courts and the Russian Government are entirely justified in denying the sovereignty of the English people.

2. If the British courts, basing their action on the refusal of the British Government to recognize the Soviet Government, decree that no denial of property rights shall be valid in Russia, then the Soviet Government is equally justified in applying its conception of property rights to the situation in England.

3. What becomes, then, of the hypocritical demand on the part of capitalist governments that the Soviet Government refrain from propaganda for Communism in their countries? While the courts and Government of Great Britain refuse to recognize Russian sovereignty, why should the Russian Government respect British sovereignty?

Denial of Russian sovereignty is, of course, nothing new; the whole Russian policy of Great Britain, France and America for the past three years has been based on this position. The whole enterprise of intervention in Russia has been calculated only to overturn the government which Russia supported and to set up a government in opposition to the will of the Russian people.

Yet, after all, this has taken place in the field of capitalist diplomacy, in the realm of the imperialist foreign offices, where one has learned to expect neither truth nor honor. Never before have we been treated to a public prostitution of the legal processes on the score of Russian policy, whereby the courts of one country assume the legislative function for another country and propose to deny the sovereignty of that country. It is an interesting case, and may become even more interesting if pushed to the limit.

Indeed, the old conceptions of justice and democracy, of what it is that constitutes sovereignty, of what it is that constitutes a government, of what the legislative function is in contra-distinction to the judicial function, of where the power rests and of how it shall be used: all these have been badly shattered by the experience of the war and by the vigorous pressure of new ideas that comes with increasing force out of the great awakening of Russia. The governments are creaking and wobbling, not at all from the impact of physical power, but solely through their own infirmity and confusion. When they no longer recognize their own correct functions, when they perform acts which if turned against themselves would destroy their very foundations, then they reveal how weak and sick and desperate they are.

They will not fall by force of arms. They will fall by the passage of time and the inexorable force of inability. But of this they themselves cannot form an accurate conception. They only know how to dread and to prepare against the force of arms.

JOHN REED

By G. F. NYE

"John Reed dead of typhus in Russia."

Like cold, smooth stones the words fall, numbing
my heart.

Dully I ponder—

Can they be true?

Why, his words are yet warm.

His name brings the throb of life most intense to
my blood.

The flame at which he lit his torch burns brighter
and brighter.

The storm on which he rode, strong-winged and
free, sweeps on.

Yes, he is dead.

All these weeks he has lain, sickening, decaying,
Silent in stupor or babbling unmeaning and hideous
things.

Now he is only a clod of corruption returning to
earth,

A ripe fruit of pestilence for those who have planted
and watered the tree.

He is dead of typhus in Russia.

Oh, John Reed, if your spirit still lives and can
speak

As it spoke through the lips now blackened and
fallen,

Let it tell to the High Gods—if they be and can
hear—

Of that plague-stricken Russia,

Hunger gnawing within, the wolf-packs of Europe
upon her—

Wolves in sheeps' clothing, but their foul fangs
white-gleaming.

Tell all the dark story of intrigue and poison and
torture—

You know how to tell it.

Oh, before you forget it,

Before your magic has faded and scattered,

Tell it all to the High Gods—

They must listen to you!

RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU

January 12, 1921.

We have received today a cable from Mr. George Chicherin, Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Moscow, emphatically denying the rumors recently appearing in the press regarding alleged "mobilizations" of the Soviet Russian army. Mr. Chicherin reiterates the desire of the Soviet Government for peace and an opportunity to devote all its energies to constructive work. Referring to the inspired despatches emanating from anti-Soviet sources concerning alleged military plans of the Moscow Government, Mr. Chicherin cables as follows:

"Emphatically deny rumors in the American press alleging Russian mobilization against Poland, Rumania or any other country. We want peace and a chance to work.

"(Signed) CHICHERIN,
"Commissar for Foreign Affairs."

The Trade Negotiations at London

RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH DRAFTS OF PROPOSED TRADE AGREEMENTS

[In our issue of January 1 we reprinted from the "Manchester Guardian Weekly" of October 8, 1920, the text of a draft trade agreement between the British Government and the Russian Soviet Government proposed during the early course of the negotiations at London. At that time we did not have the official text either of that proposed agreement or of the subsequent drafts. We have now received from the Russian Trade Delegation in London the official text of the British draft trade agreement handed to Mr. Krassin on November 29, together with the counter-proposal submitted by the Russian Soviet Government on December 13. We publish these two documents in full below. Recent press dispatches report that Mr. Krassin is returning to Moscow with an agreement submitted by the British for the approval of the Soviet Government. We have not yet received the text of this latest draft. While it is possible that neither of these texts may even approximate the form that will finally be signed, both will be found interesting by students of international affairs for the light they throw on the evolution of this document that will have such a great significance in the history of the relations between Soviet Russia and other countries.]

THE BRITISH DRAFT

(Submitted by the British Government to the Russian Soviet Government Trade Delegation at London on November 29, 1920.)

Draft Trade Agreement Between His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Russian Soviet Government

WHEREAS, it is desirable in the interests of both of Russia and of the United Kingdom that peaceful trade and commerce should be resumed forthwith between these countries, AND WHEREAS, for this purpose it is necessary pending the conclusion of a formal treaty between the governments of these countries by which their economic and political relations shall be regulated in the future that a preliminary agreement should be arrived at between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Russian Soviet Government.

The aforesaid parties have accordingly entered into the present agreement for the resumption of trade and commerce between the countries, which agreement shall not be deemed to affect the view which either party may hold as to the legal status of the other.

The present agreement shall remain in force, subject to the provisions of Article 7, so long as the conditions contained in the agreement and those hereinafter set forth are observed on both sides, namely:

- (a) That each party refrains from hostile action or undertakings against the other and from conducting outside of their own borders any propaganda direct or indirect against the institutions of the other party and more particularly that the Soviet Government desists and refrains from undertaking or assisting any hostile action or propaganda in the United Kingdom or any part of the British Empire against the institutions of the British Empire and from any attempt by military, diplomatic, or any other form of action or propaganda to encourage any of the people of Asia in any form of hostile action against British interests or the British Empire especially in the regions of the Caucasus and Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan, and India, and also restrains Russian citizens from any such action or propaganda.

- (b) That all British subjects in Russia are permitted to return home, and that all Russian citizens in Great Britain or other parts of the British Empire who desire to return to Russia are similarly permitted to do so.

In the event of the infringement by either party of any of the conditions contained in the agreement or of either of the stipulations set forth above, the other party shall have the right immediately to terminate the agreement; and the parties mutually undertake that in the event of such termination they will afford all necessary facilities for the withdrawal and egress from their territories of the nationals of the other party and for the withdrawal of their moveable property.

1. Both parties agree to remove forthwith all obstacles, hitherto placed in the way of the resumption of trade between the United Kingdom and Russia in any commodities

(other than arms and war material) which may be legally exported from or imported into their respective territories to or from any foreign country, and not to exercise any discrimination against such trade as compared with that carried on with any other foreign country.

Nothing in this provision shall be construed as overriding the provisions of any international convention which is binding on either party, by which the trade in any particular article is regulated.

2. British and Russian merchant ships, their masters, crews and cargoes, shall in ports of Russia and of the United Kingdom respectively, receive in all respects the treatment, privileges, facilities, immunities and protection which are usually accorded by the established practice of commercial nations to foreign merchant ships, their masters, crews and cargoes, visiting their ports.

PROVIDED that nothing in this article shall impair the right of either party to take such precautions as are authorized by their respective laws, with regard to the admission of aliens into their territories.

3. Each party may nominate such members of its nationals as may be agreed from time to time as being reasonably necessary to enable proper effect to be given to this agreement, having regard to the conditions under which trade is carried on in its territories, and the other party shall permit such persons to enter its territories and to sojourn and carry on trade there provided that either party may restrict the admittance to or sojourn in its territories to any individual who is *persona non grata* to itself, or who does not comply with this agreement, or with the conditions precedent thereto.

Persons admitted in pursuance of this article into the territories of either party shall, while sojourning therein for purposes of trade, be exempted from all compulsory service whatsoever, whether civil, naval, military, or other and from any contributions, whether pecuniary or in kind, imposed as an equivalent for personal service and shall have right of egress.

Persons admitted into Russia under this agreement shall be permitted freely to import commodities destined solely for their household uses or consumption.

4. Either party may appoint one or more official agents to reside and exercise their functions in the territories of the other, who shall enjoy all the rights and immunities set forth in the preceding article, and also immunity from arrest, provided that either party may refuse to admit any individual as an official agent who is *persona non grata* to itself, or may require the other party to withdraw him should it find it necessary to do so on grounds of public interest or security. Such agents shall have access to the authorities of the country in which they sojourn for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of this agreement and of protecting the interests of their nationals.

Official agents shall be at liberty to communicate freely with their own government by telegraph, and wireless telegraphy in cypher and to receive and despatch couriers with sealed bags subject to a limitation of three kilogrammes per week, which shall be exempt from examination.

The Official Agents shall be the competent authorities to visa the passports of persons seeking admission in pursuance of the preceding article, into the territories of the parties.

5. Each party undertakes to ensure generally that persons admitted into its territories under the two preceding articles shall enjoy all protection, rights and facilities which are necessary to enable them to carry on trade.

They shall be at liberty to communicate freely by post, telegraph and wireless telegraphy and to use telegraph codes, under the conditions and subject to the regulations laid down in the International Telegraph Convention of St. Petersburg 1875 (Lisbon Revision of 1908).

Each party undertakes to account for and to pay all balances due to the other in respect to terminal and transit telegrams and in respect of transit letter mails, in accordance with the provisions of the International Telegraph Convention and Regulations and of the Convention and Regulations of the Universal Postal Union respectively.

6. Passports, documents of identity, powers of attorney and similar documents issued or certified by the competent authorities in either country for the purpose of enabling trade to be carried on in pursuance of this agreement, shall be treated in the other country as if they were issued or certified by the authorities of a recognized foreign government.

7. Either party shall at any time be entitled to give notice of its intention to terminate the provisions of articles 1 to 6 and on the expiration of three months from the date of such notice these articles shall terminate accordingly.

The parties mutually undertake that in the event of the termination of these articles, under the provisions of this article, they will afford all necessary facilities for the completion of winding-up of any transactions entered into thereunder and for the withdrawal and egress from their territory of the nationals of the other party and for the withdrawal of their moveable property.

8. It is agreed that all claims of either party or of its nation against the other party in respect of property or rights or in respect of obligations incurred by the existing or former government of either country shall be equitably dealt with in the treaty referred to in the preamble.

In the meantime and without prejudice to the above stipulation the Russian Soviet Government declares that it recognizes its liability to pay compensation to British subjects in respect of goods which have been supplied or services which have been rendered to it or to any former government of Russia, for which payment has not been made, and also for goods which have been supplied or services which have been rendered to Russian citizens for which payment has not been made, where the failure to pay is attributable to the Russian Revolution or to any act of the Soviet Government. The detailed mode of discharging this liability shall be regulated by the treaty referred to in the preamble.

The British Government makes a corresponding declaration.

It is clearly understood that the above declarations in no way imply that the claims referred to therein will have preferential treatment in the final treaty as compared with any other classes of claims which are to be dealt with in that treaty.

9. In consideration of the declaration in the preceding article the British Government hereby declares that they will not initiate any steps with a view to attach or to take possession of any gold securities or commodities, not being articles identifiable as the property of the British Government, which may be exported from Russia in payment for imports or as securities for such payments.

10. The Russian Soviet Government undertakes to make no claim to dispose in any way of the funds of the late Imperial and Provisional Russian Governments in London. The British Government gives a corresponding undertaking as regards British Government funds in Petrograd. This article is not to prejudice the inclusion in the formal treaty referred to in the preamble of any provisions dealing with the subject matter of this article.

THE RUSSIAN DRAFT

(Submitted by the Russian Soviet Government Trade Delegation to the British Government at London on December 13, 1920.)

Draft Trade Agreement Between the Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and His Britannic Majesty's Government

WHEREAS it is desirable in the interests both of Russia and of the United Kingdom that peaceful trade and commerce should be resumed forthwith between these countries, AND WHEREAS for this purpose it is necessary, pending the conclusion of a formal general Peace Treaty between the governments of these countries, by which their economic and political relations shall be regulated in the future, that a preliminary agreement should be arrived at between the Russian Soviet Government and the Government of the United Kingdom.

The aforesaid parties have accordingly entered into the present agreement for the resumption of trade and commerce between the countries, which agreement shall not be deemed to affect the view which either party may hold as to the political status of the other. This agreement is subject to the fulfilment of the conditions specified in the British Note of June 30, 1920, and accepted in the telegram from the Russian Soviet Government dated July 7, 1920, with regard to the mutual cessation of hostilities and propaganda directed against the institutions or interests of the other party, the repatriation of prisoners, the recognition in principle of the liability of the Russian Soviet Government to pay compensation to private citizens who have supplied goods or services to Russia for which they have not been paid. All questions which may hereafter arise as to interpretation or otherwise in connection with the said cessation of hostilities, propaganda or repatriation of prisoners, as aforesaid, shall be referred to a special conference to be called by the said two governments immediately after the signing of this agreement.

In the event of the infringement by either party of any of the essential conditions contained in the agreement, or of either of the stipulations above referred to, the other party shall have the right immediately to terminate the agreement without further notice, i.e. from the date of the receipt of the said notice no new transactions or contracts shall be permissible, but in such event the parties mutually undertake that they will afford all necessary facilities for the winding up, in accordance with the provisions of this agreement, hereinafter contained, of any transactions entered into thereunder, prior to the receipt of such notice, and for the withdrawal and egress from territories of the nationals of the other party and for the withdrawal of their moveable property.

Clause 1. Both parties agree to remove and not to reimpose or maintain any form of blockade against each other and to remove forthwith all obstacles hitherto placed in the way of the resumption of trade between Russia and the United Kingdom in any commodities which may be legally exported from or imported into their respective territories to or from any other foreign country, and not to exercise any discrimination against such trade, including banking, credit and financial operations, as compared with that carried on with any other foreign country, but subject to the special legislation of the respective countries. It is understood that nothing in this article shall prevent either party from regulating the trade in arms and ammunition under any general provisions of its law which apply to the import or export of arms and ammunition from or to foreign countries.

Nothing in this article shall be construed as over-riding the provisions of any general international convention which is binding upon either party, by which the trade in any particular article is regulated, on humanitarian grounds, including the prevention of diseases of animals and plants.

Clause 2. Russian and British merchant ships, their masters, crews, and cargoes, shall, in ports of Russia and of the United Kingdom respectively, receive in all respects the treatment, privileges, facilities, immunities and protection which are usually accorded by the established practice of commercial nations to foreign merchant ships, their masters, crews, and cargoes, visiting their ports, including

the facilities usually accorded in respect of coal and water, pilotage, berthing, dry docks, cranes, repairs, warehouses, and generally all services, appliances and premises connected with merchant shipping.

Provided that nothing in this article shall impair the right of either party to take such precautions as are authorized by their respective laws with regard to the admission of aliens into their territory.

The British Government will forthwith remove all mines which may have been laid by the British Fleet on sea passages to ports and shores of the Russian Republic and will also give the Russian Government all possible assistance in respect to the clearing up of all mines or minefields laid by other countries in the said sea passages.

Clause 3. Each party may nominate such numbers of its nationals as may be agreed from time to time as being reasonably necessary to enable proper effect to be given to this agreement, having regard to the conditions under which trade is carried on in its territories, and the other party shall permit such persons to enter its territories, and to sojourn and carry on trade there, provided that either party may restrict the admittance of any such persons into any specified areas, and may refuse admittance to or sojourn in its territories to any individual who is *persona non grata* to itself, or who does not comply with this agreement, or with the conditions precedent thereto.

Persons admitted in pursuance of this article into the territories of either party shall, while sojourning therein for purposes of trade, be exempted from all compulsory service whatsoever, whether civil, naval, military or other, and from any contributions, whether pecuniary or in kind, imposed as an equivalent of personal service and shall have right of egress.

Persons admitted into Russia under this agreement shall be permitted freely to import commodities destined solely for their household use or consumption to an amount not exceeding their actual needs.

Clause 4. Either party may appoint one or more official plenipotentiary agents to reside and exercise their functions in the territories of the other, who shall enjoy all rights and immunities set forth in the preceding article, and also such privileges as are granted to Public Ministers, by the Diplomatic Privileges Act of 1703 including immunity from arrest and search provided that either party may refuse to admit any individual as an official plenipotentiary agent who is *persona non grata* to itself, or may require the other party to withdraw him should it find it necessary to do so on grounds of public interest or security, in which case the respective governments must produce in writing detailed reasons for such request. Such agents shall have access to the authorities of the country in which they sojourn, in accordance with the rules and customs existing for relations between representatives of foreign governments and the government or officials of the respective countries, for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of this agreement and of protecting the interests of their nationals.

Official plenipotentiary agents will be exempt in the respective countries from government and local government taxation.

Official plenipotentiary agents shall be at liberty to communicate freely with their own government and with other representatives of their governments in other countries by post, telegraph, and wireless telegraphy, in code or cypher and to receive and dispatch couriers with sealed bags subject to a limitation of three kilogrammes per courier, which shall be exempt from examination. Telegrams and radios of official plenipotentiary agents have the right of priority before any other private telegraphic and wireless messages.

The official plenipotentiary agents shall be the competent authorities to visa passports of persons seeking admittance in pursuance of the preceding article into the territories of the other party.

Clause 5. Each party undertakes to ensure generally that persons admitted into its territories under the two preceding articles shall enjoy all the protection, rights and facilities which are necessary to enable them to carry

on trade, but subject to the special legislation of the respective country.

They shall be at liberty to communicate freely by post, telegraph and wireless telegraphy, and to use telegraph codes under the conditions and subject to the regulation laid down in the International Telegraph Convention of St. Petersburg 1875 (Lisbon Revision of 1908).

Each party undertakes to account for and to pay all balances due to the other in respect of terminal and transit telegrams and in respect of transit letter mails, in accordance with the provisions of the International Telegraph Convention and Regulations and of the Convention and Regulations of the Universal Postal Union respectively.

The above balances when due will be paid in the currency of either party at the option of the receiving party.

Clause 6. Both contracting parties agree simultaneously with the conclusion of the present Trade Agreement, to renew unhindered exchange of private postal and telegraphic correspondence between both countries as well as dispatch and acceptance of wireless messages, parcels by post and passenger traffic, in accordance with the rules and regulations which were in existence up to 1914.

Clause 7. Passports, documents of identity, powers of attorney and similar documents issued or certified by competent authorities in either country for the purpose of enabling trade to be carried on in pursuance of this agreement, or otherwise, shall be treated in the other country as if they were issued or certified by the authorities of a recognized Foreign Government.

Clause 8. Either party shall at any time be entitled to give notice of its intention to terminate the provisions of this agreement, and on the expiration of twelve months from the service of such notice this agreement shall terminate accordingly. During the currency of the said notice, all these provisions shall continue in force and no obstacle shall be placed in the way of the initiation of new transactions thereunder provided that such transactions are to be completed within the said twelve months.

The parties mutually undertake that in the event of the termination of the agreement under the provisions of this article they will afford all necessary facilities for the winding up of any transactions entered into under this agreement and for the completion of any transactions which may have been entered into before the notice of the termination shall have been given under this article, and for the withdrawal and egress from their territory of the nationals of the other party and for the withdrawal of their movable property, legally acquired after the conclusion of this agreement. And each party agrees not to apply to the property, goods, funds and ships of the nationals of the other any legislation or orders in reprobation of the trade contemplated under this agreement.

Clause 9. The British Government declares that it will not initiate or take or encourage any steps with a view to attaching or taking possession of any gold, funds, securities or commodities, which may be exported from Russia in payment for imports or security for such payment, or of any movable or immovable property which may belong to the Russian Soviet Government, within the boundaries of the United Kingdom or on the ground of any claim against Russian citizens or against the Russian Soviet Government or against former governments of Russia.

The British Government agrees within one month from the date of the signing of the Trade Agreement to introduce in Parliament a special moratorium bill which shall provide for the postponement till this question has been regulated by the future peace conference, of any legal action in England to recover any claims of the British Government or of private persons or company of British nationality against the Russian State or Russian nationals as well as of the issuing of writs or attachments of property or goods arising out of the above-mentioned legal actions. In the case of the passing of such a bill through Parliament the Russian Government undertakes to pass a similar law with respect to any claims which may be lodged in Russia against the British Government or British nationals.

Clause 10. The Russian Soviet Government undertakes to make no claim to dispose in any way of the funds of

the late Imperial or Provisional Russian Governments in London. The British Government gives a corresponding undertaking as regards British Government funds in Petrograd. This article is not to prejudice the inclusion in the General Peace Treaty referred to in the preamble of any provision dealing with the subject matter of this article. Both parties undertake not to transfer to any other claimants the above-mentioned funds, or any other property. They also undertake to take effective steps to protect such funds and property pending the conclusion of the said General Peace Treaty.

Clause 11. The British Government declares that it will not pass any special legislation or make an order specially applicable to Russia and not applicable to other countries against the importation into Great Britain, storing there, analysing, refining, melting, disposing of and mortgaging of precious metals, whether specie (other than British or Allied) or bullion or manufactures and that they will not under any existing or future powers, requisition any such metals so imported.

Clause 12. The British Government, with a view to assisting trade between Russia and Great Britain, further declares that, as regards Russian gold, (whether bullion or specie) imported into Great Britain by Russia, in its dealings under the powers and provisions of this agreement the said British Government will grant to the official plenipotentiary agents of the Russian Government in Great

Britain or to the person or persons or bank nominated by them a General License giving them liberty from time to time to export the same from Great Britain; but the British Government shall always have the option to be declared within seven days from an intimation from the said official plenipotentiary agents of their intention to export any of the said gold to purchase the same at the price for the time being obtainable for gold in the open market in any other countries.

Clause 13. Both contracting parties agree with reference to the goods exported from the date of this agreement from Russia to Great Britain and from Great Britain to Russia, not to use the rights to buy or to requisition such goods at fixed prices. If, in case of the goods imported from one country into another, agreement as to payment at which these goods can be requisitioned could not be arrived at, then the country from which these goods were imported has the right of immediate export of such goods from the other country and without payment for such export licenses or any tax whatever; both contracting parties agree to issue such export licenses without any hindrance whatever at the first request of the official plenipotentiary of the other country.

Clause 14. This agreement is drawn up and signed in the Russian and English languages, both texts being considered authentic for all purposes.

Latvia in Ruins

By O. PREEDIN

“LATVIA, area 64,299 square kilometers with 2,552,000 inhabitants in 1914.” This you may read on the maps of the new state, and these data are repeated time and time again by Latvian nationalists in their efforts to persuade the Great Powers to recognize their state, chiefly on the ground that it is a large country with a large population. We pointed out long ago in SOVIET RUSSIA that these figures, based on 1914 statistics, are much exaggerated as a statement of the present conditions. We are now able to present definite data on the subject. The 1920 figures are at hand. As compared with the 2,552,000 in 1914, Latvia now counts only 1,503,196 inhabitants.

Latvia presents to the observer a strip of land that has lost by war and invasion, by revolution and counter-revolution, about 40 per cent of its population. Many privations and much misery have been brought about in the wake of this loss. Let us not for the present take up the question of the causes for these results, the manner in which the imperialistic forces reached out to annex this territory which they considered “a gateway to Russia”, aiming to hold it firmly in their hands, and finally squeezing out almost half of its population. We shall try simply to record the resulting condition. The 1920 figures, supplemented by special investigations made by various agencies of the present Latvian Government provide us with very much rich material on the subject.

The official journal of the Ministries of Finance, Trade, Industry, Agriculture, of the present government, *Ekonomists*, from which these statistics are taken, permits us to glance more in detail at the present condition of the remaining half of the population of Latvia.

We learn that more than 87,000 people of Latvia are at present citizens of other countries. Even 8,332 Letts, now domiciled in Latvia, have declined to affirm their allegiance to the new state. They make up only a portion of the six per cent of Latvia's population which has foreign allegiance. The number of Letts who are citizens of the country is given as 1,138,333. This includes all the so-called Letgallians, about 400,000, whose language, customs, and traditions afford a favorable basis for increasing conflicts on nationalistic lines, both with the Letts as well as eventually with other nationalities. Not more than half, therefore, of the present population of Latvia may be considered as Letts. The number of German citizens of Latvia is 45,725, or only about one-third their number before the war.

From the above we may judge to what extent the creation of Latvia as a state may be considered as a result of a separatist national tendency. None of the new states was erected more as a result of the attempts of the Great Powers to expand than was the case with Latvia. This little country, which began as a creation of German imperialism, and which ended as an outpost of imperialistic England and the other Allies, attained its present form through the interaction of foreign influences. Latvia is not a natural birth. It was born as a result of extraneous forces. It is an abortive offspring.

No less than its birth, the “independent” existence of Latvia is a great tragedy in world history. Before the war, Latvia was one of the most highly developed industrial provinces of Russia. At present the city of Riga, its great factory center, has not the 85,000 workers it had before the war, but only 4,268, and all of Latvia has 10,650 workers

instead of the 130,000 who were engaged in industrial occupations before the war. Does that not look like a complete destruction of the country? To be sure a new state was produced, but it is a state that has no production.

In the October 1 issue of *Ekonomists* (page 437) we read: "It is estimated by specialists that we shall have about 120,000 unemployed during the coming winter." For Latvia this number of unemployed is equivalent to 10,000,000 in the United States.

On another page of the same journal (442) we read of the growth of other classes of the Latvian population, of the "traders", for instance, i.e., speculators: "at present there are about 5,000 traders in Riga to 4,000 before the war, when the population was three times what it is now." The complete picture then is as follows: industry destroyed entirely; unemployment growing; speculation flourishing in cities without population. Only one process is rapidly going on in the Latvian cities—and a long drawn out process—that of death. How about the villages? Latvia is considered to be an agricultural state. Its future is prognosticated by the Lettish nationalists on the assumption that the soil will be productive. The prosperous Latvian idyll is that of a well-fed peasant reposing in the shade of a leafy oak tree by the door of his big farmhouse surrounded by rich fields. All the political parties in Latvia share this idyllic view of the future of their state—a paradise of "independent" peasants. Even the Social-Democratic Workers' Party altered its previous agrarian platform in order to bring it into full harmony with this peasant idyll.

All the spokesmen of Latvia, standing on the debris of a once flourishing industry, and profiting by the labor of only one-twelfth of the former number of industrial workers, observing that the productivity of their labor had decreased from 30 to 50 per cent, could think of only one source of economic wealth for the state, namely peasant labor. The farms, it was hoped, would create products to be exchanged with foreign countries for the necessary manufactured goods. The farm products were to furnish the firm basis for reestablishing the financial system of the new state, for stabilizing the exchange rate of the Lettish ruble in foreign countries, etc. All hopes were placed in the farm products.

The harvest came, and then it was expected that long lines of peasant carts would move along the roads to the cities and to the seaports to be exported. But—as we read in the first paragraphs of the leading article of the above cited official journal: "Not only did we fail to obtain a sufficient quantity of bread last year, but we are now well aware that we shall not have enough this year either. And the shortage this year will be a *great one*." The italics are those of the official organ.

Instead of the goddess of abundance, hunger and rags appeared on all the highways.

How did this happen? Whence this terrible disillusionment? The hopes placed in the Latvian

peasantry were entirely unfounded. Already before the war the peasantry of the present Latvian state could not supply enough food for that country alone. About 10,000,000 more poods of grain were annually imported from other parts of Russia than were exported to other parts of Russia. And the rural population then was about 1,700,000 in Latvia, as compared with 1,065,000 at present. The urban population has not decreased in the same degree in Latvia as yet. Before the war there were more than three peasants to every city dweller; at present there are only 2½.

The worst symptom, however, is the enormous decrease in the area of cultivated land, amounting to from 50 to 70 per cent.

The able statesmen of present-day Latvia try to explain this by stating that much of the live stock has been destroyed and many farms have been deserted. To be sure this is true in some cases, but it cannot explain everything. To be sure the absolute number of horses, cows, and other live-stock has decreased, but the village holding of each peasant, owing to the more rapid rate of decrease of the rural population itself, includes more live stock now than was the case before the war.

The main reasons for the entirely disproportionate decrease in farm products are as follows: The Latvian Government is trying to accomplish the economic reconstruction on the basis of individual or private ownership, which presupposes that goods will be bartered for goods. But the government and the city population have nothing other to offer to the peasants for their products than worthless paper money. Having no other source of income the government must impose very heavy taxes on the farms. These taxes the government very cleverly imposes chiefly on the *area of cultivated land*. Last year the peasants had to pay in land taxes alone from 195 to 324 pounds of grain on every acre under cultivation. But the peasant, as a capitalistic agriculture entrepreneur, is a very practical man. He knows what pays; it certainly would not pay "to cultivate as much land as possible" if he must pay so heavily.

The Government of Latvia may correct its fiscal policy, but it cannot escape starvation and the economic destruction of the country. The economic life of Latvia is closely bound up with that of Russia, and cut off from Russia, Latvia must die.

It may interest readers of Soviet Russia to go through the following statistics of the population of Latvia, which indicate the races of the population of the country as shown by the 1920 figures:

	Citizens of Latvia	Citizens of Other Countries
Germans	45,725	12,200
Great Russians	71,793	11,167
White Russians	53,773	4,932
Hebrewa	60,844	17,857
Poles	31,012	11,064
Lithuanians	7,401	16,258
Estonians	3,633	2,467
All Others	1,922	1,852
Nationality Unknown	1,657	974
Letts	1,138,333	8,332

SOVIET RUSSIA

WILL CONTINUE PUBLICATION

Its pages will contain essentially the same material as heretofore. There will be articles by prominent Commissars of the Soviet Government, by other authorities in educational economic, esthetic, military, hygienic, and other fields.

As a symbol of the continuity in the policy of the paper under its new private ownership, the reader will note the fact that the article by Leon Trotsky, Commissar for War, which began last week, will also appear in its last instalment in the first issue [namely the next] that is to appear under the new management.

Everyone should purchase the weekly even after the departure of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau. The first number to appear under the new arrangement will contain, among other things, a brilliant article from the pen of Karl Radek, entitled "Bertrand Russell's Sentimental Journey", which deals very effectively with the delicate liberalism of the well known English pacifist-mathematician. The regular military article of Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek will also appear in our columns. Books will continue to be reviewed by the same reviewers, editorials will continue from the same pens as heretofore. In every way the paper will be the same. But it will not be the official organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, as the Bureau will cease to exist for the present, with the departure of Mr. Martens and his staff, and arrangements are now under way for transferring the ownership of the paper to private hands. Definite announcement of the change will be made in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

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Radek on Russell

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Bertrand Russell's Sentimental Journey

By KARL RADEK

[This article appears long after the publication of Mr. Russell's articles last summer, but it is such a brilliant and conclusive performance that we cannot refrain from reprinting it for our readers.]

MANY of our English guests have published articles and books about their impressions of their journey to the wild Muscovite country. As was to be expected, the Left English delegates expressed themselves with great sympathy for our struggle and for our work, whilst those of the Right helped with their reports the international counter-revolution in its fight against Soviet Russia. This is as it should be; we have not expected anything else.

When Mr. Tom Shaw, a well-known English opportunist, asked the representatives of the Soviet Government, with the air of an innocent baby, how they could even presume that such a man of noble birth as the Right Honorable Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, the grandchild of the seventh Duke of Marlborough, and the son of Lord Randolph Churchill, could be capable of telling falsehoods; when he put these questions, it was evident for every one that Mr. Shaw, who has no claim to noble birth, being a flunkey of the British capitalists of common birth, would tell as many lies against Soviet Russia as would be required by the English bourgeoisie. It was, therefore, no surprise to us when Mr. Tom Shaw delivered himself of a thundering speech at the conference of the Yellow International against the Soviet Government, the alleged oppressors of the workers.

When Dr. Heilen Guest, the Secretary of the English delegation, published in the *Times* that most reactionary of all newspapers, a series of "revelations" against Soviet Russia, he thereby confirmed, in the eyes of the English workers, the

fact of which we had been warned at the time permission was given him to enter Russia, viz. that Dr. Guest was visiting Russia as the informer of the British Government. We have been, however, obliged to admit common spies who have not had the brazenfacedness to reveal themselves as such, in order to be able to welcome honest Labor representatives to Russia. These "revelations" represent no danger whatever to the Soviet Government, because every honest English worker who reads the daily attacks made upon Labor by the *Times* and all the Northcliffe press, knows the value of Dr. Heilen Guest's "revelations", which are worth no more than the sovereigns received by Mr. Guest for his lying. It is sufficient to compare Dr. Heilen Guest's articles with those of Paul Dukes, the confirmed English spy, published in the same "honest" paper, for every British worker to perceive how monotonously similar are all the reports of these venal spies.

Mrs. Ethel Snowden, the one time pacifist lady, and representative of the working women's movement, have thought to captivate us by her pacifist movements, but it goes without saying that for one single moment admitted that this bourgeois class goose was capable of understanding the situation of the Russian proletariat. As "gallant" people we pretended to believe in the sincerity of her excellent expressions of admiration when watching a military parade near the theater and when she told us that she quite accepted such militarism in the name of the Workers' State. We knew that the proletarian revolution would be too much

for the delicate nerves of Mrs. Snowden, and that upon her return to England she would weep bitter tears on the manly breast of Mr. Philip Snowden, who would say to her: "But why did you go to that savage country; did I not tell you that it was not a country for British ladies to promenade in? You had better go for a rest to Belgium or the North of France and do some sightseeing amidst the ruins of the war."

It is not worth the trouble to write about the articles, books and speeches of these Shaws, Guests, Snowdens, but it is worth while dwelling on the articles written by Bertrand Russell in the leading liberal weekly *The Nation*. Bertrand Russell is a prominent philosopher, mathematician, and a very honest man. For his pacifist convictions he was thrown into prison and, therefore, in his case his writings are not a case of hunting after personal lucre. His articles are very valuable because they demonstrate all the narrow-mindedness of the best minds among the representatives of the bourgeoisie, and their sheer incapability of grappling with the problems history has placed before mankind.

Mr. Russell describes Soviet Russia and admits that the government put no obstacles either in his way or in the way of his comrades in their objective study of the situation in Russia. What had he seen in Russia? He speaks very well of the Communists. He says: "They spare neither themselves nor others; they work sixteen hours a day and forget even their holidays; in spite of their power they lead a modest life, pursue no personal aims and fight only for the ordering of a new life." And he comes to the conclusion that the Russian Communists recall the English Puritans of the time of Cromwell. But, says he, "life in modern Russia as well as in Puritan England in many respects goes against human instinct. If the Bolsheviks will fall it will be on account of the same causes that brought about the fall of English Puritanism, because a moment will come when the people will feel that the joy of life is more valuable than all that Puritanism offers." Mr. Russell is indeed an "altruist"; he has proved it by his life. But Mr. Russell has not denied himself a comfortable house, the quiet study of a scientist; he has not denied himself week-ends, the theater and all the other things that even the dying capitalist order offers a man enjoying an income of hundreds of pounds per month.

There is, therefore, nothing surprising in the fact that he thinks a revolution in which such things as a telephone, a morsel of white bread, a tin of condensed milk, or, oh horror! a motor car, are luxuries, is no good, and that Mr. Bertrand Russell could not stand such a revolution even if all the conditions of life at the "Delovoi Dvor" Hotel, and all the other comforts were added on top of it. That is why Mr. Bertrand Russell has not troubled to ask himself the question: What would have been the comfort which the Russian workers would have received at the hands of Kolchak, Yudenich, Denikin, and Wrangel, in the event of their

having proved victorious with the help of British imperialism.

Mr. Russell considers the Communists as the young aristocracy of the New Russia, full of vigor and vitality, and he says that Soviet Russia reminds him a good deal of Plato's State. Seeing that Plato has not been hitherto considered an opprobrious epithet, there is nothing left us but to thank Russell even for this mercy. However, Russell's concrete views on the situation in Russia are summed up in the following sentences: "When a Russian Communist speaks of the dictatorship, he uses this word in its literal sense but, when he speaks of the proletariat, he uses it in a Pickwickian sense. He thinks of the class-conscious part of the workers, i.e. the Communist Party. He includes in this idea people who by their origin have nothing in common with the proletariat, such as Lenin and Chicherin, whose ideas are, however, correct. He excludes real workers who are not followers of such views and whom he calls lackeys of the bourgeoisie."

These are the horrors that Bertrand Russell saw in Russia. However, in order to help him to understand what he saw in Russia, we shall remind him of familiar British episodes. He, Mr. Russell himself, is of highly aristocratic origin; he belongs to the bourgeois class. However, when during the war he, being a pacifist, acted in opposition to the interests of the English bourgeoisie, the latter, considering his views incorrect, regarded him not as a member of their class, but as an enemy, and threw him into prison. At the same time the bourgeoisie raised Henderson, an ordinary workman, who, however, defended their interests, to the rank of Cabinet Minister. Or, let us take a more glaring example. Ernest Jones, one of the leaders of the Chartist movement in England, was of an aristocratic family. His godfather was the King of Hanover, who took care of his education. Jones grew up at the English court, but when, in his forty-sixth year, he took part in the revolutionary movement of the British workers, he was thrown into prison, where he lay for two years under such deplorable conditions that many of his comrades died. And now what do we see, what was this unheard of thing that Mr. Russell saw in Russia? That only those who fight in the interest of the proletariat are considered proletarian fighters. This is beyond Mr. Russell's understanding. It is, however, characteristic of all classes engaged in combat. They consider as their own only those who fight in their interests and not those who belong to them by accident of birth.

Mr. Russell maintains that he is opposed to Communism for the same reasons that made him a pacifist. Civil war, like every other war, brings unheard of misery, whilst its advantages are problematic. Civilization perishes in such fights. (We see how highly Mr. Russell values the civilization the outcome of which was four years of bloody imperialist war). A strong government must be created in order to win, and every strong government leads to certain abuses. Mr. Russell has be-

fore him two tendencies in the creation of a strong power. On the one hand, there is the British capitalist government, which with its allies, plunged the world into an international slaughter, and now, after the end of the great war, is continuing its work of destruction: small wonder he is not enamored of Lloyd George and less of Churchill. On the other hand, there is the government of Soviet Russia which is straining all its nerves to pull the masses out of the bog of misery created by capitalism. It is a power that makes heroic efforts to recreate the basis of human life. Fighting against the whole world of capitalism, it cannot content itself with partisan warfare. It must create a Red Army, an enormous machinery for providing food, and centralize all the conditions of economic life. To this Mr. Russell says: "This is not good, it creates privileges; the Commissars, however modest they may be, have at their disposal motor cars, telephones, and go to the theatre. Is this freedom, is it equality?"

What is Mr. Russell to do between these two bad governments that have concentrated power in their hands? Having returned from his sentimental journey, having taken a good bath, he sits down by the fireside. How good the firesides are in England! He, although not a Commissar, does not suffer from any lack of coal, while the poor of London shiver in the cold. And now Mr. Russell, in his slippers and gown, sits down to read the papers, from which he learns that during his absence the agony of Europe has been proceeding at a pace of which even Mr. Gibbs, in the *Daily Chronicle*, the organ of Lloyd George, speaks quite openly. Thus, in Mr. Russell's breast there is gathering a feeling of discontent. How could a sensible, good-natured, well-to-do man feel otherwise at the sight of the distress of others? And Mr. Russell de-

clares in *The Nation*: "If I cannot preach the Social Revolution, neither can I at the same time get away from the conviction that the governments of the leading capitalist countries are doing all in their power to bring about such a revolution."

How wicked are the capitalist governments and how nice is Mr. Bertrand Russell! It may happen that he will yet again be thrown into prison; we can only express the hope that, owing to his good family connections, his lot will not be too severe. We wish him well, what sense is there in his senseless sacrifices! Of what use are they!

While in Moscow, Bertrand Russell remarked that he would rather go to prison than deny himself a joke. We are inclined to think that his philosophy, his pacifism, and even his socialism are merely a form in which the sensitive son of the English aristocracy may be jesting about the coarse expressions of its policy, about the crude forms of its robbery. Couldn't it do the thing "more nicely", so that Mr. Russell, enjoying the privileges of his position may not feel the pangs of conscience, said pangs of conscience being so unpleasant?

Attractive indeed is the capitalist world, if, in the face of the greatest catastrophe of an entire historical epoch, it could not produce a philosophy greater than that of Mr. Russell. His philosophy reminds us of one of Aesop's fables which deals with such a non-philosophical creature as the ass, who, standing between two cereals, kept philosophizing as to which was to be preferred, and, not being able to make up his mind, died of hunger. We apologize to Mr. Russell for thus comparing his position to that of so unphilosophical an animal, but we apologize at the same time to the useful grey toiler for comparing him with such a parasitic creature as this petty-middleclass philosopher.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

ON THE eve of the approaching departure for Soviet Russia, I feel that I must say some words about the Red Cossacks of the Russian Soviet Republic.

There are only Red Cossacks left in Russia! There are now only bitter reminiscences in the Workers' and Peasants' Republic of the reactionary Cossacks, who became famous for their "nagaikas" (knouts) and their terrible atrocities, to the whole world. These monsters, with their bloodthirsty "atamans" (chiefs), and their officers, either perished during the civil war or have sought refuge somewhere in Constantinople, in the various Balkan states, in France, in England, in China and Japan, in short, they are dispersed all over the globe, living on with feeble hopes of once more regaining their former position.

The Cossacks always represented by themselves a quite separate population in Russia attached to the late empire by a long process of historical evo-

lution, and gradually they became a blind weapon of the autocratic Russian government.

The cradle of the Cossack warrior is the *Zaporozhie* or *Zaporoshskaya Sich*, the district lying on the banks of the River Dnieper, where it is narrowed by the rapids and divided into a number of small rocky islands.

In the fifteenth century, when the whole of the south of Russia, abandoned by its princes and harassed by the Mongolian nomads and Turks, resembled a desert of ashes, thousands upon thousands of inhabitants, having lost their homes, were seeking asylum as well as thirsting for revenge. Men became fearless and accustomed to look straight into the face of danger and death. Common danger united men along the impregnable rapids of the *Zaporozhie*, and that was the beginning of the first Cossack community.

From all the corners of Russia young as well as old people streamed to this place. Men of pro-

fession, honest as well as merely self-seeking, began to look on the *Zaporozhie* as a harbor of refuge, where freedom and equality reigned. After a time they became so numerous that when the Sultan of Turkey, the greatest enemy of Russia, whose hordes were cruahed by the Cossacks, asked a prisoner of war, "How many are there of you?" he received the reply, "There are as many of us as there are small hills in the vast steppes of Russia. There is a Cossack behind every hill."

The birth of the Cossack race is really an inexplicable event in history. It was like fire struck out of the flint of Russian sorrow. It was a pledge of Russian strength, of the greatness of Russia's future, as well as its safeguard, then menaced by barbarian autocrats. The ruling princes in the south of Russia flattered the free, independent Cossacks, trying to win them over to their side, and persuaded them to organize their *okolitsi* and *kurni* communities into regiments and military districts under the *atamans* and *hetmans*.*

The Cossack force was really a military republic, a nation in arms, with the freest constitution the world has ever seen. It was not exactly an army. Nobody entering the *Zaporozhie* could imagine that he was among warriors, so fully occupied were they with their peaceful pursuits. There was no trade the Cossack did not practice. Spirit-distilling, brewing, smithwork, wheelwright's work, armorer, powder-maker, and all other trades that were practiced in those days were familiar to them; while merry-making and enjoyment found as many devotees among them as the "sword, horse and rifle" of their motto.

One thing only was strictly forbidden to those in the *Zaporozhie*. No woman was allowed to cross its limits. Of course, in time this restriction weakened and vanished altogether with the development of the civilization of the Cossacks themselves. In the days of the Hetmanship of Sobessky, the Cossacks were an invaluable cavalry for Poland, and had the latter respected their religious faith and their love of freedom and self-government, the Cossacks would never have joined Russia as they did under Peter the Great.

It may be imagined how priceless was such a cavalry as that of the Cossacks. Eight days after the alarm for mobilization they could concentrate their forces, fully armed, receiving as pay only one gold coin per man. When war was over, and all the Cossacks returned with rich booty to the *Sich*, the warriors again became peaceful citizens, and resumed their work in the fields, fishing, or their other trades, and became once more the so-called free Cossacks—communists—because there was no private property in those days; in the *Sich* all belonged to the *voisko* (army).

All the men were registered and known to their *atamans*, and were obliged at the first sound of the alarm to join the colors.

In addition to these, there were the voluntary

Cossacks, as they were called, mostly Mohammedans, who were exceedingly numerous.

War was usually planned by the Cossack *atamans* assembled in council, and had to be approved by the majority of the population.

Immediately after the declaration of war by the Hetman, the *essauls* (captains), in full war kit, mounted their horses and spread the news of war through the villages, calling out: "Brewers and drunkards, enough now of brewing beer and lying on your down pillows. Go and earn knightly fame and honor. Husbandmen and herdsmen, who are enjoying yourselves outside the *Sich*, enough of your following the plough with boots besmudged by the soil. Go and earn Cossack's fame!" And at this call the whole of the *Zaporozhie* was transformed into the biggest military factory in the then-known world.

Besides these warlike qualities the Cossacks were artists, poets, and musicians. Music and song, which are a living force among the Russian troops, especially in the Red Army, were introduced by the Cossacks. Gallant and fierce in the field, the Cossacks could shed tears when listening to a touching song.

Even when under the yoke of the autocratic rulers of Russia, the Cossack regiments always sang in their songs the deeds of their revolutionary leaders. The place of honor in these songs was always that of the great revolutionist, Stenka Razin. Even the severest restrictions could not prevent these songs. The Free Siberian Cossack Yermak, the conqueror of Siberia, and even the famous self-styled Tsar Peter Federovich, i.e., the Cossack Pugachev was celebrated in the poems and songs by the Orenburg and Ural Cossacks. After the successful campaign against Charles XII of Sweden, Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia, fearing the growing power of the Cossacks, by a very skilful ruse transferred a great portion of the *Zaporozhian* Cossacks or the *Ukrainian* Cossacks to the Don District, thus laying the foundation for the Don Cossack *voisko*. The Empress Catherine II entirely put an end to the existence of the Cossacks in Ukraine, introducing there the serfdom of the peasants, and that portion of these Cossacks who remained with the Poles perished there entirely, under the oppression of the Jesuits. The Russian rulers gradually won over to their side the Cossacks of the Don, by granting to them some special privileges, including a sort of autonomy, which gradually lost its importance when several of the *atamans* of the Cossacks were approached by the Tsars, and after being knighted were invested with very large estates in various parts of the empire. This brought it about that such *atamans* or prominent Cossacks became very rich, and finally attained a great influence in their region, and by means of bribery altered the laws as they liked. The nineteenth century found the Cossacks under the absolute control of the Tsars, their regiments directly under the War Office, which, to be certain of its actual control, appointed a considerable percentage of the *atamans* and the commanding officers of the Cossack regi-

* *Ataman*, a district chief; *hetman*, a commander of a whole Cossack force.

ments, leaving no person of Cossack origin. At last the Chief Ataman of the Cossacks as a rule became heir to the throne.

Thus a bourgeoisie was artificially created in the Cossack *voisko*. These unpleasant "reforms", even in the early days of the existence of the Cossacks of the Don, under Russian rule, made many of them emigrate, a part to Turkey, a part to the Caucasus, and farther to the east and northeast, thus creating the Ural, Orenburg, and Semirechensky Cossacks, who found themselves comfortable far away from the centers of the autocratic oppression of the Russian Tsars. The Siberian Cossacks, though under Russian control, and formed by the famous Yermak, "the bandit of the Volga", enjoyed their freedom longer than the others, thanks to the distance between Siberia and Russia.

No country in the world has such a frontier guard as Russia. From the Don to the Pacific, the Cossacks were settled, supplying the Russian Government with a most brilliant cavalry, to protect the gigantic frontier of Russia in Europe and Asia, and to protect the throne from internal danger.

Practically the Cossacks cost but little to the imperial Russian Government. The Empire endowed them with certain special privileges, and they were bound in return to give military service at a certain age and under certain special conditions. The Cossacks constitute ten separate *voiskos* and some independent regiments.

The *voiskos* are: Don, Kuban-Terek, Astrakhan, Ural, Orenburg, Semiryechensk, Siberian, Transbaikal, Amur, and Ussuri. Besides these, there were in Russia six regular squadrons of Daghestan Cossacks, three squadrons of Kuban Circassians, eight *sotnias** of Terek Cossacks, three *sotnias* of Kara Cossacks, two infantry *sotnias* and one mounted *sotnia* of Batum, and, during the Great War in Transcaspia, several *sotnias* were formed from the Turkomans.

In some Caucasian regions close to the north-eastern shores of the Black Sea, as well as in the region of Kuban and Terek, in the Caucasus, there are tribes of Cossacks, some of whom have never been horsemen. They wear the Circassian uniform, and for centuries have always been the best hunters in Russia. They are called *plastuni*; but I have never found the word in an English or American dictionary or in the military literature in those languages.

Now that Denikin and Wrangel are among their British friends, they can say much about these *plastuni*, who played a great part in the failure of their foolish scheme to crown themselves in the Kremlin. A *plastun* has no rival either as a shot or in his ability to approach the object of his attack noiselessly and unnoticed. His capacity in this direction is so wonderful that even when you practically know where he is hiding, you cannot find him. This is all due to the fact that from childhood the *plastuni* are accustomed to rambling in the woods and on the mountains, armed only with

a big knife, and very often meeting wild beasts and fighting them at close quarters.

To catch a sitting bird with the hand is an easy thing for a *plastun*. His eye is as sharp as the eye of a homing pigeon—the farthest-sighted bird in nature—his ear is so sensitive that there is a saying among the Cossacks: "When a *plastun* is listening he can hear the grass growing."

In this respect the *plastuni* have no rivals and their reconnoissance is necessarily better and more complete than any reconnoitering of the best air service in the world.

The British and French, together with Denikin and Wrangel, had an opportunity to learn the ability of the Bolshevik *plastuni*, who gave them much trouble.

The history of the Cossacks in the Red Army begins with the second half of 1917, when the class struggle began in all the Cossack regions. The best elements of the working Cossack population suddenly joined the workers and peasants of Russia, and declared war on the Cossack bourgeoisie. It was a terrible and sanguinary struggle. The rich elements of the *voiskos* were numerous, well-equipped and perfectly led by experienced officers, of high military standing and innate bravery. The revolutionary Cossacks had to organize themselves and to form military units sufficiently armed and equipped in order to face their kinsmen who had gone over to Denikin and Kolchak.

It was on the 7th and 10th of January, 1918, when, at the stanitsa of Kamenskaya and in Tsaritain, assemblies of the Red Cossacks took place. The resolution of this assembly which was sent to the Government of General Kaledin, was nothing else than an ultimatum. The Red Cossacks ordered the reactionary government first to submit to the Cossack Revolutionary Committee, and, secondly, to stop the formation of the "White" volunteers, to disarm them, and to exile them from the Don District.

It was ordered also that all the arms and ammunition taken from the White Detachments were to be delivered to the Commissar of the Revolutionary Committee, who was the only one entitled to issue the permits to leave the town of Novocherkassk. Third, the latter must be occupied by the Red Cossack regiments. Fourth, the members of the *krug*, the Council of the *Voisko*, must be dismissed. Fifth, the police which the Government of Kaledin had placed in the industrial districts must be recalled; and, sixth, to inform all the inhabitants of all the *stanitsas** of the Don Region that all administration henceforth is in the hands of the Military Revolutionary Committee.

This resolution became effective through an order signed by the President of the Committee of the Cossacks, Ermin.

In reply to this ultimatum, Kaledin started an offensive and captured the Stanitsa of Kamenskaya. The revolutionary Cossacks understood that without the support of Soviet Russia they would

* A *Sotnia*: 125 horses (from *cro*=100).

* Cossack settlements.

be powerless to fight the reactionary general, and they sent Comrade Antonov to Moscow for help.

It was agreed that the Red Army should be moved to the Don Region, and as soon as the foe should be defeated, the Soviet troops should retire, but, in exchange for this help, the Soviet Government requested a full recognition of the Soviets as a supreme authority over the Don Cossacks.

Finally, the Don Cossack Republic became a federative state of Soviet Russia.

A counter-offensive of the united forces of the Red Army, together with two newly formed Don Cossack regiments, under the command of the Cossack Lt.-Colonel Golubev, began with Novochoerkassk as its objective. The counter-revolutionary detachments under the command of General Chernozov were defeated, and Chernozov killed, but this victory did not encourage Golubev, who betrayed the cause and later went over to the "Whites".

Soon after this campaign, General Kaledin shot himself and a certain confusion was produced amongst the Cossacks, due to the various treacherous acts of their opportunist leaders.

But Comrade Antonov did not lose heart, and continued his advance on Rostov, where General Kornilov's forces were in full concentration. At the stanitsas of Matveyevo and Kurgan a decisive battle took place, where an entire battalion of the Kornilov infantry was cut down by the Red Cossacks. The uprising of the workers in Taganrog supported the military operations of the revolutionary forces, who continued to press the retiring enemy. Heavy rains and bad roads prevented the Reds from using their cavalry and artillery in field strength, and only the 5th Cavalry Division and the 5th Artillery Brigade took part in that pursuit. A series of brilliant victories of the Red Army was crowned by the capture of Novochoerkassk, while all members of the White Don Cossack *Voisko* Council were captured with Ataman Nazarov at their head. And finally, after a most stubborn resistance by the Kornilov army, it was forced to retire to the Kalmuk steppes.

Kornilov certainly would have been cut off and his forces would have been completely annihilated, had the order of Comrade Antonov been carried out by the 112th Stavropol Regiment, to attack the enemy from Bataisk, but unfortunately this regiment, in the early period of the revolution, was not sufficiently disciplined, and returned to Stavropol of its own choice, thus providing a way for Kornilov to escape.

The Commissar and all the commanding element of this treacherous regiment were declared traitors to the Revolution.

Thus ended the first in any way important campaign in which the Red Army and Red Cossacks cooperated against the counter-revolution.

The growing reactionary feeling among the Cossacks of the Don forced the Revolutionary Government to form a new organization, in order to increase the revolutionary spirit in the Don region. A "Fraternal Union of the Cossacks and Sailors" was formed, and this improved the entire situa-

tion. The Russian sailors, a most revolutionary element, encouraged their Cossack comrades, who had become downhearted, thanks to the lack of arms and ammunition. A period of the most fierce fighting for arms began throughout the region. Often sons disarmed their fathers, and brothers fought their own brothers, in order to take, each from the other, a rifle or a sword. It was the most dramatic period of revolution the world has ever witnessed.

Gradually the Red Cossack regiments became stronger and stronger; their number increased with extraordinary rapidity, and in the middle of 1918 the first considerable Cossack units appeared on the eastern front, formed by the Orenburg Cossacks.

The former Tsarist officers of the Orenburg Cossack *voisko*, the brothers Kashirin, formed the so-called Red Kashirin Division, and for several months they raided in the Orenburg steppes, absolutely cut off from the main body of the Red Army. In view of the most difficult conditions, this division accomplished one of its raids of one thousand versta, which might be compared with the famous raid of Blucher, and at last joined the Red Army.

The third Red Army perfectly knew what the Kashirin division had done during the three years of civil war, and it was considered the best fighting body of that glorious army.

As the official report says, the Orenburg Cossack *voisko* gave to the Red Army endless numbers of the most brilliant fighters, and played a great part in defeating Kolchak on the Orenburg-Aktube front.

The Siberian Red Cossacks distinguished themselves first in fighting Kolchak, when the remaining part of the Red Siberian Cossack regiments broke through from the rear, through the Kolchak lines, and joined the advancing 5th Red Army, thus inflicting a serious blow on the forces of the usurper.

The Cossacks of Semirichye played a very important part in the revolution. From the very beginning they supported the Soviets, and in August, 1919, they became so strong, thanks to the reinforcements received from the Orenburg Cossacks, that they were able to defeat the Ataman Dutov, and the bandit Semionov's allied bands. The defeat caused the entire debacle which both reactionary Cossack leaders suffered, one after the other.

The Kuban Red Cossacks, from the first days of the Civil War, joined the eleventh Red Army in masses, and finally three-quarters of the cavalry of that army was made up of these Cossacks, who desperately fought the bands of Denikin, and entirely annihilated the famous "officers' corps", the only hope of the Denikin staff.

The heroic Red Taman Army, which so marvelously cleared the Caucasian shores of the Black Sea of the Wrangel invasion, was largely recruited by the Don and Kuban Cossacks, amongst whom many were *plastuni*. The Taman Army was decorated by the proletarians of Moscow with the Order of the Red Banner, for the capture of Tsaritsin, and this glorious army was also betrayed by one of its supreme commanders, Sorokin, and was obliged to cut its way in the Armavir direction, through the army of the enemy, constantly fighting

without cartridges for two months. Bayonets were the only arms of these incomparable heroes.

And the deeds of this army are a real glory of Red Cossackdom of the Soviet Republic. The names of Comrade Blinov and of many other leaders will be inscribed by the Russian Revolution with red letters in its history.

Besides the great deeds of the Red Cossack *voiskos*, we can note on almost every front the most remarkable activity of the smaller Cossack units. For instance, the regiments named after Stenka Razin, and after Emelian Pugachev, cut off from the Red Army by the enemy, did not surrender but wandered far in the rear of the enemy forces for about three months, succeeding in effecting their return to the Red Army, losing in battle more than half of their men. In the winter of 1918, Comrade Dumenko organized the regular Red Cavalry on the Don front, and in the middle of January, 1919, he penetrates in the rear of the Whites in the Tsaritsin region. Here he defeats 23 of the enemy's regiments and accomplishes a raid of 400 versts in one month. Four regiments of the Whites are captured by this Red cavalry leader, and 50 big guns, hundreds of machine guns, and an armored train, together with a number of armored motor-cars, are among his trophies. In the region of Kelentskaya and of Borisoglebsk, this same Cossack, Dumenko, defeats several cavalry divisions, pushes them to Kholer, and in the middle of December, forces the Don and captures Boguchar and thence moves his cavalry on Novocherkassk. Having defeated the enemy at the station of Chertkovo, at Millerovskaya, and Kamenskaya, toward the end of December he approaches the important railway junction of Likhaya-Zapovednaya, where, after two months of fierce battles, he defeats the famous Mamontov, takes 5,000 prisoners, and, on January 7, 1920, Dumenko's cavalry, after having covered 350 versts, occupies Novocherkassk, capturing 167 big guns, 8 tanks, 500 machine-guns, 8 aeroplanes, 60 Ford

tractors, 60 motor-cars, and 7 echelons of food-stuffs.

After this success of the Red Cavalry, the great creator of the Red Army, Trotsky, issued the famous order: "To horse, all proletarians."

To Comrade Budenny is entrusted the task of forming a cavalry corps. The brilliant career of this Cossack, who is now at the head of the regular cavalry, begins in the Voronezh region. Into this region he pushes the again rising Mamontov, thus attracting the attention of General Shkuro, who hurries up towards Orel in order to reach Moscow. By means of a most skillful manoeuvre, Comrade Budenny moves his cavalry on Taganrog, and, after making his way to Kursk-Kupiansk, being reinforced by the Red infantry, inflicts several decisive defeats upon the enemy, who tries to occupy the Donets industrial region. Fifteen hundred men of the division of General Markov are cut down, to the last man, by the Budenny cavalry; 1,200 are taken prisoner with 67 officers and enormous booty. Thence, Budenny moves his cavalry on Taganrog, and, after having captured this town, he directs his march on Rostov and Nakhitchevan, where the defeated Mamontov still tries to reorganize the remainder of his forces. In the night of January 8, 1920, both these towns are in the hands of Budenny's men. Eleven thousand prisoners, 7 tanks, 33 big guns, 170 machine-guns, etc., are the booty of the Reds.

The further glorious raids of this cavalry genius are still fresh in the memory of the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA. The Polish Campaign and the Wrangel débacle are closely connected with Budenny's name, which puts in the shade all the great cavalry leaders of the world, including Blucher, Murat, and Lee. All of them seem mere infants to me in comparison with the cavalry captains of these humble Red Cossacks of the great and glorious Red Army.

The Red Cossacks are the guardians of the Russian Revolution and, with such a guard to protect it, there is no force in the world which can crush it.

Problems of Organization of Labor

By LEON TROTSKY

(Continued)

The Labor Armies

We approach the question of the utilization of the army for labor tasks, which has attained a tremendous importance in principle in our country, by the empirical path, and by no means as a result of theoretical considerations. In some of the boundary regions of Russia the situation had taken such shape that considerable military forces were relieved for an indefinite period from military work. To throw them to other, more active fronts, especially in winter, was difficult in consequence of the disorganization of railroad transportation. This was for instance the situation of the Third Army, which was stationed in the province of the Urals

and the neighboring districts. The leading workers of this army, who understood that it was not possible for us to demobilize the army as yet, themselves suggested that they be assigned to a condition of labor. They sent to the Central Organization a more or less detailed plan of a Code for the Labor Army.

This task was new to us and not easy. Will the Red Army men work? Will their work be sufficiently productive? Will it pay? There were doubts as to this even among ourselves. It is superfluous to say that the Mensheviks were sounding their trumpets in the opposite direction. The same Abramovich at the Congress of Soviets of National

Economy—I believe in January or early in February, i.e. when everything was still in the stage of a mere plan—prophecied that we would inevitably suffer shipwreck, as the whole business was a stupidity, an Arakcheyev* Utopia, etc. We looked upon the matter differently, to be sure, the difficulties were great, but they did not differ in principle from all the other difficulties of the Soviet system.

We studied the existing organism of the Third Army. Only a few military detachments still remained in this army; altogether one division of marksmen and one division of cavalry—15 regiments in all—as well as special troops. The remaining sections had already been assigned earlier to other armies and other fronts. But the apparatus of the army administration was as yet intact, and we considered it probable that we would have to send out this body in spring down the Volga to the Caucasian front to face Denikin, if he had not been definitely disposed of by that time. Altogether there remained in the Third Army in its administration, institutions, sections, hospitals, 110,000 Red Army men. In all this mass, consisting predominantly of peasants, there were about 16,000 Communists and members of the sympathizing organizations—many of them workers from the Urals. By its composition and structure the Third Army was a peasant mass, welded together under the leadership of advanced workers into a military organization. In the Army a considerable number of military specialists were at work, who discharged important military functions and stood under the general political control of the Communists. If we regard the Third Army from this general standpoint, it is a reproduction in miniature of all of Soviet Russia. If we take the Red Army as a whole or the organization of the Soviet power in the district, in the province, or in the entire republic, including its economic organs, we shall behold everywhere the same plan of organization, millions of peasants, initiated into new forms of political, economic, and social life, by the organized workers, who occupy the positions of leadership in all fields of the Soviet system. Specialists of the bourgeois school are engaged for offices requiring special training; they are given the necessary independence, but the control over their work remains in the hands of the working class as embodied in its Communist Party. The carrying out of the labor duty is again not otherwise conceivable for us than by mobilizing particularly the peasant labor forces under the leadership of the advanced workers. There were not and therefore could not be any objections in principle to the use of the Army for labor purposes. In other words, objections to the principle of labor armies on the part of the above Mensheviks themselves were at bottom objections to "compulsory" labor in general, not to labor duty and to Soviet methods

of economic construction as a whole. We pushed aside these objections without difficulty.

Of course the military apparatus as such was not intended for the conduct of a labor process. But it was not our intention to use it thus: the supervision was to remain in the hands of the corresponding economic organs. The army furnished the necessary labor power in the form of organized compact units which were utilized as a mass for carrying out the simple, uniform tasks, such as removing the snow from the roads, preparing wood, construction work, organization of transportation by railroad cars, etc., etc. We now already have gathered considerable experience in the field of the utilization of the army for labor and are in a position to estimate the situation with more data than mere expectations and suppositions. What are the results of these experiences? The Mensheviks have hastened to judge them. Again the same Abramovich declared at the Congress of Mine Workers that we were bankrupt, that the labor armies were parasitic bodies, with 100 supervisors to very ten workers. Is this true? No. This is frivolous and malicious criticism from people who stand aloof, who do not know the facts, who merely gathered debris and offal, and who always and everywhere do nothing but either record or predict our bankruptcy. As a matter of fact the labor armies have not only not failed, but have on the contrary been very successful, have proved their ability to live; they are developing and solidifying themselves more and more. Bankruptcy has been suffered only by the prophets who predicted that nothing would come of the whole business, that no one would work, that the Red Army men would not go to the labor front but simply desert for their homes.

These objections were inspired by petit-bourgeois skepticism, lack of confidence in the masses, mistrust of our superior organization initiative. But did we not hear essentially the same objections when we undertook the far-reaching mobilization for military purposes?

Then also a general desertion was predicted, which would be inevitable after the imperialistic war. To be sure there were desertions, but experience showed that it had by no means the general character that had been anticipated; the army was not destroyed by these desertions: the mobilization of millions was assured as a whole by a spiritual and organizational connection, by volunteering on the part of the Communists, and by state compulsion; this made easy the numerous formations and putting through of the most difficult tasks of battle. And in the long run the army came out victorious. On the basis of our experiences in the war we expected the same results from our labor tasks. And we have not been mistaken. The Red Army men by no means dispersed during the transition from the state of war to the state of labor, as was predicted by the skeptics. Thanks to the well organized agitation this transition was even accomplished by a great moral exaltation. To be sure, a portion of the soldiers did try to leave the

* A notorious reactionary statesman under Alexander I, in the beginning of the 19th century who planned to organize military labor colonies.

army, but this is always the case when a great body of troops is thrown from one front to another or shifted from the rear to the front, or exposed to any great shock, and potential desertion becomes transformed into actual desertion. But here at once the political sections, the press, the organs for combating desertion, etc., assumed their duties, and at present the percentage of desertion in labor armies is by no means higher than in our fighting armies.

The statement that the armies, by reason of their inner structure, could yield only a small percentage of workers, is only partly correct. As for the Third Army, I have already mentioned that it had retained its complete administrative apparatus in spite of the fact that the number of military sections had much decreased. As long as we left intact the staff of the army and its administrative bodies—for military and not for economic reasons—the percentage of workers yielded by the army was indeed quite small. Of the total number of 110,000 Red Army men, 21 per cent were engaged in administrative and economic duties; daily duties, guard duty, etc., were done in the great majority of army institutions and camps by about 16 per cent. The number of sick (chiefly typhus), together with the medical and sanitary staff amounted to about 13 per cent; various reasons (transfers, furloughs, absence without leave) caused about 25 per cent to be absent. The number therefore remaining for labor amounted to only 23 per cent—which was the maximum to be gotten out of this army at that time for labor purposes. As a matter of fact not more than about 14 per cent actually worked during the first period; they were partly from the two divisions, marksmen and cavalry, still remaining in the army. But hardly had it become clear that Denikin had been defeated and that we should not need to send the Third Army down the Volga in the spring in order to help the troops on the Caucasian front, than we immediately went about the task of dissolving the awkward apparatus, and adapting the army institutions to the tasks of labor. Although this task is by no means complete, it has already had very important results. At the present moment (March, 1920), the Third Army yields about 38 per cent of workers from all its number. Military bodies of the Ural military district, which are working by the side of the Red Army, already yield 49 per cent of workers. This result is not so bad, when we compare it with the attendance of workers in the factories, in many of which until very recently, and in some even now, the failure to report for work for both justified and unjustified reasons attained as high a percentage as 50 or more.* We must also remember that the workers are very often under the home care of adult members of their family, while the Red Army men must take care of themselves.

If we consider the nineteen year old men mobilized by us in the Urals with the aid of the military

* This percentage has since decreased considerably (June, 1920).

apparatus, partly for furnishing wood, we find that of all their number more than 30 thousand, or more than 75 per cent, reported for work. This is already an immense progress. It shows us that it is possible for us to introduce alterations in the construction of the labor armies, when applying the military apparatus to mobilization and formation, alterations involving an immense increase in the percentage of those taking direct part in the physical process of production.

And finally, we may already judge, on the basis of experience, the productivity of the work of the soldiers. At first the productivity of their labor in the most important branches of work was extremely small in spite of the great moral exaltation, and a reading of the first reports of the labor army might have produced a very depressing effect. Thus, the preparation of a single cord of wood required at first from 13 to 15 labor days, while the normal requirement, to be sure, very rarely attained at present, is three such days. We must also note that experienced men in this field can in a single day get ready a cord of wood with one day's labor (one cord per day per man). But what was the real figure? The military bodies were far removed from the places where the wood was to be cut. Often the men had to walk six or eight versts each day, thus using up a considerable portion of the labor day. Axes and saws were not at hand at the place of work. Many Red Army men, coming from the steppes, did not know the forests, had never cut down and sawed up trees. The provincial and district transportation committees did not learn at a single stroke to make use of the military units, to direct them to the necessary places, and to create the necessary conditions of work for them. It is not surprising that the result was an extremely low productivity of work. But after the most flagrant defects of organization had been removed, many distinctly better results were obtained, thus—the latest data show that a cord of wood takes four and one-half days on an average to prepare, throughout the First Labor Army, which is no longer very far from the norm that has been set up. But most encouraging is the circumstance that the productivity of the work is systematically rising, the better its organization.

And what can be attained in this matter is shown by the short but extremely valuable experience of the Moscow Engineers Regiment. The chief military administration, conducting this experiment, began by fixing the normal production requirements, three labor days to a cord of wood. This norm soon turned out to be somewhat excessive. In January a cord of wood required two and one-half labor days. In February 2.1. In March 1.5. A very high productivity indeed. This result was obtained by a mental influence, by a registration of the individual labor of each person, by awakening the spirit of emulation in labor, distributing premiums to the workers for high average production, or, to use the language of the trade unions, by a flexible scale, adapted to the individual variations of labor productivity. This experiment—almost a

laboratory experiment clearly outlines the paths on which we must now continue to advance.

A number of labor armies are already at work in our country—the First Labor Army, the Petrograd Labor Army, the Caucasian Labor Army, the South Volga Army, the Reserve Army. The latter, as is well-known, contributed considerably to increasing the exploitability of the Kazan-Yekaterinburg railroad. And wherever the attempt to make use of army sections for labor tasks was made in anything like a rational manner, the results have shown that this method is absolutely correct and capable of realization.

We have refuted the preconception that a military organization must be inevitably parasitic, under any and all circumstances. The Soviet Army reflects in itself the tendencies of the Soviet social order. We must not think in the petrified terms of the preceding epoch: "militarism", "military organization", "unproductiveness of compulsory labor", but we must think without preconceptions. We must approach the phenomena of the new epoch with eyes open and remain mindful of the fact that Saturday exists for man and not vice versa, that all forms of organization, including the military organization, are merely tools in the hands of the working class in power, which has the right as well as the liberty to adapt, alter, remodel these tools, until the required goal has been attained.

Unified Economic Plan

The extensive application of labor duty as well as the measures for a militarization of labor, may play a decisive role only in case they are applied on the basis of a unified economic plan, embracing the entire country and all the branches of industrial activity. This plan must be calculated for a term of years, to cover if possible an entire epoch. It will naturally be divided into various periods or series representing the inevitable stages in the economic reconstruction of the country. We must begin with the simplest and at the same time the most fundamental tasks.

First of all, the outright possibility of life—even though under the most difficult circumstances—must be secured to the working class and thus the industrial centers maintained, the cities saved. This is the point of departure. If we are not to see the cities dissolve into villages, industry yield place to agriculture, the whole country reduced to rural conditions, we must keep our transportation system operating at least on a minimum scale, and must assure the supply of grain for the cities, fuel and raw materials for industry, fodder for cattle. Otherwise we cannot make a single step in advance. The first portion of the plan therefore is: improvement of transport, or at least prevention of its further decline, and obtaining of the most necessary supplies of foodstuffs, raw material, and fuels. The entire following period will be completely occupied with a concentration of exertion of labor power on the solution of these fundamental tasks, and thus in turn the necessary conditions will be attained for all further work. This task was particularly

set down for our labor armies. Whether the first period, as well as those that follow, is to embrace months or years, it would at present be idle to prophecy,—the matter depends on many circumstances, running all the way from the international situation to the degree of solidarity and pertinacity on the part of the working class. The second period is one of machine construction for transportation, of winning raw materials and foodstuffs. The locomotive occupies the foreground in this period.

At present the locomotive repairs are being carried on in too primitive a manner and are requiring altogether too much energy and material. Repairs of rolling stock must be replaced by a mass production of reserve parts. Now that the whole railway system and all the industries are in the hands of a single owner, namely the labor state, we must set up for the whole country uniform types of locomotives and cars, standardize the parts, mobilize all the necessary industries in a mass production of reserve parts, and reduce repairs to the simple substitution of new parts for those depreciated, and thus secure assembling of new locomotives from reserve parts, on a mass scale. Now that the sources of fuel and raw material are again available for us, we shall have to concentrate our exclusive attention on the construction of locomotives.

The third period is that of machine construction for the purpose of producing commodities for nation-wide consumption.

The last period, which will be based upon the achievements of the three preceding periods, will permit a transition to a large scale production of objects of personal use.

This plan is of great importance, not only as a general guiding line in the practical work of our economic organs, but also as an outline for the propaganda among the working masses in regard to our economic tasks. Our labor mobilizations will not adapt themselves to the real situation, will not take root, conscious, inspired and capable of life. We must give to the masses the complete truth as to our situation and our prospects for the future, must tell them frankly that our economic plan even with a maximum of exertion will yield but little, since our chief work during the immediate future must consist in preparing the conditions for the means of production. Only after we have secured the possibility of a restoration of means of transportation and production, at least to a minimum extent, shall we be able to proceed to a production of articles of consumption. The workers will thus obtain as an immediate tangible result of their work such objects as are of personal utility, only in the last and fourth stage of the economic plan, and only then will a serious amelioration of life be realized. The masses will still be obliged to bear the burden of labor and of privations for a long time and they must grasp the prospective inner logic of this economic plan in order to be capable of bearing it on their shoulders until the goal is reached. We must not conceive the succession of the above noted four eco-

conomic periods in too absolute a manner. Of course it is not our object completely to stop our textile industry: we are prevented from doing that if only for military reasons. But in order that our attention and energies may not be entirely dissipated under the pressure of the needs and distress, everywhere of shocking proportions, it is necessary to distinguish between the most important points and those of less and subsidiary importance, on the basis of our general economic plan. We need not point out that we do not in any way intend a sealed "national" communism. The abolition of the blockade, and of course the European revolution, would necessarily produce very essential alterations in our economic life, abbreviate the stages of its evolution, and draw them closer together. But we do not know when these events will take place. And we must act so as to be able to maintain ourselves and solidify our position even under the most unfavorable, i.e., the most slow developments of the European and world revolution. In the case of an actual resumption of trade relations with the capitalist states, we shall permit ourselves again to be guided by the above outlined economic plan. We shall give a portion of our raw materials in exchange for locomotives or other necessary machines, but not under any circumstances in exchange for clothing, for footgear, and delicacies; we are now looking not for articles of consumption, but for means of transport and production.

We should be shortsighted skeptics, or petty shopkeepers of the philistine variety if we should imagine that the restoration of economy will be a gradual transition from the present complete economic disorganization to the state that preceded this disorganization, i.e., that we must rise again by the same stages that led us down, and only after a certain very long period again restore our Socialist economy to the condition before the imperialistic war. Such a conception would be not only not encouraging, but even absolutely wrong. The disorganization which has destroyed countless values in its course, has destroyed also much red tape, much dead routine, much that was moldy and senseless in our economy, and thus paved the way for a reconstruction in accordance with the technological factors now at the disposal of world economy. [If Russian capitalism developed not from step to step, but by jumping a series of steps, and went so far as to awaken, in the primeval steppes, industries on an American scale, this heroic method is all the more accessible to the Socialist economy. If we have overcome our wretched impoverishment, have accumulated some stocks of raw materials and foodstuffs, have improved our transportation, we may skip an entire series of intermediary steps, making use of the circumstance that we are not fettered by chains of private property and are therefore unable to subordinate all our enterprises and all our economic elements to a nation-wide unified plan.]

Thus, for instance, we may doubtless proceed to an application of electricity in all the main branches of industry and personal utility, without

again passing through the "Century of Steam". The program of electrification has been outlined for us in advance in a series of successive stages, corresponding to the principal successive steps of the general economic plan.

The new war may delay the realization of our economic plan. Our energy and perseverance may and must accelerate the process of economic reconstruction, but whatever may be the speed with which events will continue to develop, it is clear that a single economic plan must lie at the base of all our labor mobilizations, labor militarizations, labor Saturdays, as well as all the other forms of voluntary Communistic labor, and the immediately following period will demand of us a full concentration of all our energy on the first, most rudimentary tasks: foodstuffs, fuel, raw materials, transportations. No scattering of attention, no splitting up of forces, no inactivity; this is the sole path of rescue. (*To be continued in our next issue*)

NORWEGIAN EXPEDITION TO VILNA

It now seems probable that Norwegian soldiers, and also those of the other Scandinavian countries, will not be required to go to Vilna as a police guard. At least the pretext under which they were to be sent has vanished. For there is not going to be any plebiscite at Vilna to determine the national adherence of that city and therefore there will be no need for policing the place during the plebiscite. But if it is necessary to draw the Scandinavian countries into the counter-revolutionary war, no doubt some other reason will be found for sending 300 Scandinavian soldiers to Vilna or to some other place to be designated later. The latest news we have concerning the Vilna expedition is that by December 9 a number of men had been found ready to enlist for the purpose, and that Captain Spork, a son of General Spork, had been appointed to lead the detachment. Latest advices, of December 10, indicate that it is not Captain Spork, however, who is to lead the expedition, but an army officer of even higher standing, a Lt.-Colonel. His name is C. Gulbrandsen.

AN ARMENIAN SOVIET OFFICIAL

Moscow, December 6.—Lenin has received a telegraphic greeting from the revolutionary government of the Armenian Soviet Republic.

The first information concerning the revolution in northern Armenia was received toward the end of November. On December 1, the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic voluntarily ceded the disputed provinces of Zangezour, Nakhichevan, and Karabakh to the Armenian Soviet Republic. The Armenian revolutionary government has received greetings from the Turkish Government, which were transmitted by the Commandant of the Front, Karabekir, and the Turkish representative, Kazim Bey. At the head of the new government stands the old Armenian revolutionist, Kassian. Lenin sent reciprocal greetings to Erivan, the capital of Soviet Armenia.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

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This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

WILL Soviet Russia again be forced to meet attacks on the part of the Great Powers or the former border-provinces next Spring? This is the question that all friends of Soviet Russia are repeatedly asking themselves. Will it still be possible for any government to consider it safe to antagonize its peoples still further by undertaking to overthrow, or aid in overthrowing, a form of government that has met with such approval from the Russian masses that other masses, all over the world, feel indisposed to question its right to continued existence? There is only one government that still seems ready to oppose Soviet Russia unreservedly—to be willing to be set down as a definite military opponent of that country, as able and eager to send men, munitions, and money to the aid of any individual or state that will undertake a new drive on Soviet Russia, and that Government is the Government of the Republic of France. Whether or not it was France that President Wilson had in mind when he instructed Mr. Norman H. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, to send a telegram to M. Paul Hymans, President of the Assembly of the League of Nations, advising all the great nations to assure Soviet Russia they would not invade her territory, we do not know, but it does seem from a reading of Mr. Davis' letter that the President is one of those who believe an attack against Soviet Russia to be still possible, and indeed, that certain powers must now be meditating such an attack.

President Wilson advises the abandonment of any such designs, for, in Mr. Davis' words, while "he regards the Bolsheviki as a violent and tyrannical minority, by no means representing the real desires and purposes of the Russian people," he had, however, "never believed that the problems raised by this coup d'état could be solved by military action from the outside. He now hopes that the recent tragical events on the Polish front and in the Crimea have convinced all the world that armed invasion is not the way to bring peace to the people of Russia."

Under the definite impression that armed attack from within will accomplish no change in Soviet Russia, and that any impression in that country to the effect that the border-states are being bribed into a position of hostility to Central Russia can have only the effect of strengthening the hold of

the Soviet Government on the affections and services of the popular masses of Russia, President Wilson asks that Soviet Russia be permitted to work out her own salvation and that definite assurances be given her that there will be no interference by outside powers, and, above all, no aid to the border-states in any possible counter-revolutionary enterprises to be begun by them.

Now that the Great Powers have all ceased direct attacks on Soviet Russia, decency could not be violated by a statement that such attacks have ceased. And there can be objection to an added statement by the same powers that they will not aid any border-state in further attacks on Soviet Russia, for there is little likelihood that any of the border-states would now consent to having itself again sacrificed in such a hopeless and even disastrous enterprise. Aside from this, Soviet Russia will listen to all assurances, believing all that are unquestionable, and none other.

* * *

PRESIDENT WILSON'S declaration, through Mr. Davis, was written in a connection that is in itself interesting. It appears that the above letter of Mr. Davis, written January 18, and published in last Sunday's newspapers (January 23), came as an answer to a suggestion from Prime Minister Lloyd George that the President instruct the American High Commissioner at Constantinople to take up with the Allied High Commissioners at that city the question of Armenia, which, in Mr. Lloyd George's words, "is reported to be under the control of Soviet Russia."

Judging by Mr. Davis' remarks on this subject in the course of his letter, and by previous remarks in the same sense by Ex-Ambassador Morgenthau, the President's feeling that it would be unwise to consider Armenia as a separate problem, and that the entire question of border-states should be taken up as a single matter, seems to be due to a conviction that not only Armenia, but all the other border-states as well, are in a fashion "under the control of Soviet Russia." For all of them now look to Moscow for salvation, and not to Paris, Versailles, London, or Berlin. All of them have concluded either treaties of peace with Soviet Russia, or at least preliminaries of peace that are quite binding on their conduct until full peace is realized. All of them know that there is money to be earned in the service of France, but that permanent reconstruction can be worked for only through an understanding with Soviet Russia. In our issue for last week we printed an article entitled "Latvia in Ruins", which significantly illustrated the lot of the small nation that seeks to tear itself away from its natural moorings and to base its economic life on relations with far-off imperialistic nations instead of relations with neighborly proletarians. A very parallel description would apply with equal force to Lithuania, Esthonia,* Poland, Finland, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, etc. All were ruined

* See Dr. Goldschmidt's article, SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. III, No. 14.

by Allied intervention; all have sought refuge in an understanding with Soviet Russia. It does seem necessary to consider the whole problem of the border-states with reference to Soviet Russia, as Mr. Morgenthau discovered some time ago. Whether the intention be to wrench them all away from Soviet Russia at once, or really to permit them and their great neighbor to work out their own fate and their own mutual relations, there is no sense or prospect in a detached consideration of the case of each border state.

* * *

THE biggest border-state that has passed successfully through the stages of victim to Allied policy and seeker for Soviet Russian friendship is Poland. The governing class of Poland has no friendship for either the government or the people of Soviet Russia. They would a thousand times rather take their support from the imperialists of the West than from the proletarians of the East. But the people of Poland must be considered; the Polish people have indicated in unmistakable terms on what side lie their hopes and sympathies. And Prince Lubomirski, Polish Minister to the United States, who is surely no friend of the Proletarian Dictatorship, is clearly speaking for his government when he makes the statement attributed to him in the *New York Times* of January 23:

"Russia and Poland are at peace today, and Poland expects that Soviet Russia will live up to the preliminary peace signed at the Riga Conference and the final draft of the treaty which will probably be signed before the middle of February. Rumors of war are baseless."

Prince Lubomirski is then quoted in the *Times* as having said a number of additional things, but the important point is that Poland expects to follow up her Preliminary Treaty of Peace with Soviet Russia by concluding a full Treaty of Peace, as have all the other border-states, and then the ring of small nations who are tired of being tools for France and other powers, and who have seen a better friend in Moscow, will be complete. To be sure, all have sought Moscow's friendship for their own reasons, but it barely needs to be pointed out that no reasons of their own have succeeded in driving them into the arms of France, or of any of France's allies.

* * *

BUT how about Germany? Reports are still stubbornly current, and have not yet been killed by President Wilson's letter, that a new attack is to be launched against Soviet Russia in the Spring, and the name of General Ludendorff, at first but loosely associated with the rumors of this plan, is now beginning to serve as its firm name and label. Interviewed by a representative of *The Chicago Tribune*, General Ludendorff is quoted (*The New York Times*, January 24) as follows:

MUNICH, January 23.—"In the not distant war between Russia and Poland, Russia will overrun the latter country, and when Warsaw is captured all Europe will be endangered and the whole world will realize that the danger of Bolshevism is increased, not diminished."

Connected with the name of General Ludendorff in this matter is that of Arnold Rechberg, a German "who drew up a plan for a European League to fight Bolshevism in the field." And, as the correspondent adds:

"Rechberg told me that the war program to block the Bolsheviki was written largely at the request of Americans, but he could not mention names."

It is unfortunate that this scheme should be aired at a moment when it would appear to be in the flattest kind of contradiction with the proposal put forward by President Wilson in Secretary Davis' letter. General Ludendorff expressed regret that the memorandum of the proposed coalition against Soviet Russia should have been published before it had received the sanction of his "British and American backers".

If the denunciations of Ludendorff by Allied leaders had only been seriously meant, how much better it would now be for them. Is it possible that they are going to forgive this desperate man, in order that he may be able to plunge his country into an adventure more criminal than that for which it is now receiving such cruel punishment at their hands? They are birds of a feather if they work together in this mad effort to secure the services of what remains of German militarism in a last desperate attack on Soviet Russia. And their effort will have the effect of accelerating that which they profess so much to fear: the setting up of a proletarian dictatorship in Germany, and a complete alliance between the new proletarian republic and that of Russia.

* * *

NEW difficulties now beset the progress of "democracy". The League of Nations Council is about to meet, and one of the "small nations" that must be dealt with is Lithuania. Lithuania is after a fashion a member of the League of Nations, but not exactly a member in good standing, for the reason that the Trustees of that great Club are not quite certain of Lithuania's solvency. Let not the gentle reader suppose that this is grim proletarian humor: that we are thus darkly predicting a swallowing up of Lithuania by Soviet Russia. No, the fears as to Lithuania's permanence come from the uncertainty of the League members as to whether they should transform each individual border-state into a little focus of reaction, or—and some states prefer this—throw them all into the jaws of a reborn, readjusted and refinanced Tsarist centralism. The papers tell us that Lithuania, although only an associate member, has filed with the League a copy of a treaty recently concluded with Soviet Russia, and that this is causing worries for the League statesmen. For Soviet Russia does not exist, you know, in polite circles, and what shall be done with a member who associates with her?

Will Great Britain also have to file a copy of the Trade Agreement with Soviet Russia, and will the League apply Article XVIII very severely in this case too?

MESSAGES OF FAREWELL

I

Statement by Mr. L. C. A. K. Martens, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic

January 22, 1921.

In taking leave of the United States I wish to say a word of grateful appreciation for the great personal kindness and courtesy which I have received from many Americans in all vocations throughout the country. It has been a source of constant encouragement to me to find everywhere men and women who have not allowed hysterical fears or prejudice to move them from their sympathy with the cause which I have represented.

My departure has come as the logical and inevitable consequence of the policy of the American Government towards Soviet Russia. So long as that policy was not declared, so long as I could not secure from any responsible official of the American Government any frank expression of that policy, my government was justified in keeping me here to strive for the establishment of normal political and economic relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. The order for my deportation, however, arrived at after long deliberation and signed by a member of the Cabinet, was an unequivocal declaration of policy. The policy thus declared was that which has actually guided the conduct of the American Government in the past two years; namely, an absolute refusal to recognize even the de facto existence of the Soviet Government, and a refusal to permit the resumption of trade between Russia and America. The decision of the Secretary of Labor was directed not against myself but specifically against the Government which I represent. The decision said, in effect, that the American Government would not permit any representative of the Soviet Government to approach America for the purpose of establishing political relations. This was the answer to the several communications which I addressed to the Department of State immediately after my appointment as the Representative of the Soviet Government in this country and to which the Department of State did not see fit to reply. My mission here would have been terminated much earlier if the Department of State had been willing to take the responsibility which was finally assumed by the Department of Labor. This, however, is a curious matter of American official procedure, which I do not pretend to understand.

My Government accepted this declaration of the policy of the American Government toward Russia and instructed me to close my Bureau and to withdraw from the United States without delay.

I have no knowledge of the future plans of the American Government nor can I tell in what direction this policy of ignoring the existence of the established Government of the largest country in Europe will lead. I know that the Soviet Government is more firmly established, beyond fear of danger of foreign or internal assault, than it was on the day when I first approached the American

Government on its behalf. I know further that the industrial and economic conditions of the world, not excepting America, are such that the resumption of normal economic relations with Russia has become an imperative necessity upon all nations. I cannot say how the American Government will solve the problem involved in these circumstances. I can only say that when the American people are prepared to approach this problem the Government of the Russian workers and peasants will be ready to meet them in a reasonable and friendly spirit.

II

To the Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA:

I am glad that it has been found possible to continue the publication of SOVIET RUSSIA under private auspices. Experience has shown that we were amply justified in our belief that there was a special field in America for the publication of a magazine devoted exclusively to the presentation of accurate information about Soviet Russia. The enthusiastic response of thousands of readers and subscribers throughout the country has demonstrated the widespread demand for such a publication.

SOVIET RUSSIA will be needed now more than ever before. With the closing of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, the American people will no longer have any direct contact with official representatives of the Soviet Republic. The ordinary channels of communication, as always, will be subject to a hostile censorship and propaganda. The campaign of falsehood and misrepresentation will continue; and there will be no one here to speak officially in defense of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. If SOVIET RUSSIA can continue as heretofore to devote itself exclusively to the presentation of facts about Russia, it will serve a most important function and will, I am sure, meet with an increasingly enthusiastic response. I am confident that all our friends will find they need SOVIET RUSSIA more than ever before and will eagerly lend their support to insure its continued publication.

With fraternal greetings to all workers on the staff of SOVIET RUSSIA,

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

January 20, 1921.

Volume Three

of SOVIET RUSSIA will be offered for sale and delivery. Orders should be sent immediately, accompanied by remittance of amount, five dollars. The volume is durably bound in cloth, stamped in gold, with title page and index. It is the largest volume of SOVIET RUSSIA thus far issued; there are 652 pages of text and illustrations, including many maps and facsimiles, in addition to sixteen full pages of half-tone plates on calendared paper.

Soviet Russia

110 W. 40th St. Room 304 New York, N. Y.

Protection of Mother, Baby and Child in Russia

By N. SEMASHKO

BEFORE the November Revolution, Russia was the classical country of child mortality. One-fourth of all newborn babies died even before they reached their first year. Every year about two millions of babies were buried in Russia. Child mortality was especially great in the villages among the peasant population.

There were two fundamental causes which contributed to this extraordinary mortality of babies. In the cities, it was the terrific exploitation of the labor of mothers and of pregnant women. It happened frequently, that women went on with their work till the very last day of their pregnancy, and sometimes it even happened that women were delivered of their children within the walls of the factory. Thus children have been crippled even while in their mothers' wombs. When the child was born, the mother could not nurse it; she had to leave it at home and feed it with substitutes for food.

In the villages, to these main causes—poverty and exploitation—was added the frightful ignorance of the peasant women, who have no idea of the most elementary rules of hygienic nursing.

The Republic of the toilers first of all concerned itself with the protection of the labor of pregnant and nursing women. A decree was issued to the effect that women cannot be allowed to work eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement. During all this time the mother receives her regular wages and her full food-ration. Pregnant women receive, besides, better food and a number of privileges in daily life. When the child is born, the mother receives linen and warm clothes for the baby. Nursing mothers are relieved from work several times during the day. Special products, as milk, eggs, sugar, etc., are given for children on their special children's food-cards.

The greatest attention was given by the Soviet Government to the work of creating a sufficient number of establishments for the protection of mother and child: Great model "Homes of Mother and Child", confinement homes, milk dispensaries, nurseries, children's homes, etc. There are at present thousands of such institutions all over Russia, in the cities, at factories and even in many villages. We have already passed through the period when it was necessary to explain to the population the use of these establishments. At present, we are unable to keep up with the constantly growing demand for such institutions, because of the shortage of medicines, food products for the nourishment of children, and various necessary appliances.

Children of a more advanced age have also been an object of constant care on the part of the Soviet Government. Children's homes exist not only in the cities but even in many villages. Children's colonies have been established in many of the best residences of the landlords. During the past summer, about 50,000 children lived in the colonies

in the vicinity of Moscow alone. In the schools, the pupils receive hot breakfasts. It is quite touching to see how the population of the cities, frequently suffering from hunger and feeding on substitutes, is giving away the last food supplies for the children. Hired labor of children up to the age of 14 years is prohibited altogether. For children of the age of 14-16 years, the working day is limited to four hours. No child labor is allowed in harmful productions. The trade unions paying special attention to the protection of the labor of women and young persons. Their interests are considered also in the carrying out of labor duties.

For weak and sick children there are special establishments, so-called "Forest Schools", which are situated in healthy forest localities. At present there are 33 such schools. Besides, there are 34 sanatorium-schools and sanatorium-colonies for children inclined to consumption, and 37 sanatoria for consumptive children.

Further, children under the age of 18 years, who have committed some offence, are not considered as criminals. On the contrary, we look upon them as victims of capitalist society, who require proper education and cure. Such child offenders are not liable to the general courts, but there are special committees consisting of physicians and pedagogues, to decide whether they are to be placed in institutions of the Public Health Commissariat or of the Commissariat of Public Education. The Public Health Department has 134 such institutions for mentally and physically defective children. There are also 41 schools for deaf and dumb, and 15 schools for blind children.

The difficult conditions, in which the Republic was put by the war and blockade had their destructive effects upon the organizations for the children. But the toiling population of the suffering Republic gave away its last piece of bread and the last yard of cloth for the children, because the toilers of the Soviet Republic are conscious that the children represent our better future, that upon their health depends the success of our Socialist construction work. And as soon as the pressure which is exerted upon us by our numerous enemies, is made somewhat easier by the efforts of our Red Army, and as soon as our economic and food situation is somewhat improved, the first to feel the benefits of these improvements will be our children, our hope and future.

MAX BARTHEL

the author of the short article on the following page, is a writer well known in working class circles in Germany. He visited Russia recently, and while in Petrograd renewed an old acquaintance with Maxim Gorky. We hope soon to be able to present our readers with further articles from Mr. Barthel's pen.

"Subbotnik"

By MAX BARTHEL

THE first Communist Saturday in Moscow was a parade rather than real work. On that occasion we walked from our hotel and went across the city to the Kazan Station, carrying small red flags. These were the delegates of the second world congress who intended to show Moscow, by this beautiful gesture, that Jacques Sadoul of France and Pak Dunshan of Korea, as well as Tom Quelch of England and Willy Munzenberg of Germany, considered themselves to be in the same rank as the humblest laborer, and were doing voluntary work for the rebuilding of the Communist state. The people were looking wonderingly at us, because many of the comrades were well-dressed Communists with white collars and shined shoes. The people of Moscow were also astonished to hear the international songs which we were singing, such as the "Carmagnole", the "Red Flag" the "Arbeitsmänner" and "Avanti Popolo". Our leader did not know the way to the place where we were to work and finally we arrived at the locomotive repair shop at the railroad station. We scattered into groups and it was very amusing to see Pak Dunshan of Korea with turned-up sleeves and high collar working in the foundry together with former army captain, Sadoul.

The next time we gathered in the Kremlin, that splendid pile of masonry, with the golden churches, the Asiatic towers, the castles and administrative buildings. Being foreigners we of course arrived punctually at the gathering place: i.e., we were two hours too early, and the comrades of the organization of the Moscow Communist youth told us about their work and their successes in the Near and Far East while we were sitting in the armory among the cannons, waiting for the comrades. Finally, they arrived at about six o'clock: they were the pupils of the Red Officers' school in the Kremlin and Communists of the Moscow district, together about six hundred men. The Central Committee of the Communist Youth of Russia was there in full strength. In fine parade, headed by a band of music playing revolutionary songs, with red flags adorned with gold embroideries waving at the head and in the midst of the parade, we marched through the gateway of the Kremlin across the Red Square to the Moskva River. We marched into the poor, gloomy suburbs, where there were no magnificent churches.

On the bank of the Moskva River there were wooden ships, stout boats with big piles of timber. We rushed to work. There was silent emulation as to who would be stronger and carry more. The music band was playing. We were in a bath of perspiration, but we were merry and laughed during our work. After fifty minutes we were given the signal to stop. We lay sprawling on the gentle

slope of the river bank, voluptuously tired, and smoked and joked. Ten minutes later we were again merrily dragging the lumber. Three hours passed in this way. To the right, on the bridge, there were many people who stared at us. We had nothing but contempt for the mere onlooker. At ten o'clock in the evening—it was getting dark already—we gathered again, and every one of us got a pound of bread which he ate full of delight. In the darkness we marched home, chewing bread, singing and happy. On the Moskva there were some boats whose lights were reflected in the water. Some workers lighted little rockets to honor the home-going Communists.

The third Communist Saturday took place on a Sunday in November because Saturday evening had been too dark for working. We went with the comrades of the Commissariat of War; alongside of a simple Red Army soldier Kamenev, the Communist and Commander-in-Chief, marched. We went again to the station. Our group entered an engine-house and with powerful ropes fifty of us pulled the locomotives into the open. Among them were "two of Trotsky's locomotives", as the foreman said with concealed pride. We cleaned up this engine house, gathered the iron and put the shelves in order. This time there were neither red flags nor music. But after the work was over, every one of us received a pound of bread, which according to the decision of our inner circle, we put aside for the children. As to the three pieces of candy, we ate them ourselves, because one has got to have something sweet.

Next Week's

Soviet Russia

will contain a great amount of interesting and important material. Among other things there are:

PIERRE PASCAL: *Three Days in Moscow*. The distinguished Frenchman describes his experiences in Soviet Russia's capital.

LEON TROTSKY: *Labor Armies in Soviet Russia*. The conclusion of the article now running in Soviet Russia.

DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT: *The Dictatorship of Organization in Soviet Russia*. An account of the inevitability of centralization in the evolution of industry since November, 1917.

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 W. 40th St.

New York, N. Y.

* Russian name for Communist Saturdays on which voluntary and unpaid work is being done by Communists.

Preliminary Results of the Census of 1920

By ISAAC A. HOURWICH

According to a cablegram received by the New York *Jewish Daily Forward* from its European correspondent, the results of the enumeration of the population of Soviet Russia in 1920 show that its total population was, in round numbers, 136,000,000, of whom there were 64,000,000 males and 72,000,000 females, that is 47 per cent males and 53 per cent females. According to the census of 1897 the distribution of the population by sex was 49.7 per cent males to 50.3 per cent females. The present disproportion shows clearly the ravages of the war.

Accurate comparisons of the preliminary figures published by the Soviet Government with those of the census of 1897 are at the present writing impossible, because of the changes of the boundary lines of Russia. A summary of the results of approximate calculations is presented in the table next following:

Population of Soviet Russia, 1920, Compared With the Population of the Same Area in the Census of 1897

	1920		1897		Increase 1897-1920	
	Millions	Per cent	Millions	Per cent	Millions	Per cent
Incorporated cities and towns	22	16.2	12	12.4	10	83.3
In all other settlements	114	83.8	82	87.6	32	39.0
Total	136	100.0	94	100.0	42	44.7

Of the total population 22,000,000, that is 16.2 per cent, reside in incorporated cities and towns, and 83.8 per cent in unincorporated villages and rural territory. It must be borne in mind that the latter class is by no means identical with a rural population. According to the census of 1897, there were in Russia 6,376 unincorporated urban settlements with a population ranging from 2,000 to 40,000 inhabitants each. The urban population of Russia, including that of those unincorporated urban settlements, in 1897 reached 32 per cent of the total population of the Empire.

According to the preceding table the population of incorporated cities and towns, during the twenty-three years since the first census, increased by 10,000,000, that is by 83.3 per cent, and this despite the backward movement from the large centers to the rural districts since the revolution. Assuming the ratio of the population of unincorporated urban settlements in 1920 to have been the same as in 1897,—most likely it must have increased like that of the rest of the urban population,—we may conservatively estimate the total urban population of present-day Russia at 34.5 per cent of the total population of the Republic.

A fair index of the educational advance of Soviet Russia is furnished by the fact that 210,000 new schools have been established by the Soviet Government.

The following comparative summary of the number of students in universities and technical high schools and colleges in 1920 and 1897 shows the progress of higher education in Russia. The total number of students in universities at the census of 1920 was 120,000 and the total number of students in technical high schools and colleges 200,000. The figures for the preceding census (1897) were 104,000 and 134,000 respectively. These figures, however, comprised the area of the Russian Empire, exclusive of the Grand Duchy of Finland. The population of the present area of Soviet Russia has been estimated in the preceding table for the census of 1897 at 94,000,000, which represents 75 per cent of the population of the Empire enumerated at that census. In the comparative table next following the number of students in 1897 in the present area of Soviet Russia has accordingly been reduced to 75 per cent of the census figures.

Comparative Statement of the Number of Students of Universities and Technical Schools, 1897 and 1920

	1920	1897	Increase Per cent
In Universities	120,000	76,000	58
In Technical High Schools and Colleges	200,000	100,000	100

The increase of the population in the present area of Soviet Russia between the census of 1897 and 1920 was 44.7 per cent. The increase of the number of university students was 58 per cent, and the increase of the number of students of technical high schools and colleges 100 per cent. These figures show that, notwithstanding civil war and revolution, the attendance at the universities favorably compares with that during the rule of the Tsar, while the attendance at technical high-schools and colleges has doubled.

GREETINGS TO RUSSIAN PRISONERS

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—The All-Russian Soviet Congress, which has ended its work at the moment of decisive victory over the counter-revolution, and of the beginning of a time of economic development, sends its fraternal greetings to all comrades who are suffering as prisoners in foreign lands. We will make use of every measure to improve your situation, and to hasten the hour of your liberation from the capitalistic yoke and your return home. The Congress is convinced that this hour is coming soon and that the prisoners will soon resume their place in the ranks of those who are building the Communist Society. The Congress makes it the duty of the Central Executive of the Soviets to decide quickly on the measures which are available for the transport of the prisoners and to notify the officials concerned.

Industrial Situation in Soviet Russia

Locomotives and Freight Cars

In spite of the difficult conditions under which repairs are carried on, the shortage of spare parts, and the absence of all that usually helps to increase the productivity of labor, the repair of wagons and locomotives progresses successfully, and the program laid down for the past three months has been more than fulfilled.

In July 248 locomotives were repaired over and above the standard laid down, in August 233, and in September 258.

In the month of September the total number of locomotives repaired was 970.

First place is taken by the Murman railway, which gave a surplus of 170 per cent over and above the standard; the second place by the Vladikavkaz Railway, which gave a surplus of 143.3 per cent; the third place, by the Omsk Railway, which gave 132 per cent. These are followed by the South-Eastern Railway with 100 per cent, the Donets with 66.6 per cent, the Moscow-Kiev-Voronezh with 55.6 per cent, the Riga-Orel with 60 per cent, the Transbaikal with 60 per cent, the Tomsk with 57.1 per cent, the Tashkent with 50 per cent, and so on.

The increase of output on the various lines may be seen from the following figures:

The Vladikavkaz Railway is steadily increasing its output of repairs and gave in July an increase of 58 locomotives, in August it gave 60, in September 73 locomotives. On the Transbaikal Railway the same months gave the following figures: 9, 9, 16. The Kiev-Voronezh Railway gave respectively 37, 41 and 45. The South-Eastern Railway gave 49, 53, 70.

As far as freight cars are concerned their output for the month of August gave an increase over that of July of 874; the number over and above the standard output in accordance with order No. 1,175 was 3,584, i.e., 54.7 per cent.

The number of freight cars repaired in August amounted to 10,889, while Order No. 1,157 fixed the obligatory number at 7,035.

The railways holding first place in the repair of carriages are as follows: the Northwest Line with an increase over and above the standard of 236.3 per cent; the Volga-Bugulma 174.1 per cent; the Vladikavkaz 157 per cent, the South-Eastern 148.8 per cent; the Moscow-Kursk 127.2 per cent; the Murmansk 100.5 per cent, the Riga-Orel 94.2 per cent; the Moscow-Kiev-Voronezh 87.9 per cent, the Perm 72.7 per cent, the Omsk 63.7 per cent. These are followed by the Donets Line which gave an increase of 62.1 per cent, the Northern with 49.3 per cent; the South-West with 43.3 per cent.

For the month of September we have figures for the output of repairs only for 27 lines. The total number of these amounts to 8,036 wagons as against 4,685 according to program.

The first place in point of output for the month

of September is taken by the Perm Line, which gave an increase over and above the standard of 231.6 per cent; the second place by the Riga-Orel Line with 184.2 per cent; the third place by the Tomsk Line with 131.5 per cent. These are followed by the North-West Line with 110.7 per cent, the South-Eastern Line with 110 Per cent, the Moscow-Kiev-Voronezh with 108.8 per cent, and so on.

State of Industry in Petrograd

The Petrograd Council of Public Economy has worked out a summary of the data as to the situation of industry in Petrograd during the first half-year of 1920, and its prospects in the near future.

According to these data the Petrograd factories have been supplied with sufficient materials though not quite to the degree laid down in the program of production. They have also been supplied with semi-manufactures (spare parts). These supplies, however, will soon cease.

The tobacco industry was best supplied with labor-power. There were more workers than were needed, according to the program of production, viz., 105 per cent. In the cotton industry the percentage of labor available as against demand was as high as 100 per cent. The metal industry was supplied with 90 per cent of the labor demanded. The pastry trade had 87 per cent, the paper trade 81 per cent, the leather industry 76 per cent, the thread industry 84 per cent, soap production 75 per cent, the sewing industry, 70 per cent, the chemical industry 76 per cent, the printing trade 55 per cent.

The highest percentage of utilization of the technical means in the factories was in the rope and string industry, 100 per cent of the program. In the cotton industry it was 77 per cent, in the metal industry 55 per cent, in the shoe industry 67 per cent, in the wood work industry 45 per cent, in the paper industry 41 per cent.

With fuel the pastry trade was supplied best, 100 per cent of the program. Then follows: the sewing industry 94 per cent, soap production 90 per cent, food production 80 per cent, the shoe industry 77 per cent, the leather goods industry 45 per cent, the cotton industry 64 per cent, the chemical industry 63 per cent, the leather industry 52 per cent, the printing trade 60 per cent, the paper industry 57 per cent, the mineral industry 50 per cent, the woodwork industry 50 per cent.

As characteristic of the productivity of some of the most important works it is stated that the Putilov works were supposed to complete 15 locomotives, and actually completed 18, i.e., they accomplished 116 per cent of the program of production. The same works also completed 492 wagons instead of the 316 which they were supposed to complete. The Oktha Works were supposed to complete 33 steamships and to repair four steamship engines. All this was carried out. The Atlas Works were

supposed to smelt 19,800 poods, they turned out 12,570 poods. Arthur Koppel was supposed to turn out 25 peat machines, this was done. The Sengally Works were supposed to smelt 4,000 poods of cast iron, they smelted 3,996 poods. The Ladoga had to turn out 15,000 tea pots, which were duly forthcoming. The leather industry was expected to turn out 42,200 large and 210,000 small pieces of leather; the output was: 28,628 large and 118,000 small pieces. It was supposed to turn out 346,000 pairs of civilians' shoes, the output was 229,000 pairs.

In the paper industry the factory "Doobrovka" was expected to produce 78 thousand poods of paper; it produced 60 thousand poods of paper and 53 thousand poods of wood pulp. The Goodayev factory produced 83 thousand poods of paper instead of 78 thousand. It was hoped that the chemical industry would give 800 kilograms of saccharin; it gave 335 kilograms. The soap production gave 50,000 poods of soap instead of 74,000 poods. The output of cotton was 14,250 poods instead of 7,200 poods according to the program.

The percentage of the program of production carried out in other industries is expressed by the following figures: the rope industry 104 per cent, the hardware industry 100 per cent, the leather ware industry 98 per cent, the food industry 70 per cent, the leather industry 66 per cent for big pieces and 59 per cent for small pieces, the harness manufacture 63 per cent, printing 60 per cent, thread production 57 per cent, tobacco 83 per cent, cotton 50 per cent, minerals 50 per cent, soap, 65 per cent, etc.

These data show how the program of production for the past half year was carried out. As far as the program for the second half year is concerned, it provides for the complete repair of 58 locomotives, 2,100 wagons, and 114 ships, an output of 1,000,000 poods of shovels, saws, etc., 282,000 poods of copper pipe and leaf, 145,000 poods of rope, 300,000 bricks, 12,000 poods of stovepipes, etc.

The factories of Petrograd are supplied with 60 per cent of raw materials necessary for this production. Measures are being taken to complete the supply. In the metal industry there is a lack of iron, instrumental steel, pipes, etc. The Izhora works are expected to turn out 50 thousand chimney-pipes, and about 80 thousand poods of spring steel. In the Putilov works it is proposed to start work in the iron-tire shops, which have a supply of about 30,000 poods of incomplete wheel-rims.

LIES ABOUT RUSSIA

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—The provoking lies about mutinies and risings in Moscow which are once again being set in circulation are absolute nonsense and utter falsehood. Everything is quiet here and not the slightest excitement is to be seen. Everybody's attention is fully taken up with the economic reconstruction.

TEXTILE COMBINE

YEKATERINBURG, November 18, 1920.—The provincial committee for textiles comprises two flax mills, two cloth mills, five felt-works, ten artels making felt, three rope factories, two stocking-knitting mills, one artel of down-workers—800 persons in all. The textile committee organized a factory for felt boots employing 2,000 hands and a rope factory employing 460 men, producing monthly 15,000 poods of all kinds of rope. Fuel has been obtained for six months for the cloth factories, for three months for the felt factory, and all other works will have fuel for one year.

FROM THE ECONOMIC FRONT

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—The Donets Basin delivered 30 million poods of coal in November against 25 and a half million in October.

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—In the *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* Chubar, President of the Ukrainian Industrial Bureau, writes: "The Eighth Soviet Congress has laid down the program of production for the Donets Basin. The highest organized Republic has resolved to use all sources of help to the fullest extent, to exceed the program laid down by the Central Economic Council, and to bring out 600 million poods of coal and 25 million poods of pig iron. At present, to produce 54 million poods monthly, a very small increase in the number of the workers is necessary. The improvement of production which is shown in November gives us certainty that the program will be filled. The food situation in the Donets Basin is now beginning to be satisfactory. In order to obtain the required amount of pig iron, 5 or 6 blast furnaces, will be set up in the first three months of this year.

COMMUNIST SATURDAYS

During November, 1920, 97,222 people, of whom 26,000 were Communists and 7,000 independents, took part in the Communist Saturdays in Moscow.

RUSSIA: SHRINE

By RALPH GORDON

Because from thy pure bosom brightest spring
The pure and sacred fires, and fairest shine
In all the ways of earth; because thou hast
Amassed the Sons of Light, the young of heart,
The fair and young of soul; because thine eyes
With crystal knowledge glow of that divine
Simplicity and youth, which we too strive for,—
Here where the aged shades have builded all
Their strongholds of gray mist;—because in thee
Death finds the infant, smiling, of its victim's
Grief; because our souls in thee find sanctitude;—
Thee do we make our shrine, whose light doth glow
E'en through the hollow of our fearful night,
To bring us comfort of the light of thee.

January, 1921.

Social Maintenance in Soviet Russia

By A. VINOKUROV, *People's Commissar for Social Welfare*

BEFORE the November Revolution, the social maintenance of the workers in Russia was in a very pitiable state. The insurance of workers, which had been introduced during the Tsarist regime in 1912, embraced only a very small part of the workingmen (20 per cent), mostly in the big factories. The greater part of the payments was put upon the workers themselves. Salesmen, servants, transport workers, and agricultural laborers were deprived of the right to social maintenance.

Assistance was given only in cases of accidents or of illness. But the workers were not insured against old age, invalidity, or unemployment. The extent of the assistance was from one-fourth to two-thirds of the earnings.

The so-called "care for the poor" was not in a better condition in the period before the November Revolution. During the Tsarist period the organization of help for the poorer part of the population was in the hands of the charity organizations of the ex-empress Mary Fedorovna, of the Humane Society, etc. But they did not satisfy even a hundredth part of the needs of many millions of the poor.

After the November Revolution, the Workers' and Peasants' Government faced an immense task in the field of social maintenance. It was necessary to introduce perfect social maintenance for the workers, and to raise to a proper level the maintenance of soldiers and their families. It was necessary to break the whole system of the old "care" and to introduce the maintenance of invalids and the poor on Socialistic principles.

Social maintenance was declared to be not a charity, not a gift, but the right of every laborer, of every worker, or of officials who cannot work or are in need. A vigorous campaign was begun against the laziness and parasitism which were maintained by the old system. The right to social maintenance was recognized only for those who have lost their ability to work and have no other means of existence. Every healthy person is obliged to work. Every one who has private means has no right to social maintenance. Instead of the system of beggary and charity, a rational social assistance was introduced. Those who have been wounded are healed and taught some useful trade so that they are not a burden to the state. The sick get assistance in the hospitals, sanatoria, etc. Helpless invalids receive shelter in invalid's homes. Orphaned children are taken care of in nurseries, children's homes, and in homes for the protection of childhood. Those who have lost their ability to work and are deprived of any other means of existence receive pensions, etc.

The Workers' and Peasants' Government has developed a great activity in the field of social maintenance along these lines.

1. *The Social Maintenance of Workers and Their Families*

The Soviet Government has issued a decree on the social maintenance of the workers. According to this decree, all workers and officials have the right to receive assistance in case of illness, disability, or unemployment, during pregnancy and confinement, and pensions in case of invalidity (on account of illness, old age, or disability). According to the project of the code of laws on social maintenance, free social insurance at the expense of the state embraces also poor peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen. In case of illness and disablement, and for women in case of confinement, they receive medical treatment by ambulatory treatment at home, or at hospitals and sanatoria. Assistance is given up to the amount of earnings. Nursing mothers receive additional assistance for themselves and for their babies; workingwomen are freed from work for eight weeks before and after confinement. Women who are occupied with office and mental work are freed from work for six weeks before and after confinement.

During unemployment, assistance is given to the amount of the minimum scale of wages.

Pensions are given according to the degree of disability. For complete disability which necessitates constant care—to the amount of one and one-half times the average scale of wages (in Moscow this amounts to 4,050 rubles a month). For complete disability which, however, does not necessitate constant care, the amount of the pension is equal to the average wage-scale. For partial disability the amount of the pension is equal to from one-half to three-quarters of the average scale.

Persons who have lost their ability to work and who have lived on the means of their family, receive, in case of the death of the provider of the family, a pension of 60 per cent of the average scale for one disabled member of the family, 75 per cent for two and 100 per cent for three or more disabled members of the family.

2. *The Maintenance of Soldiers, of the Old and of the Red Army*

The Tsarist Government and the opportunist government of Kerensky gave high pensions to officers and generals, but only beggarly pittances to invalided soldiers and their families. The pension of a complete invalid amounted to 216 rubles a year, and the family of a dead soldier received only 48 rubles a year. The Soviet Government, immediately after the November Revolution, raised this pension to 1,125 rubles a year, and raising it by degrees, made the pension equal to that of the workers, by October, 1919. In the same manner, the pension to families of dead soldiers, of the old, and of the Red Army, was made equal to the pen-

sions to the families of the toilers after the death of their provider.

Besides the insurance of the Red Army men in case of disability and the insurance of their families in case of death, the Workers' and Peasants' Government is paying great attention to the maintenance of the families of persons serving in the ranks of the Red Army.

The families of Red Army men receive pecuniary assistance, and the additional "Red Star" food ration; they are exempted from paying rent; they receive agricultural assistance with seeds, inventory and labor, they are called to compulsory labor only in exceptional cases, etc.

3. Insurance in Cases of Elemental Distresses

Besides the above forms of social maintenance the Soviet Government has developed on a wide scale the insurance of those who have suffered during the civil war (from the White Guards, or from the counter-revolution) and from elemental distresses (fires, etc.). The insurance embraces the toilers of the cities and the villages. The assistance consists of extra help as to shelter, food, clothing, footwear, etc. Assistance and pensions are given to the disabled and to the families which have lost their providers. Besides, those who have suffered from elemental and social distresses are assisted in the reconstruction of the ruined households.

4. Establishments for Invalids

Besides pensions, there are a series of establishments for invalids in Soviet Russia. After the invalids have been healed, those of them who are still able to do work are sent to the organs of Registration and Distribution of Labor Power, where they are given work which they are able to do. Those who have lost all ability to work at their old trades are sent to workshops and schools distributed all over Russia. There are schools for carpentry, shoemaking, plumbing, basket-making, courses for accounting, bookkeeping, etc. For complete invalids there are special homes. These homes do not at all resemble the old houses for invalids. Here the disabled who are kept to their beds receive the opportunity to do work. Such are assigned to tasks of which they are capable, homes with artistic shops for drawing, sawing, carving, etc. The number of homes for invalids in Russia amounts to 2,000, and the number of invalids in these homes is about 150,000.

The Workers' and Peasants' Government is spending enormous sums on social maintenance. Thus, in 1920, about 50 billions of rubles were assigned to the needs of social maintenance. Of these, 10½ billions are for pensions to workers and their families, 4½ billions for pecuniary assistance to Red Army men, old-army men and their families, 18 billions for pecuniary assistance to the families of Red Army men, 1½ billions for the assistance of victims of elemental and social distresses, and 6 billions for other kinds of social maintenance (homes and colonies for invalids, workshops and schools of professional training, establishments for

the victims of elemental and social distresses, occasional assistance in kind, for those in need, etc.)

There is no other country in the world which carries out social maintenance on such a scale and spends for this purpose such sums as does Soviet Russia. Only a government of the workers and peasants, which has overthrown the regime of the landlords and capitalists, and has at heart the interests of the toiling masses, could accomplish this without regard to the greatness of the expense. Moscow, October 16, 1920.

THE "SHOCK" FACTORIES IN RUSSIA

(The "shock" factories are meant to play on the industrial front the same role as that played by shock battalions on the war front.)

The figures for the three months of July, August, and September, 1920, as to the rate at which the program set before 14 "shock" factories in Central Russia was carried out, shows steady improvement in every branch, month by month. This may be seen from the following table:

Rate of Progress For:

Work Done	July	August	September
Engines (new) .....	.0	33.3	33.5
Engines (repaired) ...	65.0	80.0	85.0
Carriages (new)	96.9	100.0	125.0
Snow-ploughs	0	5.3	36.8
Carriages (repaired) ..	43.7	57.4	93.9
Fishplates	40.4	50.2	65.0
Chimneys	37.5	36.9	55.2
Copper parts	—	—	34.6
Engines (parts)	27.9	45.5	62.8
Parts of carriages.....	37.6	43.0	67.6
Iron and steel.....	47.6	67.9	73.3
Bolts, screws, nuts.....	32.7	41.8	42.2

As to the "shock" factories of the South, figures are available only in regard to seven of them. These figures are as follows:

The Half-Yearly

Work Done	Program	July	August	September
Engines (new) ...	60	5	4	7
Engines (repaired) .	115	8	9	9
Carriages (new) ..	60	29	—	15
Castings (engines) .	198,000	22,458	2,105	29,768
Castings (carriages)	108,000	7,599	5,625	29,768
Forgings (eng. and)	48,000	2,643	3,390	4,451 and 3,506 p.
Fishplates	410,000	6,452	—	14,369
Chimneys	290,000	9,671	13,547	19,958
Bolts, screw-nuts, nails, rivets	252,040	8,547	7,652	6,279
Cast iron	2,565,000	144,119	160,770	49,400
Iron and steel.....	2,565,000	144,119	160,770	77,407

In Addition to the Program

Water pipes	no information received	6,446
Instruments	" " "	3,506 p.
Carriages repaired.	" " "	20

CONGRESS OF ORIENTAL WOMEN

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—Very shortly a non-party congress of Oriental women will take place in Moscow. The order of business is as follows: The Political Situation; the Soviets and the Women of the East; The Legal Position of Women in the East, Past and Present; The Tasks of Mother and Child Welfare in the Orient.

Wireless and Other News

RECALL OF KRASSIN

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—In connection with Krassin's recall to Moscow the Russian press places emphasis upon the new demands which were suddenly made by Great Britain. It is unanimously stated that Russia now as before will insist upon the July agreement, and that it is ready to carry it out in its entirety. But further it cannot go.

TREATY BETWEEN SOVIET RUSSIA AND SOVIET UKRAINE

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—The newspapers published the text of the treaty between the two Soviet Republics of Russia and Ukraine, which was concluded December 28. Acting upon the principle of self-determination, each party, Russia represented by Lenin and Chicherin, Ukraine represented by Rakovsky, recognized the independence and sovereignty of the other. Both republics enter into a military and economic alliance. Ukraine is released from all the consequences of its former membership in the Russian empire and all measures of foreign policy will be based upon the community of interest of worker and peasant.

LITVINOV SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN ESTHONIA

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—By the nomination of Litvinov as Soviet representative in Esthonia a significant reorganization in the diplomatic service takes place. The post in Esthonia is of the greatest importance, as Esthonia is Russia's main gateway to Europe and connects it with very important political, financial, and commercial circles abroad. It is important that someone should be in Esthonia who can speak with authority on foreign policy, and is in the position to carry on negotiations with large financial and commercial groups.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—In Yamburg 13 carloads of clothes and 52 cases of spare parts for freight cars have arrived from Sweden, which are destined for Soviet Russia.

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 2, 1921.—The representative of the Russian cooperatives, Kuznetsov, has arrived in Constantinople. He has the official mission to establish commercial relations with Turkey.

THE LETTISH-RUSSIAN SITUATION

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—Hanetski, the Russian representative for Latvia, has arrived in Moscow. In the course of an interview with the representative of *Rosta*, he states: "Under the influence of the Entente the attitude of the Lettish Government to Soviet Russia was very friendly during my whole stay in Riga. The Lettish Government repeatedly broke our peace treaty. Among other things, the Lettish Government supported many White Guard organizations, kept back Russian citizens as hostages, delayed the return of the prisoners of war,

and gave doubtful answers to our questions. We informed the Lettish Government that the recall of our embassy in Riga was already being discussed. This communication made a great impression upon the Riga Government, and our relations improved noticeably. As the result of the economic breakdown of Latvia, she must have a greater amount of dependence upon us. On this account a change in the policy of the Lettish Government has taken place, and we have no doubt that in a short time active commerce between Soviet Russia and Latvia will be resumed.

NEW RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—The first meeting of the newly elected executive committee of the Soviet took place in the Kremlin, December 31. The following presidium was elected: Chairman, M. Kalinin; Secretary, J. N. Enukidsky; Members: Petrovsky, Saludsky, Kamenev, Sinedovich, Litvinov, Stalin, Vladimirsky, Kutuzov, Rykov, and Tomsky.

LENIN ON AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—In the closing meeting of the Communist fraction, Lenin delivered a speech, in which he said: "For the development of agriculture we require an extraordinary labor effort; without honest efforts we cannot achieve it, and therefore we cannot abstain from regarding special successful efforts and single individuals. Individuals will be rewarded in the first place with articles which are useful for agriculture. As for any means of production, these can only be possessed collectively and can not be used as rewards for personal effort.

POLAND'S EXPENSE FOR COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES

WARSAW, January 3, 1921.—The Russian Executive Committee publishes a budget from which it is learned how much was spent by the Polish Army Command between the first of July and the 20th of September for counter-revolutionary adventures. Balakhovich cost 71 million marks, Paramikin, 43 million marks; and the Red Cross, 43 million marks.

A NEW FORM OF PROPAGANDA

Pravda writes: "In one of the Moscow districts a mock trial was held over the Russian Communist Party for having carried through the November Revolution. The prosecutor was the Second International, the prisoner's council, the Third International, the witnesses for the defense, the worker, the Red soldier and Time, witnesses for the prosecution, Lloyd George, the big landholder, the speculator and the comfortable Russian bourgeois. Amongst the independents this event created great interest. It ended with the unanimous acquittal of the prisoner by the public.

Correspondence with Mr. W. B. Vanderlip

Previous to his departure from the United States, the representative of the Russian Soviet Republic made public the following correspondence with Mr. Washington B. Kanderlip:

TITLE TRUST COMPANY
Los Angeles, California

January 3, 1921.

Mr. L. C. A. K. Martens,
Representative of the Russian
Socialist Federal Soviet Republic,
110 W. 40th Street, New York City.
My dear Mr. Martens:

I have heard the news of your approaching departure from the United States with much regret. I understand thoroughly, however, the motives which caused the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to instruct you not to appeal against the decision of the Secretary of Labor, but to liquidate the affairs of your Bureau and return at once to Moscow. In view of the decision of the Secretary of Labor, which was directed against your Government and not against yourself, there was nothing for the Soviet Government to do but to cease temporarily their efforts to reach friendly economic relations with the United States.

I know from my own experience in conversation with high officials of your Government how sincerely they desire to arrive at friendly commercial intercourse with the American people. I am sure also that they do not misunderstand the real feelings and desires of America in this respect. The Soviet Government counts upon the resumption of relations with the United States at an early date. I believe their expectations are justified. I look to see within a very few months the complete restoration of normal trade relations between Russia and America. The present policy of hostility and non-intercourse is based wholly upon ignorance and hysteria, brought about by a most malicious and untruthful propaganda, and in no wise represents the sound judgment of the American people. We have long traditions of friendship with Russia, and those traditions, interrupted for the first time by the present mistaken policy, will soon be resumed to the benefit and satisfaction of the peoples of both countries.

I wish you a pleasant journey and a speedy and safe return. Your Government was wise in recalling you at this time. The American Government, I am confident, in the near future will show equal wisdom in requesting your return to this country.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) WASHINGTON B. VANDERLIP.

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC
Bureau of the Representative in the United States
110 West 40th Street
New York City

January 8, 1920.

Mr. Washington B. Vanderlip,
Title Trust Company,
Los Angeles, California.
My dear Mr. Vanderlip:

Thank you for your friendly letter of January 3. You are quite right in believing that the Soviet Government remains confident of the early resumption of normal commercial relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. In instructing me to liquidate the affairs of my mission and return to Moscow at this time, the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs have merely expressed their careful decision that it is useless to make further effort to restore commercial relations between the two countries so long as the present policy of the American Government, as expressed in the decision of the Secretary of Labor, remains unchanged. We do not believe it will remain unchanged for long. America needs Russia as much as Russia needs America. The return to normal relations is inevitable. We shall be ready to meet the American Government half way upon the first intimation that the present policy of non-intercourse is to be abandoned.

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you here, the press has contained certain inaccurate statements and inferences re-

garding the manner in which my departure might affect the relations established between yourself and the members of your syndicate and the Soviet Government. In reply to all inquiries on this subject, I have stated clearly that the arrangements negotiated by you in Moscow were not affected by the instructions which I have received to cancel all the outstanding contracts negotiated by my bureau. The present circumstances obviously prevent the fulfilling of those contracts. Your arrangements with the authorities at Moscow remain unaffected by these instructions and are a matter for action by those authorities.

The press at times has not clearly distinguished between the matter of the concession in North-Eastern Siberia and Kamchatka and the separate negotiations for the establishment by your syndicate of a fiscal agency for the financing of purchases made on behalf of the Soviet Government in this country. These two matters, of course, were wholly separate and unrelated. It is plain enough to any one that a fiscal agency of the nature contemplated—which has to do only with the financing of purchases and not with the actual purchasing—must depend, not only upon the resumption of normal trade relations, but also upon the presence in this country of a properly accredited purchasing bureau authorized to let contracts and to inspect and pass upon the goods purchased. That was the function of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, and with the liquidation of the Bureau no other agency remains which can fulfill the same function. That is the only respect in which my recall affects your plans. But that is only to say, what any one must understand, that normal trade between Russia and the United States cannot be resumed until the normal and necessary facilities for trade are restored. I know that you understand this situation thoroughly, and I have only desired here to correct any misapprehensions which may have arisen from certain inaccurate statements which have appeared in the press.

In conclusion, let me express again my appreciation of the energetic interest which you have shown in the problem of restoring friendly relations between the Russian and American peoples and of the businesslike manner in which you have approached that problem. We have no doubt of the ultimate outcome.

Yours very sincerely,
(Signed) L. MARTENS,
Representative in the United States of the
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

A NEW LEARNED SOCIETY

Pravda writes: "The society of men of letters which was organized at the suggestion of Bukharin and which named itself 'Revolution and Theory', contains the following sections: Natural Science and Revolution, State and Revolution, Sociology and Revolution. Addresses upon the following subjects have already been arranged: Lessons on the State, Kolchak and Counter-Revolutionary Constitutions in Soviet Russia, Liberty and Necessity in Soviet Russia."

ZINOVIEV ON TRADE UNIONS

Moscow, January 2, 1921.—During the discussion on the role of the Trade Unions in production, which took place in Moscow, Zinoviev stated: "The Trade Unions are the backbone of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are the school of communism. It must be grasped that 7,000 organized trade unionists have the task of influencing the peasants and drawing themselves together and for this we need a true unity amongst the millions—strong Trade Unions."

Statement of Medical Supplies Shipped to Soviet Russia on Account of the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee

Value of Goods Shipped January 1, 1921

Shipped to November 30, 1920.....	\$48,716.65
Shipped during December, 1920, via Libau:	
2 cases, containing 792 bottles each of Anti-Typhoid Vaccines at 50c a bottle	\$792.00
Via S.S. "Jackson", consigned to Reval:	
49 cases, containing 792 bottles each of Anti-Typhoid Vaccines at 50c a bottle	19,404.00
1,071 hypodermic syringes (glass barrel and piston, and one gold tempered needle in glass lined metal case, at \$1.45) 1,000 extra needles	1,552.95
6 cases of different drugs and medical instruments collected by Philadelphia and New York S.R.M.R. Committees, total weight 1,439 lbs., estimated value	1,200.00
Cartage of supplies.....	10.00
Insurance	26.25
Total shipped during December, 1920.....	\$22,985.20

Grand Total to December 31, 1920..... **\$71,701.85**

Payments for Above Shipments

Paid in Cash to November 30, 1920	36,545.88
Paid in Cash during December, 1920	6,036.25
Donated Goods	1,200.00
Balance payable	27,919.72
	\$71,701.85

*Commercial Department of
Soviet Russian Government Bureau,
(Signed) DR. J. G. ORSOL, Director.*

SOVIET MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE

Financial Statement for the Month of December, 1920
Balance on hand December 1, 1920..... **\$2,437.71**

Receipts:	
Donations of individuals and organizations	\$1,691.26
Contributions of District and Local Committees:	
Hungarian, N. Y.....	22.75
Czecho-Slovak, N. Y.....	100.00
Lithuanian, N. Y.....	56.00
Western District	2,000.00
Detroit, Mich.....	1,000.00
Washington, D. C.....	325.00
Ottawa, Ont.....	20.00
Cleveland, O.....	7.00
Waterbury, Conn.....	101.33
Bayonne, N. J.....	54.00
San Francisco, Cal.....	500.00
For Pamphlets	43.00
" Post Cards	187.50
Total	\$8,545.55
Disbursements:	
Paid for Medical Supplies.....	6,036.25
Organization Expenses:	
Wages for 5 weeks for 2, car fares, postage, telegrams, office expenses, etc.	412.45
Printing of Postal Cards.....	328.50
	6,777.20
Balance on Hand, January 1, 1921	1,768.35
Total	\$8,545.55
<i>Summary for 1920:</i>	
Total Receipts to December 31, 1920.....	\$48,378.59
Total Disbursements to December 31, 1920:	
Paid for Medical Supplies.....	\$42,582.13
Other Disbursements: Printing of pamphlets and post cards, organization expenses, wages, etc.	4,028.11
	4,028.11

Balance on hand January 1, 1921.... 1,768.35 **\$48,378.59**

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE
New York City, January 1, 1921.

Soviet Russia to Continue

The closing of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, and the departure of the Bureau's staff, will cause no interruption in the regular publication of this magazine. It will appear weekly, as heretofore, publication being continued under private auspices, and under the editorship of Dr. Jacob Wittmer Hartmann. SOVIET RUSSIA will devote itself exclusively to the presentation of accurate information regarding the activities of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic in Russia.

The hearty support of every reader is needed in order that the new management may carry forward successfully the work of publishing the only magazine presenting FACTS about Russia. Your subscription, and those of your friends, sent NOW, will help. Please send us also lists of names of other friends who might subscribe if they received sample copies. We count on your support.

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SOVIET RUSSIA
(Room 304)

110 West 40th Street

New York City

Trotsky on the Military Situation

SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Journal of Information

Ten Cents

Saturday, February 5, 1921

Vol. IV, No. 6

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Mines and Miners in Soviet Russia

[The three short articles to which we have assigned the above general title are of official Soviet Russian origin and contain recent and reliable data on the efficiency of the mining industry in Russia's richest mining regions, as well as on the degree to which it has been possible to look after the physical welfare of the miners themselves.]

The Donets Basin--The Heart of Russia

In *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, No. 265, of November 25, Comrade Lomov writes:

"The key to the reconstruction of our industry is the Donets coal, our black diamond.

"In times of peace, European Russia consumed 7,400,000,000 poods of all kinds of fuel a year. (The different kinds of fuel, according to their faculties of heat generation, are given in terms of the average Donets coal.) Of this amount the Donets Basin furnished 1,500,000,000 poods. Remembering that the Russian industry and transport consumed 3,000,000,000 poods of mineral fuel a year, we see that about one-half of the whole fuel consumption of industry and transport was procured at the Donets Basin.

"During the first nine months of the current year 190,000,000 poods of coal were procured in the Donets. Judging from the previous months, we may put the amount of coal which will be procured during the last three months of the year at not more than 75,000,000 poods, which gives a total of 265,000,000 poods of coal for the year 1920. This is only 18 per cent of the normal output of the Donets Basin.

"The Donets lives through a serious prolonged crisis. The naked and hungry miner is physically unable to give more coal. The situation was complicated by the military assaults of Makhno forces, by the bandit movement and by the offensive of Wrangel. In those districts in which these causes manifested themselves most,—such as the coal dis-

trict proper,—the crisis became very hard and prolonged. This might be shown by the following table:

Monthly and Average Daily Productivity of a Collier in 1920:

Number of Work Days	Months	Soft Coal in Poods		Anthracite Coal in Poods	
		Monthly	Daily	Monthly	Daily
25	March	1,625	65	1,337	50.5
16	April	921	57.5	748	46.7
22	May	1,243	56	1,225	55.7
26	June	1,541	59	1,654	63.6
26	July	1,445	55.6	1,663	64
22	August	1,365	62	1,485	67.4
24	Sept.	1,311	54.1	1,751	73
25	October	1,253	50.1	1,630	65.2

"In the anthracite districts which are better supplied, and which are situated at a distance from the region of the Makhno assaults, we notice a definite healthy tendency, while in the coal districts a further decrease of the productivity of the colliers is observed.

"Our immediate task is to improve the food and technical supply of the Donets Basin. But this is not sufficient. The organs of the coal industry and the whole apparatus which is managing the Donets Basin should receive a considerably greater importance in the life of Ukraine and the whole republic. The apparatus managing the coal industry of the Donets Basin should absorb hundreds of the best workers and engineers of Russia and firmly and unhesitatingly carry out the dictatorship of the coal economy of the Donets Basin. There in that richest country of black diamonds, everything must be made to serve the coal industry. In the first place, all the different administrative institutions and economic centers of the Donets must be brought to-

gether into one center. This one center must be created with a view to the interests of the coal economy, and simultaneously, the whole structure of the Donets Basin must be subordinated to this principle in every respect.

"The Kingdom of the Black Diamonds, this country of the richest possibilities, lives through a serious crisis. But the healthy basis of this region has not been shattered. Systematic, obstinate work, and the healthy nourishment of the Donets Basin will make its blood circulate and will make the heart of Russia, our Red Donets, beat more strongly."

Food Supplies in the Donets Basin

Comrade Khalatov, in the *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, writes as follows:

The providing of the miners with food is the essential condition for increasing the productivity of labor and the supply of coal.

According to the data of the Ukrainian Food Commissariat the number of workers generally in the coal mines, metallurgical works, and other branches in the Don Basin has been steadily growing during 1920. In January-February the Basin had 175,000 workers, in March-April 195,000, in June and July 244,000, in August 265,732, in September 282,531.

Apart from this about 700,000 members of the workers' families in the Don Basin were on the list of supplies.

This continual growth of figures is to be explained on the one hand by the influx of labor and on the other hand by the introduction of men from the Labor Army.

A special "Shock" group has been selected, numbering 88,896 workers (224,687 with members of their families), which is to receive preference in the matter of food supply.

The standard established for the Donets Basin is as follows:

Kind of Food	Monthly Ration for Worker	Monthly Ration for Member of Family
	lbs.	lbs.
Flour (for hewer)	56¼	16¾
Flour (underground)	42	16¾
Flour (pit-head)	33¼	16¾
Grain	3½	3
Oil	1½	1
Meat or fish	15	7½
Sugar	2½	1
Salt	1	—
Soap	1½	½
Lard	1½	½
Sweetmeats	1½	½
Herring	2	1
Dried vegetables	2	2
Tobacco	1	—
Matches	4 boxes	2 boxes

The actual percentage of food supplied to the Donets Basin from January 1 to October 1, 1920, may be seen from the following table:

Name of Food	Jan.-Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.
Flour	52	59	27	159	87	70	63	95
Grain	19	14	15	13	10	10	9	10
Sugar	23	36	137	71	69	74	193	86
Salt	14	240	62	166	208	360	39	159
Tobacco	—	—	91	56	109	20	—	14
Matches	—	97	7	17	12	135	68	108
Soap	—	—	34	26	23	20	—	69

Already in July the Food Commissariat of Soviet Russia had to come to the assistance of the Ukrainian Food Commissariat in the supply of grain.

The Donets Basin is regularly supplied from the Northern Caucasus to the extent of 50 per cent of its requirement in grain.

Immediately after the liberation of the Donets Basin by the Red Army the Food Commissariat was confronted with the question of insuring supply from sources nearest to the Donets Basin. In spite of all the efforts of the Food Commissariat the work of supply up to June was nevertheless very slow. One exception was Melitopol County, where the political attitude is more favorable towards the Soviet Government than anywhere else. In proportion as the apparatus of food supply became solidified in Melitopol County, and thanks to the Labor Army partly in the Berdiansk County, the food supply of the Donets Basin began to undergo a considerable improvement. Wrangel's offensive, however, and his occupation of Melitopol County, immediately placed before the Donets Basin the necessity of procuring supplies from places most unfavorable in the political sense, as a result of which insurmountable obstacles were placed in the way.

In the other parts of Ukraine, with the exception of Kherson and Nikolaev Counties, the work of supply from June to July during the last food supply campaign proceeded very poorly, and up to August inclusively, the figure was not more than three and a half million poods, whereas the needs of the army alone were just below this figure. Serious railway difficulties, which set in with the beginning of Wrangel's and the Polish offensive, made it impossible to transfer to the Donets Basin even those small supplies which lay in the Kherson and Odessa districts. The general situation in Western Ukraine began to improve in August and September, but on the other hand in the East, i.e., the district in closer proximity to the Don, the situation grew worse. The practically incessant military operations in Berdiansk and Alexandrovsk Counties and the flooding of the Mariupol and Taganrog counties by troops made it impossible either to secure a normal supply on a gradually increasing scale or to assure any considerable shipment to the Donets Basin. Only in September did the more responsible agents of the Food Department, specially sent to Melitopol County, succeed, with the active support of the Revolutionary War Council of the 13th Army, in procuring from here and from Taganrog County 300,000 poods which were shipped to the Donets Basin; the further course of military events, however, made us give up all hope in Mariupol County.

The military operations and the political situation made it impossible to regulate also the supply of meat and lard in the outlying provinces of the Donets Basin. Not more than 20 per cent of these products was supplied.

From the reports of the regional representatives and the regional committees it became evident that it was not advisable to divide the local workers in the matter of food supply, into "shock" groups, and others. Communal feeding was suggested, to which hitherto little attention had been paid on account

of shortage of foodstuffs, faulty organization, and other obstacles.

The representatives' committee for investigating the Donets Basin formed a chief committee for supply, which carefully investigated the supply question in the localities. In agreement with the Ukrainian Food Department the supply committee established a new standard of supply for the workers of the Donets Basin which is coordinated, on the one hand with the standard of the miners of the Moscow coal basin and the Ural, and on the other hand with the actual possibility of realization.

These standards are as follows:

	Hewers	Underground Workers	Pit-head Workers	Members of Family
Flour	60	45	36	23½
Grain	4	4	4	4
Fats	1	1	½	½
Meat or fish.....	7½	7½	4	4
Salt	1	1	1	½
Sugar	2	2	1	1½
Soap	¼	¼	¼	¼
Tobacco	¼	¼	¼	—
Vegetables	20	20	20	20
Tea	¼	¼	¼	¼
Matches	3 boxes	3 boxes	3 boxes	3 boxes

To insure the supply of the above products to the workers of the Donets Basin the Food Commissariat of Soviet Russia has temporarily, until the regulation of the food work in the Ukraine, undertaken the supply of a number of products, such as grain, meat, and fats, with which three articles Soviet Russia is supporting the Donets Basin.

The practice of the past has laid it down that the formation of a food reserve, which should continually be supplemented and which should afford the possibility of regulating the supply during transport difficulties, is the most fundamental condition for combating all irregularities in the supply of primary food products. The representatives' committee has recognized the need of such a reserve and the food departments of both republics are responsible for the organization of it; the necessity was also established of forming a two-months reserve so as to assure a regular and full supply in the future. A special food reserve is also being formed for the premium-pay system. All coal and metal enterprises have been placed in the "shock" category, being the first to receive provisions, and all subdivision into "shock" and non-shock categories within such enterprises is prohibited. All these measures will not yield the desired results unless all Soviet organs will do all they can to realize all the measures laid down by the representatives' committee. The railwaymen must put forth all their efforts in the work of forwarding the goods required by the Donets Basin. The immediate task, in which the Commissariat for Ways and Communications can lend a hand, is to insure the necessary empties and to put the food transports on the same footing as military transport. The military authorities should place their apparatus at the disposal of the food supply organs in the matter of organizing communications, combating banditism which is at present one of the most serious sores in the food supply work in Ukraine. The Commissariat for Finances should immediately supply the necessary money for this food supply work in Ukraine. The trade unions and party

organs should give their best men to the food supply work for and in the Donets Basin.

The Mining Industry in the Urals

Information received on the operation of the mining industry in the Urals during the last half year shows a considerable improvement in the industrial life of that region. It is necessary to note that the program for the mining industry was worked out only in May.

The output of coal in poods was as follows:

Districts	Proposed Output	Actual Output for Six Months	Per Cent of the Program Attained
Kizelovsk	12,500,000	7,669,942	61.3
Cheliabinsk	20,000,000	14,682,831	73.41
Bogoslovsk	5,000,000	4,029,232	80.5
Yegorshinsk	2,500,000	1,416,973	56.67
Post Verdinsk.....	—	88,846	—
Total	40,000,000	27,887,308	69.7

The output of iron in poods was:

Bogoslovsk-Kushimsk ..	4,035,000	731,431	18.12
Visokogorsk	3,380,500	1,700,623	50.3
Yekaterinburg	7,401,400	1,006,426	13.6
South Ural	16,700,000	497,176	2.36
Total	25,341,900	3,936,646	15.53

The output of manganese ore (in poods):

Visokogorsk	162,000	154,000	95.0
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The output of chromium ore (in poods):

Visokogorsk	121,500	51,485	42.37
Yekaterinburg	97,500	6,150	6.30

The output of salts (in poods):

Perm	4,688,000	2,615,357	55.78
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The program provided for 50 poods, 15½ pounds of gold to be mined, but the output was only 5 poods, 12½ pounds. The quantity of platinum was 5 poods, 26¼ pounds, instead of the proposed 49 poods, 26½ pounds. This is owing to a shortage of workmen and technical means. The work in the gold and platinum mining industry is done for the most part with primitive methods.

Next Week's

Soviet Russia

will contain three unusually interesting articles on education. Two of these, written especially for SOVIET RUSSIA by WILLIAM McLAINE, an English journalist recently in Russia, describe "The Karl Marx University at Moscow" and "My Visit to a School Near Moscow."

The third article is an announcement of the organization and operation of the Workers' University at Moscow.

TROTSKY ANSWERS KARL KAUTSKY: A new article by Leon Trotsky, refuting Kautsky's attacks on Soviet Russia.

THE NEAR EASTERN SITUATION: Official and unofficial data on the relations of Soviet Russia with Armenia, Georgia, and Persia.

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 W. 40th Street

New York, N. Y.

The Military Situation on November 30, 1920

By LEON TROTSKY

[Owing to the departure of our regular military critic for Russia, we are at present unable to print his weekly review, which we hope soon to continue, however. Our readers will welcome the following general statement by the Commissar of War.]

TODAY we have no longer any fronts, and what we have to speak about now is not the military situation at present, but what it was some time ago.

After the defeat of Denikin there remained the Wrangel front. This front originated in the remains of Denikin's army, which we were unable to destroy owing to the weariness of our troops. Wrangel established himself in the Crimea, and the equilibrium was maintained until the war with Poland. After the formation of the Polish front, Wrangel broke from the Crimea, seized a part of the coast, and spread to the east, nearly to Taganrog. Our troops described a fairly correct semicircle with a radius of 120—125 versts. Wrangel occupied the central position and struck out at various radii. His position was advantageous in so far as he maintained his forces in a central position. At one time there was the danger that Wrangel would unite with Poland; another danger was that he would penetrate to the Caucasus, unite with Georgia and Armenia, and receive support from England and France. All this induced us to concentrate great forces against Wrangel. It was imperative to deliver a blow in the nearest direction, and for this it was necessary to secure a foothold on the left bank of the Dnieper. This was the sector near Kachovka, which we considered as the base from which to deliver the blow. Here we concentrated our chief infantry and the First Cavalry Army.

Wrangel tried to break us up. He had the advantage of his central position and an excellent reconnoitering force. He had communications everywhere. Prince Tumanov wrote that they had learned scouting from the Germans during the imperialistic war. Wrangel was therefore sure of his aim, and his operations against us were directed by means of consecutive attacks on various parts of our front. When we held desperately on to the Kachovka *place-d'armes* Wrangel attacked in the east and threatened the Don Basin. The southern command understood its task well and acted in complete unison with the head command. Wrangel's base was the Crimea, and whenever he attacked in the east or the west, we strove to cut him off from his base. Apart from that, we tried to avoid disseminating our forces. And our efforts were crowned with success.

The infantry played the chief role in the decisive battles at the Kachovka *place-d'armes*, but, as always, it needed the support of the cavalry, the more so as our infantry mainly consists of politically uneducated peasants; on the other hand, the cavalry is a more enlightened element, it leads the way and is of great importance. At the gates of the Crimea our troops had to fight under the most incredibly difficult conditions. Krivoshein* in Constantinople said that our men fought heroically. He

also said that we developed a furious artillery fire. The latter is not quite correct; we practically had no artillery at all. We could not bring up our heavy artillery owing to the state of the roads; whereas, Wrangel had ample artillery. The commander of the 30th Division deliberated about marching forward with the infantry alone, under the scant support of the light artillery. On the receipt, however, of the telegram stating that the 51st Division had reached the Crimea, the 30th Division crossed the left bank of the Dnieper and thus decided the issue of the whole campaign. We won only by dint of heroism and self-sacrifice. The booty is not yet registered completely; so far, we have 52,000 prisoners, 277 cannons, a great number of machine-guns, 7 armored trains, 100 locomotives, 32 automobiles, 34 ships and 7 armored cars.

When Wrangel was practically liquidated, Petlura came upon the scene. If Wrangel was the legitimate heir of Denikin, Petlura was the bastard of Poland, put up by her against us. He had charge of 15,000 bayonets and 9,000 horses. Against Wrangel we had a great preponderance of forces, practically twice as much; against Petlura we had less; our settlement in the Crimea, however, had a great moral influence. A great battle took place on the 10th; on the 15th Petlura's divisions were routed; the remnants of his army retired to the Polish frontier and were disarmed by the Poles. We captured great trophies. After the defeat of Wrangel and Petlura, Balakhovich's bands do not stand the slightest chance of success.

We have no fighting front now; the communiques speak about the guarding of works, railways, etc. However comfortable it may be to confess that there is no more war, we have no right to soothe ourselves with the hope that the respite will be for long. We are not going to violate the peace, but we do not know with whom we may be forced to fight next. Experience, successes, and errors, have taught us to be cautious.

The international revolution has not come as soon as we desired it; still, it may be either a matter of decades or of weeks. It is difficult to say when the world revolution will come. Therefore we must not say that nobody else will want to fight against us. There is a base, Batum. Eighteen months ago negotiations were being carried on concerning the lease of Batum. In the event of Batum going over to England, Georgia will become the *place-d'armes* for the remnants of Wrangel's army, and we will thus have a new ulcer in the Caucasus. Most decidedly averse to war, we should nevertheless be on our guard. Batum itself is not so important as is a new front in the Caucasus. Our diplomacy stated it was the intention of England to occupy

* A minister under the Tsar who later became minister in Wrangel's "democratic" government.

Batum. Curzon in his turn asked whether we desired to occupy it. What is the meaning of this reply? The world bourgeoisie has been astonished at the swift defeat of Wrangel, but after the shock they have found a new cause for agitation in our alleged attempt upon Georgia. In this respect things in the Caucasus are not favorable. The Greece of Venizelos was the instrument of the Entente against Turkey; now Venizelos' party has lost at the elections, and the Germanophile party has come to the fore, an event which is to our advantage, for it is opposed to the Entente, though perhaps timidly and irresolutely. Under present circumstances, England and France cannot depend on Turkey, but they can promise her Baku, i.e., settle their accounts at our expense. It is thus clear that we are going to meet with some danger in the Caucasus. We can by a slight effort prepare this front and secure our safety in respect to Baku and Batum.

We are passing to the economic line of action and must preserve the army; but we must do this without damaging it; the demobilization must be confined to the staffs, the base, and the organs of supply, of which we had so many. Divisions were hastily organized for the battle. We should now bring them into proper shape. We can reduce the

total number of the army by two-fifths, but preserve the number of bayonets and raise the quality of the army. Officer courses must be organized, which would be able to give us thousands of new commanders. If we carry out all these measures, by next summer we shall have a better army than now. The respite will not weaken, but will increase the work in the army. We had in our army many specialists and non-proletarian elements. We have not always given them careful attention, but both have come over to our side and have fought side by side with the Communists. Generally speaking the organization of the army is sound and in the course of a few months respite, we can take it under the control of the party organization.

The half of the party members that is in the army must learn to understand the other part that is at the base, and there is no doubt that they will unite.

Attention should be given to the Don Basin: the best men should be despatched to regulate there the work of supply and of industry. It is necessary to establish the closest contact with the trade unions; the best men should be placed in the economic apparatus, and their work should be valued in proportion to the good they bring the workingmen.

Locomotive Tires Bought in Germany

WE HAVE received from Professor George Lomonossov the text of a contract for locomotive tires placed by the Soviet Government with the German firm of Henschel & Sohn. Professor Lomonossov is the Representative Plenipotentiary of the Soviet Government for purchases of rolling stock abroad, with headquarters at Stockholm.

In transmitting this contract, Professor Lomonossov writes:

"This agreement was made without any bank guarantee, merely on the strength of the word of the Soviet Government. Seven such agreements are already in operation and the German deliveries are on an average six weeks ahead of the contracted period."

We publish herewith the full text of the agreement:

CONTRACT

Between the Russian Soviet Government, Moscow, represented by Professor Lomonossov, Plenipotentiary for this purpose, domiciled in Stockholm (Hotel Continental), hereinafter to be referred to under the abbreviated title of the "purchaser",

as the party of the first part,

and the firm of Henschel & Sohn, Henrichshütte Section, Hattingen on Ruhr, hereinafter to be referred to as the "seller",

as the party of the second part,

the following contract has been concluded under this date:

Subject of the Contract

§1. The purchaser orders and the seller undertakes to produce and deliver 22,000 tires for wheels of locomotives, railroad cars, and tenders, of Siemens Martin steel, in accordance with the following table, of a total weight of about 6,500 (six thousand five hundred) tons. The wheel

tires are to be properly rolled and shall be delivered complete up to lathe-work, unfinished. The manufacture of the tires is to take place in the works of the seller.

Serial Number	Cross Section	Internal Diameter Unfinished Condition	Number of pieces	Serial Designation as Provided in §3 of this Contract
1	X	890	15,000	B ^{ac} .
2	XI	1,010	160	Q ^x
3	XI	1,080	350	U ^x
4	XI	1,122	60	P
5	XI	1,258	50	T
6	XIII	1,010	410	Q ^x
7	XIII	1,014	300	U
8	XIII	1,080	700	U ^x
9	XIII	1,122	200	P
10	XIII	1,172	100	B
11	XIII	1,214	550	I ^x
12	XIII	1,258	140	T
13	XV	870	4,000	T ^{ox}
			22,000	

Drawings

§2. The tires provided for in Paragraph 1 of this contract are to be manufactured, in accordance with the table contained in Paragraph 1, from the cross-section drawings X, XI, XIII, XV, annexed to this contract, and constituting an integral portion of the contract. The manufacture is to follow the full lines of the cross section drawings, allowing for errors commonly provided for in rolling.

Technical Conditions

§3. The tires are to be delivered under the conditions

imposed by the Prussian State Railway Administration, as printed in

"Special Conditions for the Delivery of Axles, Wheel Bodies (spokes, hub, wheel-disks) Tires, Station Master Car Wheels	} For locomotives, tenders, and cars.
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C. V. Edition of May, 1910,"

wherever such conditions may appropriately apply.

The following additional provision is made for stamping (Designations in Par. 4):

Between the smelting number and the impression of the receiver's stamp, the corresponding serial designations tabulated in Paragraph 1 shall be stamped in Russian letters.

Par. 6 (acceptances); Par. 7 (painting and packing), Par. 8 (guarantees), Par. 9 (contractual fines), as well as the table of weights of the Prussian State Railway Administration, are not included.

Inspection and Testing in Germany

§4. The inspection, testing, and final acceptance of the tires is to be carried out, at the times of their manufacture and completion, by the Representative of a German receiving firm, to be selected by the purchaser, and under the supervision of the latter. For the purpose of carrying out this supervision, the purchaser is empowered to appoint an engineering specialist, to be present in the works of the seller as a responsible representative. The seller is obliged to afford the above-mentioned specialist of the German receiving firm and the representative of the purchaser a complete opportunity for a testing and supervision corresponding to the technical conditions imposed, as well as to furnish the necessary materials and auxiliaries for this purpose without cost. All tests are to be recorded in protocols in the Russian and German languages, in four copies, of which one copy is to remain with the seller and three copies are to be handed to the purchaser. The protocols shall be signed by the German receiving officer and the representatives of the manufacturing works, and be certified by the signature of the responsible representative of the purchaser, without which signatures the protocols shall not be valid.

Should the test yield unsatisfactory results, the seller is obliged to replace at his own cost the parcels of tires, against which objections have been raised, with new tires completely satisfying the conditions imposed, or, with the consent of the purchaser, to undertake the necessary alterations in such tires. But such substitution may not in any way delay the final delivery of the tires.

All acceptances shall in principle follow the practices observed in Prussian acceptances.

Guarantee

§5. The seller guarantees the tires for a period of one year after their final acceptance at the works, to the extent that he binds himself to take back each specimen that may become unfit for use during the guarantee period, in consequence of errors unquestionably arising from unmistakable defects in material or execution, f.o.b., Railroad Station, Hattingen on Ruhr, and replace such specimens with new ones, satisfying the original requirements of the order, f.o.b. Railroad Station, Hattingen on Ruhr.

Price of the Tires

§6. The purchaser binds himself to pay to the seller for these tires the price of per thousand kilograms. This price is understood to be f.o.b., Baltic port, or boundary station on the German-Polish boundary, as the purchaser shall designate, in ten-ton cargoes, including the technical cost of acceptance, but excluding the personal cost of the receiving officer.

Method of Payment

§7. A. The purchaser pays on the signing of this contract, as a first payment, the sum of, and binds himself to pay, not later than December 1, 1920, a further sum of as a second payment. The purchaser further binds himself to pay on the first of each of the following months, beginning January 1, 1921 monthly as further instalments of payment, until

a complete instalment of 25 (twenty-five) per cent has been reached for all the tires ordered.

B. A sum covering 75 (seventy-five) per cent of the value of each delivery shall be paid to the seller by the purchaser as soon as goods have been forwarded.

The payment of all sums shall take place in Swedish crowns, to the order of the seller, the German Reichsmark being rated at the course of

All these payments shall take place without any deduction by the bank appointed by the purchaser, and those mentioned under B shall take place on presentation of the bills of lading or of a certificate of readiness to forward, signed by the receiving officer and by the purchaser's representative, to said bank (see Par. 9, of this contract). The payment shall be considered accomplished on the receipt by the seller of the notice of credit from the said bank.

Times of Delivery

§8. The seller undertakes the obligation, two months after receiving the second payment of mentioned in Par. 7, to prepare 500 (five hundred) tons of wheel tires for forwarding from his works, and, each succeeding month, similarly to prepare 500 (five hundred) tons more.

The purchaser shall have the right to determine what tires are to be rolled each month, but it will be necessary for him to provide, by giving sufficient notice to the seller, that there shall be no difficulty in the schedule of rolling.

Belated delivery shall not be considered a ground for dissolution of this contract or for the filing of claims for damages on the part of the purchaser, unless it can be proved that a malicious guilt of the seller is involved. In the latter case the purchaser shall be entitled, after giving written warning and after having assigned in writing an appropriate period of grace, to withdraw from the contract, to demand from the seller a return of the payments already made, with the addition of interest at ten per cent, and to order the tires elsewhere, assigning to the debit of the seller any possible addition in the price.

Any obstruction to the fulfillment of this contract by a new order accepted by the seller after the signing of this contract shall not be considered as a cause that entitles the seller to invoke the customary protection of a *force majeure* clause, as provided in Par. 9.

Interference of Superior Powers

§9. The fulfillment of this contract, particularly the observance of the times of delivery shall be conditioned on the fact that no incidents shall intervene which may obstruct the regular progress of operations in the works of the seller, and may retard the timely completion or forwarding, respectively, of the tires. Cases of superior power, such as mobilization, war, revolution, uprisings, traffic disturbances, pestilences, conflagrations, and others of like nature, strikes and lock-outs, breakdowns of important portions of the works, defects in the casting of a large number of tires, acute coal famine, shall postpone the delivery periods agreed upon, and namely, for the time during which these factors of superior power may have persisted. The seller is under obligation to inform the purchaser in writing of the interposition of such events, within not more than two days after the seller has become aware of such conditions. The seller shall be further bound to inform the purchaser in writing of the termination of any condition or event obstructing or limiting the production, within not more than two days after the conclusion of such condition.

Should the forwarding be delayed through no fault of the seller, the seller shall take pains to store the tires to the best of his ability. The storing, however, shall take place at the cost and risk of the purchaser. The contract shall then be considered as fulfilled by the seller as to each lot of tires, two months after the issue of a declaration of readiness to forward (see Par. 7).

Adjustment of Disputes

§10. In all technical questions connected with the execution of this contract, the seller submits to the decision of the Representative of the Russian Government, appointed

for this purpose. These decisions shall be handed to the seller in writing without delay.

In all other eventual disputes arising from this contract between the seller and the purchaser, the Provincial Court,* Berlin, Part One, shall have jurisdiction.

Should any decision of the Representative of the Russian Government on technical matters involve financial disadvantage for the seller, on the subject of which he cannot arrive at any agreement with the purchaser within three months after receiving the instruction, such dispute also shall be under the jurisdiction exclusively of the Landgericht, Berlin I.

Copies of the Contract

§11. The present contract shall be drawn up in two copies, in the German language, of which one copy shall remain with the purchaser, and the second copy with the seller. One month after the signing of this contract, the seller shall deliver to the purchaser fifty printed copies of the contract, in the Russian and German languages, omitting all price quotations.

Stamp taxes eventually to be imposed upon this contract in Russia shall be borne by the purchaser; stamp taxes eventually to be imposed in Germany shall be borne by the seller.

Domicile of the Parties to the Contract

§12. In the execution of this contract the seller is to

be considered as domiciled at Hattingen on Ruhr, and the purchaser as domiciled in the Office of the firm of Briake & Prohl, Berlin, W9, Potsdamerstrasse 10-11; all letters and documents delivered to either address, or sent by registered mail, or by messenger for receipt, shall be considered as having been handed personally to the party in question. *Stockholm, October 20, 1920.*

*Plenipotentiary Representative of
the Russian Soviet Government,
(Signed) G. LOMONOSSOV.*

*Henschel & Sohn,
Henrichshütte Section,
by v. GONTARD (Power of Attorney).*

The above signatures were set down by Mr. George Lomonossov and by Mr. Direktor H. von Gontard, as Power of Attorney for the firm of Henschel & Sohn, Henrichshütte Section, Hattingen on Ruhr, in their own hands and in our presence, as is hereby certified by us.

*WILHELM HELLBERG,
Attorney at Law,
Stockholm.*

*R. L. F. KRUSE,
Engineer,
Stockholm.*

*M. LASERSON,
Hotel Continental,
Stockholm.*

The Dictatorship of Organization in Soviet Russia

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

[Our readers are by this time well acquainted with the style and method of Dr. Goldschmidt, but we must warn them that in this article he makes use of a philosophical distinction that is new at least to the editor of SOVIET RUSSIA. It is his application of the term "mechanical" to acts of will, and of the term "organic" to the processes of evolution, to which we refer. Otherwise the reader will have no difficulty with the article.]

WHAT is the dictatorship of the proletariat? Is it an arbitrary brutality, is it an inorganic eruption, is it mere presumptuousness? It is not an arbitrary brutality, not an inorganic eruption, not a presumptuousness. To be sure, it is not democracy in the quantitative sense. If it were democracy in the quantitative sense it would not be a dictatorship.

Why does Marx demand a dictatorship of the proletariat? If this dictatorship is to have any meaning at all, any meaning in the Marxist sense, he must have demanded it for evolutionary reasons. We must distinguish clearly between economic evolution and political evolution, between organic and mechanical evolution. The main point with Marx is economic evolution; political evolution is a secondary matter. When the economic development demands a transformation, insists on a transformation, the dictatorship of the proletariat can no longer hesitate, it must come. This is the sense of Marx's entire system. Whether a few hundred thousand people more or less have understood this necessity of transformation is not altogether a matter of indifference, but it is certainly a matter of secondary importance when faced with the force of evolution. If those who are called upon to facilitate the pressure of evolution, fail to recognize and make use of the proper moments of transforma-

tion, in other words, fail to erect the dictatorship of the proletariat at such a moment, they have then failed in the execution of their mission. In other words, they have acted as enemies in the course of evolution, they have acted as counter-revolutionists. The counter-revolutionary action in this case means prolonging and exacerbating the economic crisis. The transition to quantitative democracy, which then to be sure will mean also a qualitative democracy, will take place during the dictatorship of the proletariat unless it has been already accomplished earlier. For this democracy is precisely the elimination of classes, which cannot possibly be realized at the very moment of seizing power. Anyone setting up such an assertion would be truly childish. It is impossible to force the economic development into the brains of all. Evolution does not concern itself with brains; it assumes catastrophic forms regardless of whether the millions have already acquired the consciousness of transformation. Therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat, like any dictatorship, will at first be a minority dictatorship. If we should wait until evolution has set aside the necessity of dictatorship, we should be surrendering all criticism and would be denying all mechanical influence on evolution in favor of a blind automatism. No sensible man will believe that this transformation can be accomplished automatically; Marx did not believe it either; for in his most precise sentences on expropriation he de-

* Landgericht, Berlin I.

mands the transfer of power. But a seizure of power is not an automatic falling into power. It is actually seizure—a plain dictatorial act.

The point simply is to feel the course of evolution and this is not a matter of statistical calculation. It is a matter of feeling. It is in a way a matter of intuition, and it is entirely of secondary importance whether the development has already attained the degree of maturity outlined by theory, or not. For the dictatorship of the proletariat, the critical treatment of the problem, the seizure of power and the retention of power, mean an accelerated maturing of the process. This is shown in all clearness by the course of the Russian Revolution.

We have seen: the Russian economy had become an economy of catastrophe before the Bolsheviki seized the power. What does this mean? It means that economy is crying out aloud, is demanding eagerly that the crisis be overcome, or that the administration be changed. It means an elementary urge for a continuation and radicalization of the organization created by private capital, which private capital is no longer able to manipulate. The organization needed new masters, masters who would abolish dilettantism in organization, abolish the opposition between organization and content, in other words, carry out ruthlessly the expropriation of the means of production, in the interest of salvaging the national economy. We have seen private property, corroding and disintegrating more and more, yield place to the organization that had been created by force of its own inabilities and failings. It no longer felt at home under this organization; this organization was opposed to its nature. The organization had to come, even under the stage of private economy, because private economy could no longer adjust the crises which were the result of its own operations, in such a way as to solve the problem of risks in a stable sense. The war was the final crisis, the severest crisis, and the war economy was nothing more than an attenuation, a transfer of the forms that had already been created for individual branches of economy, to the totality in the economic life. It now transpired that private economy was not in a position to conduct the national economy, since private economy existed on a basis of income, and as the income possibilities, the capitalist income possibilities, contradicted the principles of national economy.

It was necessary for a power to be created swiftly which would expand the beginnings of the nationwide economic organization in a radical manner, simultaneously eliminating its opponent, private economy. The war economy organization was the expression of the financial crisis in a yet sharper, more general form, than were even the trusts, syndicates, cartels, etc. There also had already been an attempt to adjust the risk, to restrict its fluctuations, to secure the income-like steadiness of financial profit by means of monopolization. The war exploited financial economy with ruthless intensiveness, so that finance had to seek refuge in other more comprehensive organizations. But it

did not make use of these organizations for purposes of production. It rather abused them for purposes of finance, and thus continued progressively shapening the financial crisis. The more extensive the war economy organizations became, the more extensively were they abused. They were the milch cow for finance. The financial burden of production thus became a mightier one, while production itself receded more and more. The opposition between finance and production became so catastrophic, the inability of financial economy to adapt its organization to purposes of production became so manifest that something had unquestionably to be done. The course of a planful economy was already to be recognized in capitalistic organizations. It now became swifter in its acceleration; finance, becoming more and more a burden, increased its efforts to attach itself to the general plan. The organization had to shake off the financial economy. This is the point, the economic point of the November Revolution, of the Soviet Russian Revolution, and this also will be the point of the European Soviet revolution. It matters nothing whether the quantitative populations desire the seizure of power or not. If it shall transpire that financial economy no longer can control the organization, or even, as is now the case in Germany, desires to relinquish its organization without diminishing its own importance, without lessening its own weight, nothing will remain but to erect a power for a planful execution, for a planful extension, for a planful salvaging of the organization.

But in this way the dictatorship of the proletariat reveals itself, aside from other essential peculiarities, as a dictatorship of organization. Organization demands that it be rescued and expanded, and there is no power that can afford to resist this demand. Organization cannot in the interest of economy permit itself to be turned out and disorganized, to be further vitiated, and economy cannot tolerate being shoved out of the organization.

And this is the secret of the Soviet Russian power. Why could this power not be eliminated by the quantitative persons who oppose the dictatorship, allegedly for reasons of democracy? It could not be eliminated because it was a natural necessity, because it was that organizing will for which economy and the entire endangered organization itself were literally crying out.

Therefore, after many confusing incidents and resistances, the dictatorship was accepted not only by the entire proletariat of Russia, but finally also by the bourgeoisie. The purpose of this book is to show the almost automatic progress of organization, and to make possible a grasp of the seizure of organizing power, on the basis of the preceding disorganization.

From the moment when the first clear decrees of organization of the Soviet Government were published, millions of those who formerly had remained blind to the dangers and necessities saw that here was a demand of evolution being realized. All resistance, or at least the most important resistance was broken. This breaking up of resist-

ance was not so much the act of the terror as the result of necessity. For a great nation, a nation of one hundred and fifty million people, will not tolerate an inorganic power. It will shake it off. There is no power on earth that could maintain such a force if it were inorganic. Just as a people without arms will create arms for itself against an intolerable military dictator, so a people will arm itself against an intolerable economic dictator, who in its eyes has no justification for holding the dictatorship.

You may take what stand you like with regard to the Soviet form of dictatorship, but you cannot deny that the seizure of power itself was a necessity unless the country was to break down.

Once the power was seized the organization had to be carried out. Those in power could no longer withhold themselves from the authority of organization. The dictatorship was therefore not a mechanical process carried out by a few, but a forced situation, a necessary pressure, a corollary to organization.

To be sure we recognize the necessity of organization, even to the point of the severest centralism, as a self-evident thing. We saw how this centralism was prepared even before the seizure of power, how the proletariat penetrated into the centers of the organization of power, how it strove up from below, from the factories, to central organizations. But this Centralism became the nexal point, the stronghold of the dictatorship. We have seen how everywhere in the country economic Soviets were formed, without instructions, simply out of the necessity of the case, simply out of the pressure toward the Centrals.

This dictatorship of organization consequently led to an almost perfect encompassing and conduct of industry.

At first it led to a unification and tightening of organization, to a drawing together of the administrative powers, to a united direction of these powers, to a possibility of supervision, which contrasted sharply with the impossibility of supervision under private economic organization and signified an overcoming of this destructive lack of the possibility of supervision.

By means of the dictatorship of organization it has been possible, owing to the dictatorial consistency of organization, to create that production budget which is the basis and the *sine qua non* of a plentiful Socialist economy. The elimination of disturbing intermediary authorities, of attenuating intermediary authorities, the progressive trustification, the hierarchy of administrative organs in progressive centralization down to the Centers, the centralist evolution of workers control, of the trade unions, of the industrial unions, all this is a dictatorship of organization. But it is a dictatorship of organization demanded by the course of events.

The solution of the problem is this: organization has its own pressure, its own force of gravity. It becomes something inevitable, it expands, contracts, destroys, opens up, because it has a force, a rudimentary force, within it. Or is it possible to think

that a few hundred thousand persons could create this apparatus? The apparatus creates itself because rationing has become inevitable, and rationing in its turn is the means for the control of production and the control of the country.

The main requirement was: expropriation of the means of production. The expropriation of the means of production could and can be realized only by a centralization, by a tightening of the organization, by the creation of a supervising possibility, which will finally reveal even the ultimate stocks, the last resources in labor power.

Thus, for example, the origin of the production budget out of many individual budgets is rather a process of organization than one of mechanism. Rather a process from below than from above. From month to month the production budget became more specific and clear, its manipulation became easier because budgetization so to say, came of itself, because it was no longer necessary to have a mechanical dictatorship, because organization from out of itself developed the powers for perfecting the budget.

Of course even this is not an automatic process. The dictatorship of organization is also a consciously conducted dictatorship, a consciously exploited dictatorship. By means of instructions, by means of disciplining, by intervention of revolutionary elements of production in the factories, in the lower and upper Centrals of the economic administration, by combating sabotage, by stopping the former sources of money, by all this means the dictatorship of organization was conducted and rendered easier. But we must always consider the internal power of organization, which becomes so much more weighty, so much greater, the more the organization advances, until finally the total organization, the perfected nation-wide organization will completely eliminate the dictatorship organization, after the adaptation of all forces to this organization has been completed. To be sure, there is still a long way ahead to that goal. For the remnants of private economy, the remnants of an aversion to organization, still persist. They will as yet not adapt themselves. There still are usurers and speculation in Russia, so that even the Soviet institutions, the economic institutions, are often obliged to compound with the usurers and speculators, so that often circulation of commodities from organization to organization is not achieved. We have seen that the Russian peasantry can by no means be fully organized into a whole, that therefore a money economy is still going on, and that industry also is suffering under the attacks of money economy. We have seen that the ideal of Socialist economy, the traffic in commodities without the use of cash, the production of goods directly for the consumption of the workers, has not yet been attained. But we have also noticed that this dictatorship of reorganization, this absorption by organization, is abolishing the currency system. This process is being accelerated by a system of withdrawal. To this end a chain of small state banks is to be established, in order to accustom the population to exchange of goods

without the use of money. Thus the population, including the peasants, are being drawn into the organization by means of increased government control, through the establishment of workers' and peasants' supervision, through periodical educational meetings of industrial workers and peasants, through a determined campaign of disseminating technical knowledge, and many other means of a like character. In this way the existing framework, the existing outline, will finally be filled in and become a living and functioning system. It is to be remembered, however, that this framework can never again be removed, since it is a result of the dictatorship of organization, and since the dictatorship of organization grows more powerful every day through the continual growth and extension of the organization. In the end the whole population will be supplied by government warehouses, and contraband goods as well as back-door trade will disappear entirely. This time will come. It will come, just as the actual abolition of private banking has come; as it has become possible to centralize the financial organization of the country; as taxes have become superfluous; as the disrupted industries have been reorganized, etc. There are many more ways of bringing the population within the influence of the organization, i.e., of perfecting the system of distribution and allotment of supplies, down to the actual consumption, down to the individual household. Among other means, there is the organization of foreign trade, which really amounts to the government taking over the control of supplies, and which step is already being prepared for in the systematic gathering up of existing foreign exchange and the establishment of foreign credit controlled and directed by the central organization.

Further, it must be borne in mind that sabotage has practically been broken up. The kind of sabotage now in existence is sabotage from sheer necessity rather than an obstreperous sabotage. This fact allows of an entirely different control of labor, of a much more rational apportionment of labor throughout the entire country. Under these conditions the work of education, of dissemination of knowledge, can be made incomparably more effective, and of incalculable value.

When Russia shall be free from the threat of war we shall see what power, what inherent power, what dictatorial power lies in organization. There are people in Russia who regard demobilization as a crisis for the organization. But the power of the organization, the dictatorship of the organization is already apparent in the very fact that demobilization is taking place according to the laws of the existing organization, that the fighting army is being transformed into an industrial army in accordance with existing laws, according to present requirements and necessities. It is possible that the end of the war will bring with it a tendency to relax; but this slackening of energy will, in my estimation, soon be overcome by the dictatorship of the organization. For the people must live, and they can never again live without the existing organization which has been created.

One might quote examples without end. There is, for instance, the control of the fuel supply, which, to a certain degree, is also a solution of the transportation difficulties.

At the beginning of 1918, Russia was cut off from all sources of fuel supply, from Baku, from the Donets Basin, from the Urals. The dictatorship of organization took a hand immediately. It was impossible to build up a Socialist system, to continue the organization without control, without a solution of the fuel problem. That was a question of life and death for organization. Organization itself depended upon the solution of that question. We know this from our own fuel famine during the war. In Russia, however, in Bolshevik Russia, the fuel control was much more powerful, more farsighted, more forcible, than our wartime control.

The work of establishing control, the transfer from coal to wood and peat, to the use of shale fuel, began at once. It might almost be said, that out of sheer necessity of organization new fuel materials were found not far from Petrograd, and on the Volga. They started to rebuild engine boilers and boilers in industrial plants for the use of wood as fuel. A strict control of the use of fuel was established. There were no fuel reserves. The winter of 1918, the entire year 1919, was a period of fuel shortage, of intense suffering from the cold, of industrial and transportation breakdown. But the organization continued its pressure, the economic plan continued its demands, and at last it was possible to accomplish the following: A general committee for fuel supply was formed as a part of the Supreme Council of National Economy, with sub-divisions for naphtha, coal, etc. It was from the very beginning a pretty useful organization. Already it was possible to control consumption to some extent. Drastic decrees were issued, according to which, for instance, every industrial enterprise was compelled to turn over to the railroads 50 per cent of its fuel supply. Necessity demanded this. There ensued a gigantic confusion, the central fuel stations were being deluged with complaints. But a successful fuel control was established. The fuel budget for 1919 to June, 1920, was able to show a reserve of fourteen million cubic fathoms of firewood (one cubic fathom equals 250 poods). This gigantic amount was to be cut. Whoever is acquainted with the lumbering method of Russia in regard to wood clearing knows what this meant. At the end of May, 1920, ten million cubic fathoms had been cut. In this way Russia solved its most pressing problems.

The entire industrial field was divided into three categories: important factories with their own fuel supply; important plants without fuel; and factories of minor consequence which might be closed for the time being.

The plan succeeded. Not everywhere, to be sure, as for instance, in Moscow and in Petrograd, but it was a success on the whole. It would have succeeded in Moscow and in Petrograd as well, if the supply organizations there had not been molested by the counter-revolutionary armies.

This organized plan resulted in combining the fuel problem and the railroad problem under one head. It became necessary to find out how many locomotives and freight cars would be needed for the transportation of fuel, how much and what kind of fuel was needed for the locomotives. The result of this was the cooperation of the Supreme Council of National Economy and the Commissariat for Railways. Thus a higher degree of centralization had been accomplished through the need of organization, through the dictatorship of necessity. The result of this was favorable, necessarily favorable, for systematization had gained thereby to some extent. Today the distribution machinery is already of practical use. It grows better every day. Since the liberation of the Urals and Baku new sources of fuel have already been made available. The railways in Siberia are already beginning to operate on schedule. The Ural trains have already ceased to be the uncertainties they have been up to now. The southern lines are speedily being converted to the use of coal. The coal-burning locomotives ran as far as Moscow in May of this year. The naphtha transportation, the cotton transportation from Turkestan, the transportation of supplies has already become less difficult than theretofore. Fuel branches, branches of the Moscow Central Committee are being established throughout the country, at Kharkov, Yekaterinburg, Siberia, etc. Already the locomotives of the Volga trains are burning naphtha.

All of this is still difficult, frail, defective and peace-meal. But the dictatorship of organization is already demonstrating its power for bringing order into chaos, its positive power. It demands order. It has begun, and must continue. Everything must be brought under its influence. It is a slow process, I know it very well. There will be difficulties, disappointments, and helplessness. There will be many emergency measures. But organization is the first step in saving the production of the country, the first step in the building up of production, of the new, great Socialist production; in spite of all obstacles, in spite of misery, hunger and cold, in spite of the daily losses through undernourishment. Organization means production.

THE GRAIN DELIVERIES

During the first ten days of November, the delivery of grain was going on with the same intensity as during the preceding period of the current food campaign.

The following table shows the grain deliveries in the various provinces.

In this table are shown: (1) The figures of the levy; (2) the total amount of the deliveries up to November 11, since the beginning of the campaign, and the storing during the ten days of November (the latter is given in brackets following the figures of the total amount); (3) The percentage of the levy, which was carried out up to November 11. We preserve also the division of the

provinces into "shock" provinces, ordinary producing and consuming.

1. "Shock" Provinces . (Levy Over 10,000,000 Poods)

	The Levy	Delivery up to November 11	Per Cent of the Levy, carried out
1. Cheliabinsk	17,000,000	2,086,000 (809,000)	12.3
2. Ufa	16,800,000	4,388,000 (1,140,000)	26.1
3. Saratov	14,500,000	3,184,000 (919,000)	22.0
4. Samara	14,010,000	4,245,000 (1,118,000)	30.3
5. Tartar Republic..	11,990,000	5,721,000 (1,155,000)	48.1
6. Tambov	11,500,000	3,206,000 (580,000)	27.9
7. Viatka (up to Nov. 6).....	10,750,000	4,915,000 (698,000)	45.7
8. Yekaterinburg ...	10,000,000	3,229,000 (1,698,000)	32.3
	106,550,000	30,974,000 (8,117,000)	29.1

II. Ordinary Producing Provinces. (Levy less than 10,000,000 Poods)

1. Simbirsk	8,500,000	3,908,000 (1,391,000)	46.0
2. Pskovsk	7,000,000	516,000 (148,000)	7.4
3. Voronezh	6,500,000	664,000 (172,000)	10.2
4. Kursk	6,300,000	500,000 (106,000)	9.5
5. German Comm...	6,300,000	401,000 (99,000)	6.7
6. Orel	5,500,000	2,856,000 (824,000)	51.9
7. Orenburg	5,000,000	778,000 (156,000)	15.6
8. Riazan	3,900,000	741,000 (93,000)	19.0
9. Tula	3,650,000	3,410,000 (509,000)	93.4
10. Penza	3,500,000	2,674,000 (363,000)	76.4
11. Perm	3,300,000	2,289,000 (289,000)	69.4
12. Bashkiria	3,000,000	938,000 (202,000)	31.3
13. Tshuvash Com...	1,500,000	1,205,000 (216,000)	80.3
14. Tsaritsin	1,500,000	66,000 (3,000)	4.4
15. Uralsk	—	549,000 (2,000)	—
	65,150,000	21,597,000 (3,182,000)	33.1

III. The Consuming Province

IV. Siberia

V. Caucasus

The total for all Russia, except Azerbaijan 424,200,000 100,963,000(16,537,000) 23.8

The significance of the total figure of the delivery may be fully comprehended, if we consider, that two years ago the total amount delivered was 107,000,000 poods, and last year, 207,000,000 poods. Before the middle of November, we stored about as much as in the whole year before the last and about a half of last year. And this was accomplished during two months and a half.

It is most probable that we have already on hand about 130,000,000 to 140,000,000 poods of delivered grain, which amounts to about one-third of the whole levy.

The delivery during the first ten days of November was also satisfactory. It amounted to 16,537,000 poods as against 7,000,000 in the last year. Of these, more than 11,000,000 poods were stored within the limits of old Soviet Russia.

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Soviet Russia

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SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

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This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

THE American press was rather harsh on the Rumanians when after the downfall of the Soviet regime in Hungary (August, 1919) their troops entered Budapest, murdering inoffensive civilians, and plundering and pillaging as if they were the hirelings of William the War Lord and not the subjects of his cousin Ferdinand Hohenzollern, the "democratic" ruler of that gallant "Latin" nation that was fighting for "self-determination". A careful investigation of Rumanian history and even philology affords ample proof that those deplorable happenings were in no wise an outgrowth of the predatory appetites shown in every war by the happy winner. They were purely and solely caused by a—linguistic misunderstanding.

It is well known that the territory now inhabited by the Rumanians was in ancient times the Roman province of Dacia. The Dacians disappeared without leaving a trace, and were probably completely absorbed by the Latin-speaking Roman colonists whose antecedents were in many cases similar to those of the first Australian settlers and to those American pioneers who came on the unnamed ships that followed the "Mayflower". During the great migrations, and for many centuries later, Slavic, Turkish and other foreign hordes penetrated the country, leaving as a permanent trace of their sojourn a great part of their dictionary. Slavic words abound in the Rumanian language, besides the original Latin vocabulary, just as French, in other words, Latin words abound in the English language by the side of the original Saxon stock. Now, it is a fact that an adopted word in the course of time takes on a meaning somewhat different from the one it had in the language from which it came. A classical example of this kind is the word *rasboj* (of Slavic origin), which in Rumanian means "war". In the Slavic languages, however, i.e., in the languages of its origin, the word means "highway robbery". The chivalrous commanders of the glorious Rumanian army in the heat of their anti-Bolshevist and anti-Hungarian excitement probably forgot that there is now a difference of usage between the Slavic and the Rumanian meanings of the word *rasboj*. Or were they really so cynical or so—sophisticated—as to think that there is no difference whatsoever?

This Hungarian episode from the heyday of Rumania's national glory has been long forgotten, and the American press is once more bewailing the distress of that outpost of Latin civilization whose gold reserve, kept during the war in Moscow, has been "stolen by the Soviet Government" and whose national security is allegedly "menaced by a concentration of Red Armies on the Dniester."

This "stolen Rumanian gold" is one of the stock arguments put forward by the daily press whenever the question of the resumption of commercial relations with Russia looms up. True, this gold was only "stolen" after Rumania had "seized" a considerable portion of Russian territory, i.e., the rich province of Bessarabia; true, Rumania has now been holding and squeezing this province for more than three years, refusing indignantly even to negotiate on the Bessarabian question, which according to her is already "settled"; true, that by her help to Kaledin, Denikin and other "White" generals she inflicted enormous economic losses on the Russian people, far outweighing the amount of the retained gold—but all these "trifles" are easily and gladly forgotten by the enemies of Soviet Russia, for whom the Bessarabian question no longer exists, as that territory was officially "awarded" to Rumania by the Allies—quite in keeping with the same principles of "democratic self-determination" according to which the Germany of Brest-Litovsk awarded a very important part of the Caucasus to Turkey. But the award of Brest-Litovsk was in force for a very short time only . . .

INCLUDED in a table showing the imports of gold into Great Britain for the calendar year 1920, published in *The New York Times*, January 27, was an item which read, without other explanation, as follows: "Russia . . . 1,965,095 pounds sterling." That was all. Nearly two million pounds sterling of gold imported from Russia into Great Britain in the year 1920. What gold, or from what "Russia", the table does not tell. This is a tantalizing omission. Was this "Bolshevik" gold, tainted and stained with the blood and sweat of the Revolution; or was it Kolchak gold, or Denikin gold, or Wrangel gold, or what? Did the importer have to file an affidavit of innocence and total purity, as is the requirement in this country, when he brought this gold to the mint? We have not the facilities for securing the answers to these questions. But we imagine that there are many American business men who will be interested in pursuing the subject further.

Many such odd little items as this, often enlightening and sometimes merely thought provoking, turn up in other corners of the financial pages and in special reports of various kinds. In the daily "Commerce Reports", for instance, published by the United States Department of Commerce. We were turning over an old stack of these the other day and came across the following, under the heading "Assistance for British Trading with Russia".

"According to cable advices, arrangements are being made by the British Chamber of Commerce at Constantinople to assist British merchants to trade with Russia in cooperation with the British Army organization occupying that region, many of whom were experienced in business." (*Commerce Reports, U. S. Dept., December 11, 1919.*)

We remember the announcement which appeared shortly after the armistice that henceforth British commercial travellers were to be encouraged to embark on every British warship sailing for foreign ports. Some wag remarked at the time that trade, no longer content with "following the flag", would now sail forth under its very folds. The complete picture is presented in the brief note which we have reprinted above. The salesman-officer dashes into battle, sword in one hand and order book in the other, prepared to persuade friend and foe, alike, to sign on the dotted line.

We understand more clearly now a somewhat sententious remark in the recent annual report of the British Overseas Bank, to the effect that "we have taken various steps to prepare ourselves to play our part in any ultimate development of the vast possibilities which Russia contains." England expects, etc.

* * *

THE question of peace or war on the borders of Russia continues to engage the general interest. Out of a mass of flying rumors and plain falsehoods, it is well to gather a few outstanding items of significance.

In his letter to the President of the National Civic Federation, dated January 8, the Acting Secretary of State wrote: "Russia today is in a condition of distress, and there is grave danger on all her frontiers of aggression, either directly by foreign States, or indirectly through the control of these border states." There could not be a more frank statement than this. Certain powers are planning aggression against Soviet Russia. The American Government knows of these plans. This subject was the burden of the note of January 18, in which Mr. Davis transmitted certain views of the President of the United States to the President of the Assembly of the League of Nations. "It is obvious to all," wrote Mr. Davis on behalf of the President, "that these small struggling border states will not attack great Russia unless encouraged by promises of support from the stronger powers." The President therefore asked the great powers to engage "not to take advantage of Russia's stricken condition and not to violate the territorial integrity of Russia, nor to undertake themselves any further invasions of Russia, nor to tolerate such invasions by others." There has been no official response to President Wilson's request that the great powers promise not to attack Soviet Russia. The correspondent of *The New York Times*, however, remarks that this message was received in Paris "perhaps more coldly than any other communication he has ever cabled across the Atlantic."

Responsible officials of at least two of the border

states have recently thought it important to deny rumors of alleged mobilizations of the Russian Soviet Army. Prince Lubomirski, Polish Minister to the United States, emphatically denies any aggressive intentions on the part of Poland against Soviet Russia and, with equal emphasis, declares his belief in the peaceful intentions of Soviet Russia. "Poland intends to keep the peace and will suffer no attacks to be launched against Russia from her territory . . . Nor do we expect the Soviets to attack either this winter or next spring. Why should they? . . . The Soviet leaders are not stupid men" (*New York Times*, January 23). Similarly the former Rumanian Minister to London disclaims any fear of attack from Soviet Russia. "He declared there now were only 45,000 Bolshevik troops along the Dniester, and Rumania, which at present has a large and powerful army, does not fear them." (*New York Times*, January 25.) Out of Soviet Russia, itself, comes the vigorous statement of the Commissar for Foreign Affairs in his recent cablegram to the Representative in the United States: "Emphatically deny rumors in American press alleging Russian mobilization against Poland, Rumania or any other country. We want peace and a chance to work."

According to President Wilson and the Department of State, the danger comes from aggressive plans of foreign powers against Soviet Russia. But the current propaganda is all concerned with alleged mobilizations and hostile plans of the Soviet Government. Polish and Rumanian officials both disclaim belief in any such plans. Chicherin emphatically denies them. Whence, then, come the rumors? Prince Lubomirski attributes them to German military propaganda. General Hoffmann does his best to bear him out. The search, however, may be carried further than that.

On January 4 *The Manchester Guardian* printed a characteristic Reuter dispatch from Paris, telling of reports received there from Bucharest, via Vienna, alleging Soviet mobilizations on the Dniester front. The Reuter correspondent added, however, that inquiries at the Rumanian Legation in Paris failed to obtain any confirmation of this report. On the same day *The Manchester Guardian* published the following dispatch from its correspondent at Reval:

"The Lettish Secret Police at Riga have arrested persons alleged to have been employed by or receiving money from French representatives and engaged in spreading rumors likely to lead to a new war.

"These *agents provocateurs*, besides spreading rumors regarding a Russian concentration against the Letts, went so far as to spread the report that fighting had already begun between Esthonia and Russia on the Pakov front.

"Equally false rumors current in Moscow to the effect that the Esthonians are planning aggression may come from the same source."

Whichever way events may turn, it is well to keep these facts on record and in memory. In the face of them, there can be no doubt where the responsibility lies. It does not lie with the workers and peasants of Russia, who desire only "peace and a chance to work."

Problems of Organization of Labor

By LEON TROTSKY

Last Instalment: Collegiums or Individuals to Run Industry?

The Mensheviks also seek their salvation with another question that appears to them to offer an opportunity to again obtain the confidence of the working class. This is the question of the form of the management of the industrial enterprises, the question of collegium or individual management. We are told that the transfer of industries to individual managers instead of collegiums is a crime against the working class and against the Socialist Revolution. It is remarkable that the chief advocates of the Socialist Revolution against the principles of individual management are the same Mensheviks who up to a short time ago were still of the opinion that even to mention the possibility of a Socialist Revolution was a hoax against history and a crime against the working class.

They say the Socialist Revolution is being sinned against particularly—as was stated at our Party Convention, which came out in favor of an approximation toward individual management—in the lower industrial centers and factories. But it would be the greatest possible mistake to consider this decision as injuring the self-activity of the working class. The stimulus to this activity of the workers cannot be defined or measured by the fact that there are three workers at the head of a certain enterprise or only one, but by much more profound influences and phenomena. The construction of the economic organs, the active cooperation of the trade unions, the construction of all the Soviet organs by Soviet congresses, representing scores of millions of workers: the appointment of the *administered* themselves to the administration or supervision over the administration, these things are the expression of the self-activity of the working class. This activity may from the standpoint of administrative technique be correct or incorrect, but it is not one that is forced upon the proletariat but one dictated by its own judgment and desire. It would therefore be a great error if the question of the rule of the proletariat should be confused with that of the workers' collegiums at the head of the industries. The dictatorship of the proletariat finds its expression in the abolition of private property in the means of production, in the rule of the collective will of the workers over the whole Soviet mechanism, and by no means in the form of administration of the individual economic enterprises.

At this point we must also refute another accusation frequently made against the principle of personal rule. Its opponents declare: "The Soviet militarizers desire here to transplant to the economic field the experiences they have gathered in the military field. In the army the personal rule may be good; in economy it is of no use." This objection is absolutely unwarranted. It is not true that we began in the army with the single command; even to this date we have not completely in-

roduced it. It is also untrue that we only began to advocate the personal form in the administration of economic enterprises, with the appointment of specialists, after we had obtained our military experiences. As a matter of fact, we proceeded in this question from the starting point of the purely Marxian conception of the revolutionary tasks and creative duties of the proletariat after its seizure of power. The necessity of a continuity of previously acquired technical data and habits, the necessity of engaging specialists, of utilizing them exclusively, so that technology may not decline, but advance, all these were grasped and recognized not only since the beginning of the revolution, but even long before November, 1917. I believe that if the civil war had not impoverished our economic organs and deprived them of all the conscious elements possessing initiative and independence, the method of personal administration would no doubt have been introduced in the field of economic administration, earlier and less painfully.

Some comrades consider the apparatus of the economic administration to be first of all a training. This is of course absolutely wrong. The task of the organization of administration is *administration*. Anyone possessing the will and the ability to acquire administrative skill should attend the school, the special school for instructors, should become an assistant, should be observant, gather experience; but he who is appointed as a member of a factory directing board will not enter the school but will enter a responsible administrative-economic position. But even if this problem is to be regarded from the limited and therefore not important standpoint of the "school", I still say that under the personal principle the school will operate best. Even when a good worker is not being replaced by three who are less able, the appointment of a collegium of even three more able ones to a responsible administrative office will deprive them of the possibility of finding out what it is that they personally lack. Each one at a decisive moment will look to the others for support and when the thing goes wrong will shove the blame on to the others.

The fact that this is not a question of principle is best indicated by the opponents of the individual management, who do not demand collegium management for shops, mines, pits. They even declared, full of indignation, that only madmen could demand that a shop be conducted by from three to five persons: there should be but a single supervisor for the mine, and nothing else. And why? If the collegium administration is a "training", why do we not need a training at the lowest degree? Why should collegiums not be introduced into the shops also? If collegium management is not a sacred requirement for the shops, why should it be obligatory for industrial management?

Abramovich has said: As we have few specialists—and, following Kautsky, the Bolsheviks are blamed for this paucity of specialists—we shall replace them by workers' collegiums. This is absurd. No collegium consisting of persons who do not know the work in question can replace a single individual who knows this work. A collegium of jurists cannot replace a switchman. A collegium of patients cannot take the place of the physician. The very idea is a wrong one. Participation in a collegium will not provide an ignoramus with knowledge. It may simply serve to veil the ignorance of the ignoramus. If a person is placed in a responsible position, that person is not only visible to all others, but also to himself, and will clearly recognize what he knows and what he does not know. But there is nothing worse than to put a collegium of uninformed, badly equipped workers into a purely practical office requiring special abilities. The members of the collegium will find themselves in a condition of permanent embarrassment, of mutual dissatisfaction, and by their helplessness, their vagaries and their vacillation, will create confusion in the work. The working class is extremely interested in increasing its administrative ability, i.e., in learning, but this will be attained in the field of industrial administration by having the managers of the industries periodically report on their entire operation, and discuss the economic plan for a whole year, or for the current month, and all the workers who are seriously interested in industrial organization will be registered by the managers of the enterprise or by special commissions in the necessary schools, closely associated with the practical work of the industry itself, and thereupon placed first in less responsible and later in more responsible posts. In this way we shall gain thousands of men and later tens of thousands. The question of a three-man collegium or of a five-man collegium does not interest the working class; it interests only the backward, weaker portion of the workers' bureaucracy of the Soviets, who are less fit for independent work. The advanced, conscientious and firm administrator will, of course, be eager to have the whole industry in his hands and to show to the satisfaction of himself and others that he knows how to run the thing. But a weaker administrator, one who cannot stand firmly on his feet, will gladly find a support in another, for when associated with others his own weakness will pass unobserved. There is a very dangerous element involved in this collegium business—an element of personal responsibility. If the worker is able, but inexperienced, he will need a leader; under his leadership he will learn, and tomorrow we can make him a leader of a small enterprise. In this manner he will advance. Put him into any old collegium, where the strength and weakness of each individual is more or less uncertain, and he will unquestionably lose his feeling of personal responsibility. Our resolution speaks of a systematic approximation to the principle of individual management, of course not by means of a stroke of the pen. A number of variations and combina-

tions are here possible. If the worker should be able to do the job himself we can make him the manager of the enterprise and give him the specialist as an assistant; where the specialist is more in order, we shall make him the head and give him an assistant—perhaps two or three assistants—from the workers themselves. And finally, where the collegium has proved its practical ability by actual fact, we shall retain the collegium. This is the only serious way of looking at the thing; only thus can we arrive at a proper organization of production.

There also is a consideration of social and educational nature that appears to me to be most important in this connection. The leading layers in the working class are scattered very thin among us. These layers, accustomed to working in secret, who led the revolutionary struggle, who have been abroad, who both in prison and in exile have read much and acquired political experience and a wide horizon, are the most valued portion of the working class. Next to them come the young revolutionists who put through our revolution of 1917. They are also a very valuable section of the working class. Wherever you look upon the Soviet system, upon the trade unions, upon party work, upon the fronts of the civil war, always and everywhere these upper layers are the leading element. The most important work of governing on the part of the Soviet power in these two and one-half years has consisted in our conducting our manoeuvres by throwing the advanced layer of workers from one front to another. The less advanced layers of the working class, issuing from the depths of the peasantry, are revolutionary, to be sure, but as yet somewhat poor in initiative.

The disease of our simple Russian is his herd instinct, his lack of personality, i.e., in what our reactionary *narodniki* sang praises for, what Tolstoi characterized in the person of Platon Karatachev; the peasant loses his identity in his parish, he subordinates himself to the soil. It is perfectly clear that Socialist economy cannot be based upon Platon Karatachev, but upon that worker who is rich in initiative, with personal responsibility. This personal initiative must be developed in the worker. The personal principle among the bourgeoisie is selfish individualism, competition. The personal principle among the working class contradicts neither its solidarity nor its fraternal cooperation. Socialist solidarity cannot be built upon a lack of individuality, upon the herd instinct, and it is precisely this lack of individuality that is lurking behind the collegium.

The working class has many powers, talents, abilities. It is necessary that they become manifest, that they express themselves in the process of emulation. The personal principle in the administrative-technological field will contribute to this end. Therefore this principle is a higher and more fruitful one than the collegium principle.

Conclusion of the Report

Comrades, the arguments of the Menshevik speakers, particularly those of Abramovich, present

above all an appearance of absolute detachment from life and its tasks. The observer stands on the shore of a river across which he must swim and discusses the qualities of the water and the strength of the current. What he must do is swim across—that is all he needs to think about! Kautsky balances himself from one leg to the other. "We do not deny," he says, "the necessity of swimming across; but being realists we recognize danger, not only one danger, but several dangers. The current is swift, there are rocks under the water, we are tired out, etc., etc. But if they should tell you that we deny the necessity of swimming across as such, their statement is incorrect—is certainly not correct. Twenty-three years ago we already did not deny the necessity of swimming over."

Upon this the whole construction rests, from start to finish. First, say the Mensheviks, we do not deny the necessity of defence and have never denied it; consequently we do not reject the army. Very well; but where in all the world with the exception of small religious sects are there any people who reject all self-defence "in general?" In your papers you said and wrote: "Down with the civil war!" and that at a time when the White Guards were at our throats. Now, at the same time that you express a belated approval of our victorious defence, you turn your critical glances toward new tasks and continue instructing us. "In general we do not deny labor duty," you say,— "but without legal compulsion." But can you not see that in these words there is a tremendous contradiction? The conception of "duty" as such includes an element of compulsion. A man is *obliged*, i.e., forced, to do something. If he does not do it, it is manifest that he will suffer a compulsion, a punishment. We here come upon the question: What sort of compulsion? Abramovich says: "Economic pressure—yes, but no legal compulsion." A representative of the union of metal workers, Comrade Rubtsov, has excellently indicated the dialectics of such a system. Already under capitalism, i.e., under a period of "free" labor, economic pressure cannot be separated from legal compulsion. How much more is this the case now! In my report I attempted to make clear that the training of the workers, on a new social basis, to new forms of labor, and the attainment of a higher labor productivity, is possible only by simultaneously applying various methods. Economic interest, legal compulsion, the influence of an internally harmonious economic form, punishments, and in addition to all else, spiritual influence, agitation, propaganda, and finally, a general raising of the standard of culture—only by a combination of all these means can a high level of Socialist economy be attained. If even under capitalism economic interest is inevitably connected with legal compulsion, has behind it the physical forces of the state, then in the Soviet state, i.e., in the transition state to Socialism, there cannot be any boundary line at all set up between economic and legal compulsion. In our country, all socially important enterprises are in the hands of the state. If we say to the lathe-

worker, "Ivanov, you are under obligation to work at present in the Sormovo Works, if you refuse, you will get no food rations," what would you call this: economic pressure or legal compulsion?

You cannot enter another industry, for all the industries are in the hands of the *state*, which does not permit such a change. Economic pressure therefore shades into the pressure of national compulsion.

Abramovich apparently wants us to use as a regulator of the distribution of labor power only a raise of wages, premiums, etc., in order to attract the necessary workers to the most important industries. This evidently is his entire idea. But if the question is to be treated in this manner, every serious worker in the trade union movement will understand that we are dealing with pure Utopias. We cannot hope for any free influx of labor power from the market, for to secure this the state would have to have at its disposal great resources of food-stuffs, dwellings, transportation, i.e., precisely the very conditions whose creation is the task of the immediate future.

Without being able to throw the masses of labor power from one place to another in a planful national scheme, and in accordance with the demands of the economic organs, we shall accomplish nothing. Here the pressure of necessity strikes us with all its economic weight. I have read to you a telegram from Yekaterinburg, concerning the course of the work in the First Labor Army. The telegram says that more than 4,000 skilled workers have passed through the Urals Committee for labor duty. Where did they come from? Partly from the former Third Army. They were not allowed to remain at home but sent to their destination. From the army they were handed over to the Committee for Labor Duty, which divided them into categories and sent them to the industries. From the liberal standpoint this is a "violation of personal liberty." An overwhelming majority of the workers, however, had no objection to proceeding to the labor front, just as they had formerly gone to the military front, for they understood that higher interests required this transfer. Some went against their will. These we had to force to go.

The state must—this of course is clear—put the best workers into the most favorable conditions of life by means of a system of premiums. But this not only does not preclude, but even presupposes that the state and the trade unions—without which the Soviet State cannot build up its industries—must obtain certain new claims upon the workers. The worker does not simply haggle with the Soviet state;—no, he is under obligations to the state, in every way subordinated to the state, because it is *his* state.

"If you should simply tell us," says Abramovich, "that we are discussing a matter of trade union discipline, there would of course be no reason at hand for breaking lances, but what has militarization to do with this?" To be sure, the matter is to a very large degree a question of discipline in the trade unions, but of discipline on the part of new,

productive trade unions. We live in a Soviet country, in which the working class rules; that is what our Kautskyans do not understand. When the Menshevik Ivanov stated that only rags and tatters of the trade unions remained, in my report, there was a grain of truth in his remark. Of the trade unions as he understands them, i.e., of the trade organizations of trade union type, very little to be sure remains, but the trade union—the productive organ of the working class—still has the most immense tasks under Soviet Russian conditions. What are these? Certainly not tasks of conflict with the state, in the interest of labor, but tasks of construction of Socialist economy, to be executed in cooperation with the state. Such a trade union is an organization new in principle, differing not only from the trade unions but also from the revolutionary labor unions in bourgeois society, precisely as the dominion of the proletariat differs from that of the bourgeoisie. The productive union of the ruling labor class has not the same tasks, the same discipline, as the fighting union of a class in slavery. In our country all workers are obliged to belong to the trade unions; the Mensheviks are opposed to this order. This is quite understandable, since they are actually opposed to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. The whole question in the long run amounts to that. The Kautskyans are opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat and therefore to all its consequences. Economic compulsion, as well as political compulsion, are only expressions of the authority of the dictatorship of the working class in closely related fields. Of course Abramovich has pointed out very profoundly that there is to be no compulsion under Socialism, that the principle of compulsion is contradictory to Socialism, that under Socialism, the feeling of duty, the habit of work, the productivity of labor, etc., etc., will operate. This is unquestionably true. But this irrefutable truth must be expanded, for the fact is that under Socialism the compulsory apparatus, the state will also not exist. It will be completely absorbed in the producing and consuming community, and yet the road to Socialism goes by way of an intensification of the state organization, and we are just now passing through this period; as a lamp when it is extinguished blazes up once before dying out, so the state, before it disappears assumes the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., of the most ruthless state, which embraces the lives of its citizens on every hand. This little episode, this short hour of history—the dictatorship of the state—Abramovich failed to notice, and both for himself and for the Menshevikism that he represents, he stumbled over it. No organization, excepting the army, has hitherto exercised such severe compulsion over men as has the national organization of the working class in this difficult period of transition. Precisely for this reason do we speak of the militarization of labor. It is the fate of the Mensheviks that they hobble on after the events and recognize those sections of the revolutionary program which have already lost their practical significance. Menshevism today—

with many an if and but—no longer combats the justification of punitive measures against the White Guardists and deserters from the Red Army—owing to its own sad experience with “democracy”. Menshevism is obliged to recognize this necessity. Menshevism has apparently grasped—a day too late for the mails—that when you look eye to eye with counter-revolutionary bands, you cannot content yourself with phrases to the effect that the Red Terror will not be necessary under Socialism. But in the economic field the Mensheviks are still trying to refer us—to our souls, and more particularly to our grandsons. But we are meanwhile faced with the task of reconstructing economy without delay, under the conditions of the wretched heritage of bourgeois society and of the not yet completed civil war.

Menshevism,” as well as Kautskyanism in general, is deeply submerged in democratic banalities and “Socialistic” abstractions.

Again and again it appears that tasks of the transition period, i.e., of the proletarian revolution do not exist for Menshevism. Therefore the general unfitness of its criticisms, its references, plans and recipes. We are not concerned with what will take place in twenty or thirty years from now—of course everything will be much better then—but with how we are going to extricate ourselves out of the disorganization today, how we shall now distribute labor power, how we shall now raise the productivity of labor, how we are to proceed with the four thousand skilled workers whom we took out of the army in the Urals. Shall we simply turn them loose with the words: “Try to find something better, comrades.” No, we could not act that way. We put them into military trains and sent them to the factories and works.

“In what way,” cries Abramovich, “does your Socialism differ from Egyptian slavery? Just in the same manner did the Pharaohs build their pyramids and force the masses to work.” It is an inimitable analogy for a “Socialist”. Again the same little bagatelle is neglected: the class nature of power! Abramovich sees no difference between the Egyptian regime and ours. He has forgotten that in Egypt there were Pharaohs, slave holders, and their slaves. It was not the Egyptian peasants, who decided through their Soviets to build the pyramids; there was a hierarchic caste system as their social order; the workers were forced to labor by the class that was hostile to them. In our country the compulsion is exercised by the workers and peasants in power in the name of the interests of the working masses. That is a little point that Abramovich has overlooked. In the school of Socialism we learn that the entire social evolution is based on classes and on the struggle between classes, and that the whole course of life is determined by what class it is that is in power and what are the tasks for the sake of which it wields its policy. Abramovich does not understand this. Perhaps he knows the Old Testament very well. But Socialism is for him a book with seven seals.

Proceeding along the road of the superficial

liberal analogies, which do not reckon with the class nature of states (Abramovich and the Mensheviks did this repeatedly in the old days) we might confuse the Red with the White Army. In both, mobilization took place; chiefly embracing the peasant masses. In both compulsion was exercised, and in both there are not a few officers who passed through the same school of Tsarism, the same guns, the same cartridges in both camps. What is the difference between them? There is a difference, and the difference finds its expression in the fate of Yudenich, Kolchak, and Denikin. With us, the peasants were mobilized by the workers; under Kolchak they were mobilized by White Guard officers. Our army serried its ranks and solidified itself. The White Army crumbled into dust. There is a little difference between the Soviet regime and the rule of the Pharaohs, and it is not a mere accident that the Petersburg proletariat began their revolution by casting the Pharaohs down from the belfries of Petersburg.*

One of the Menshevik speakers made an effort *en passant* to represent me as an advocate of militarization in general. His indications resulted in the fact that I am advocating nothing more or less than German militarism. I am represented as having said that the German non-commissioned officer is a natural miracle and that everything he does is inimitable. What did I say in reality? Simply this: that militarism, which is the expression of all the features of social evolution in their most complete, most outspoken, and most emphatic form, is viewed from two sides; first from the political or social side—and here the matter depends entirely upon what class is in power, and second from the side of organization as a system of severe distribution of duty, precise mutual relations, unconditioned responsibility, plain obedience. The bourgeois system is an apparatus for bestial subjection of the workers; the Socialist army is a tool for the liberation and defence of the workers. But unconditioned subordination of the part under the whole is a trait which is common to *all* armies. This rude internal rule is inseparable from military organizations. In war every gamble, every lack of conscience, even mere lack of punctuality not unfrequently results in enormous numbers of victims. Therefore the striving of the military organizations to attain the highest possible efficiency, the clearest formulation, precise relations, responsibility. Such "military" qualities are esteemed in all fields. It was in this sense that I said that every class esteems in its service those of its members who, their other qualities being equal, have passed through a military training. The German—let us say for instance—average "kulak"*** who left the barracks as a non-commissioned officer was more valuable and precious for the German monarchy and remains more valuable and precious for Ebert's Republic

* Pharaohs was the nickname of the Tsarist policemen who were placed by Minister of the Interior Protopopov toward the end of February, 1917, on the house tops and belfries of Petrograd.

** "Kulak" (fist) is the Russian expression for the tight-fisted rich peasant who at the same time is the village usurer.—Ed.

than could be the same "kulak" who had not been in the military school. The apparatus of the German railroad was raised to a considerably higher point by appointing non-commissioned officers to administrative offices in the transportation system. In this sense we may certainly learn something from militarism. Comrade Zyperovich, one of our most prominent trade union officials, has borne witness to the fact that the trade union worker who has passed through a military school, who has perhaps occupied the responsible post of a regimental commissar for a year, has been made by no means worse for trade union work by this fact. He returns to the trade union the same proletarian from top to toe, because he has fought for the cause of the proletariat; but he is still more manly, more independent, more determined because he has been stationed at responsible posts. He has had to lead several thousand Red Army men, particularly peasants of very varying degrees of consciousness. He has passed with them through victories and defeats, attacks and retreats. He met with cases of treason on the part of the high command, uprisings of rich peasants, panics, but he stood his ground, held the less conscious men in check, indicated to them their proper direction, fired them with his example, punished traitors and slackers. This experience is a great and valuable experience. And if the former regimental commissar returns to his trade union he will by no means become a bad organizer.

On the question of collegium management, Abramovich's arguments are just as remote from life as on all other questions; they are the arguments of an observer who takes no part, who stands on the shore and keeps aloof.

Abramovich has explained to us that a good collegium is better than a bad individual management, and that a good specialist must be attached to every good collegium. This is all very good, but why do not the Mensheviks place a few hundred such collegiums at our disposal, I believe that the Supreme Council of National Economy will have good use to which to put them. But we who are not observers, but workers, must build of the material that is actually at hand. We have specialists, of whom about one-third are conscientious and intelligent, a second third, half-conscientious and half intelligent, while the last third is good for nothing at all. In the working class there are many talented and unselfish people. Some—only some, I regret to say—already possess the necessary knowledge and experience. Others have character and abilities, without experience or knowledge. Others again are blessed with neither. It is of this material that we must create the management of industries and other institutions, and we can not content ourselves with a commonplace when we discuss this question. Above all, all the workers must be chosen who already have shown by experience that they are capable of managing industries, and they must be given the opportunity to stand on their own feet; these people themselves desire individual managements, because the factory adminis-

trations are not a school for backward persons. A workman who knows his business wants to administer. After he has made decisions and given orders his decisions must be carried out. He may be removed—that is another matter—but so long as he remains the master, the appointed proletarian master, he manages the enterprise absolutely. If he is put into a collegium of weak sisters, who interfere in his administration, no good will result. Such a worker and administrator must have a specialist as his assistant, one or more, according to the enterprise, if no suitable worker is available as administrator, and if there is a conscientious and trained specialist available, we shall put the latter at the head of the enterprise and give him two or three active workers as assistants, so that every decision of the specialist will be known to the assistant, without their having any right to cancel his order. They will carry out the work together with the specialist, step by step, and will learn something, and six months or a year later they will be able to occupy independent posts.

According to his own words, Abramovich filled the post of that hairdresser who was in command of a division of an army. Right enough! But Abramovich did not know that when our Communist Comrades began to lead regiments, divisions, and armies, the reason was in the fact that they had formerly been commissars attached to technical commanders. The responsibility was with the specialist, who knew that whenever he made a mistake, the full responsibility was upon him; he could not say that he was only in a "consulting" capacity, only a "member of a collegium." At present most of the commanding posts in our army, particularly the lower, i.e., politically most important posts, are occupied by workers and advanced peasants. But how did we begin? We put officers into commanding posts and gave them workers as commissars, and the latter learned, learned very successfully, learned to defeat the enemy.

Comrades, we face a hard, perhaps the hardest period. Serious epochs in the life of nations and classes require serious measures. The more we advance, the brighter becomes the prospect, the more free will our citizen feel himself to be, the more imperceptible will become the obligatory authority of the proletarian state. Perhaps then we shall even permit the Mensheviki to issue their paper, if the Mensheviki should desire to continue their existence as long as that. But at present we are living in a period of dictatorship: political as well as economic. And the Mensheviki continue to undermine this dictatorship. If we are struggling at the civil war front, defending the revolution against the enemy, and the Menshevik paper says: "Down with the civil war!" we are bound to put a stop to it. Dictatorship is dictatorship, war is war. And now that we are proceeding to the higher concentration with energy in the field of the economic reconstruction of the country, the Russian Kautskyans, the Mensheviki remain faithful to their counter-revolutionary calling; their voice continues to be heard as expression of doubt,

disintegration, subterranean activity, of mistrust, and dissolution.

Is it not monstrous and ridiculous that at this Congress, in which fifteen hundred workers are assembled, representing the Russian working class, with less than five per cent of Mensheviki, and about ninety per cent of Communists, Abramovich proceeds to tell us: "Do not permit yourself to be misled by methods under which a small number replace the whole people." "Everything must be done by the people," says the representative of the Mensheviki, "there must be no custodians over the working masses. Everything must be done through the working masses, through their self-activity." And he goes on. "A class cannot be convinced by arguments!" Well, consider only this one case: Here is your class! The working class is here before us and with us, and precisely this insignificant little body of Mensheviki is attempting to convince them with its philistine arguments! They evidently want to be custodians of this class. But this class has its own great self-imposed task, and it has given, among other things, evidence of its conscientiousness of this task, by casting you aside, and proceeding forward by its own path!

RUSSIAN BUILDING TRADE UNION

Izvestia writes: "A short time ago the fourth full meeting of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Society of Building Workers took place. According to the secretary's report, the society had 162,000 members in March, and now it consists of 367,000 organized workers and clerks. In the course of the year 16 provincial conferences were held.

The greatest attention has been given to the buffer-states, for the establishment of branches and to attract the masses to active work with the society. The whole work is following the definitive direction of creating a producers' guild. In spite of the preponderance of the peasants in the society, it still holds the Communist platform. Nearly all members of the provincial committees are Communists. As regards connections abroad, the builders' guild was the first to lead the way. In order to maintain connection with foreign organizations, a special bureau was organized. At present this connection is more or less established. We have reports of the activity of the representatives of sister organizations in Czecho-Slovakia, England, and Scandinavia. Connection with the Polish building workers is being established.

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Three Days at Moscow

By PIERRE PASCAL

Moscow, March 31, 1920.

IT IS Wednesday today. By sketching rapidly the way I have spent my time since Saturday, I should like, in this report which is as impersonal and photographic as possible, to share with you my great happiness, my daily revived joy at living in Moscow, the heart of Soviet Russia. *To live*—in the most complete sense of the word—that is at bottom the most correct definition of Soviet Russia.

The capitalist and bourgeois West is in full process of decay—this is an undeniable fact; the newspapers themselves admit it and the death-rattle can be heard even here. A Rumanian journalist, without any political ideas, who was purely concerned with his profession, tells me spontaneously about the scandalous corruption of the now defunct governments of Petlura and Denikin, the vain, absurd, and ferocious nationalism of Poland, bled white, devastated, and dying of the effects of her ambitions, and the unsung ignominy of those French officers who are sickening Warsaw with their scandalous orgies and speculations.

An Austrian physician tells us of the pitiful agony of beautiful, merry Vienna, which now cowers in filth and dies of famine. Comrades coming from abroad are complaining that everywhere they have found nothing but ruins, desolation, irremediable boredom, physical and moral death. And here at Moscow I behold bubbling life, inexhaustible and fruitful creation, the birth of a new world, the infallible rise of young and rich strength. What are, in comparison, the discomforts and privations of the moment! We all know that ours is the right road. Every day a new progress rewards our efforts, every day our ardor is redoubling for this very reason, and our joy, which is not noisy, but profound, is expressed on our faces.

The day before yesterday, in the evening, I had once more the opportunity of feeling the same sentiment of joy, when I assisted at the opening of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party. It was in the Great Theatre; the atmosphere was triumphant, the hall was glittering, the crowd was immense, and filled the theater with life. And what a crowd! There were no bourgeois, dull and blasé, but workers instead, coming directly from the workshops, with a serious expression on their faces, energetic, thoughtful, overflowing with will-power and intelligence, that intelligence which does not benumb itself with abstractions, but impatiently strives to progress and to action.

Many of the persons present took notes in order to study afterward, with their comrades, the questions that had been discussed. In a word, here were the people of Russia, masters and creators of their own destiny, who had finally become of age, resolved to all sacrifices, to all efforts, to all achievements, resolved to erect, at any price, a real, tan-

gible, unexceptionable monument to the glory of socialism, ready to accomplish any marvel in order to raise Russia to a hitherto unknown level of prosperity. And you may take it for granted that what has sustained and still sustains these people in their immense and superhuman struggle, is their conviction that they are working both for themselves and for their brethren all over the world.

At the Great Theater of Moscow there was gathered the directing advance guard of these people, as represented by their delegates, their tried leaders, the Communists who had come from the old provinces, and later on from Ukraine, the Caucasus, from Archangel, and Siberia. For the first time, after many months of separation, the great family of equals, of the workers of Russia, found themselves united again.

And Lenin, in a statement of this victory, inaugurates this triumphal evening. The Third International, through its President, Zinoviev, through the Swede, Grimlund, and the Norwegian, Friis, are conveying their greetings to the Russian people—that heroic advance guard of the world proletariat.

The assembly, in turn, solemnly greets the victims of the bourgeoisie, the dead of the Red Army, the innumerable victims of their gigantic work. But nobody forgets the fact that the joy of victory would not be allowed to them, if the military triumph of yesterday would not be the condition of a peaceful triumph that is much more difficult, that is still more important and that is the only one that is really substantial. Rykov tells it, Lenin proclaims it, and they both express the unanimous thought of all those present.

If we have conquered our implacable enemies, who were more powerful than we were, we owe it not only to the force of our arms, but also to our ideal that gives us an ever-increasing number of allies in the opposite camp. If we have won peace, we will not use it in the same way as capitalists do, in order to enslave and rob other people, but in order to exploit, to enrich, and to render more fruitful our soil, in the common interest of the workers of the world. If, by heroism, sacrifices, perseverance, if through fearless initiative, joined with a firm centralization, if, in one word, through discipline, we have been successful on the battlefield, then the same method will have to guide us on the economic field.

The Red Army becomes an army of labor, its compact battalions with their chiefs, their organic force, their habits of punctual and rapid execution, are clearing the forests, draining the cities, opening new roads, cleaning the tracks, exploiting the mines together with the miners, repairing the locomotives with the railroad workers, sowing the fields with the peasants. Their special units are constructing bridges, laying out new lines, and building factories. The skilled workers give the benefit of their abilities to the factories and the depots. The teach-

ers help the village soviets in educating the illiterates.

It is organized work that will accomplish this result, at any price and in all spheres of life. At any price, at any price—this is the expression used repeatedly by Lenin; it appears over and over again as a *leitmotiv* in his speech; it is—everybody feels it—the watchword of these thousands of workers. It reflects the will not only of Lenin, of the government, of the Soviets, of the Communist Party, but also of millions and millions of organized workers. Come what may, the economic crisis will be overcome at any price; it will be overcome by Communism, and Russia will for the first time enter a period of a never-heard-of prosperity. Come what may—all means will be good for attaining this end.

The Russian proletariat is great and strong, and timidity is unknown to it. It knows its aim, and in order to attain it, it employs all the appropriate instruments. What does it have to fear from foreign capitalists? In order to accelerate the improvement of its territory, it offers them concessions, mines, forests, constructions of railroads and waterways, electrical installations, commercial exchanges. It is ready to satisfy their reasonable demands provided the working classes will in the end benefit thereby.

What does it have to fear from the engineers, the managers, the business-men, coming from the bourgeoisie, when it is at the same time the owner of the political power, of the soil and of industry?

In order to benefit from their knowledge and the experience of the past, it invites them to direct its factories, its schools, its railroads, its armies. Provided their services will be loyal and profitable, the Russian proletariat assures them the most advantageous living conditions, will consider them as comrades at work, as guides from whom it has to learn.

Far from suffering from this, the dictatorship of the proletariat is on the contrary nearing its crowning triumph because its final aim is the bringing together, the fusion of the classes.

I did not get these ideas exclusively from Lenin's speech at the Ninth Congress. They are the unanimous opinion of all the political or Trades Union congresses that follow one after the other, the opinion of all the workers of Moscow and the provinces; they represent the firm will of the whole of working Russia. They are already in the way of practical accomplishment.

One of our Communist comrades, a French engineer, returned yesterday from the great industrial center Sormovo, ten versts from Nizhni-Novgorod. At present 25,000 workers are assembled there, comprising a division of the Labor Army. The workers have themselves adopted the ten and twelve-hour day. They are accordingly paid, fed, and provided with lodgings. The factory is supplied with fuel and with metals for many months. The neighboring forests and a peat-bog are exploited by it.

A new electrical station is in the course of con-

struction which will also supply the neighboring places with power and light. The direction is assumed by a collegium of four workers which never fails to convoke conferences of engineers and department heads, whenever a serious question arises. Work was never impeded by any disagreement. And it is going on without intermission.

New locomotives are being delivered to the railroads; broken down engines of many sections are being repaired there, as well as the boats of the Volga fleet; a short time ago, when Poland persisted in her aggressive attitude, cannons, armored trains and tanks were still produced there.

In the course of a few weeks the progress has become enormous and striking. Here again it is life itself. Our comrade who was talking with the engineers heard from their own mouths an expression of admiration for the work of the Soviets and the Communists. Themselves carried away by the wave of work, they are filled with a new zeal—perhaps not yet with love for the proletarian Revolution—but at least for the Russian Fatherland. The delegates at the congress pointed out that the same is the case in other factories.

We are facing here a phenomenon that is analogous to the one which was observed in the Red Army; the Russian patriotism of the liberal and bourgeois classes, put at the service of the power of the Soviets, incarnating the whole country, and accepted and utilized by the latter in the interest of the international proletariat.

Let us again change the scene. Let us go from Moscow and Nizhni-Novgorod to Astrakhan. In the course of the three days which I have mentioned, I had the pleasure of seeing again a Russian comrade coming from those parts. He is a worker, a native of the province of Tambov, who under the Tsar had experienced all the hardships of capitalist and governmental oppression. He had acquired his education—and a very good one at that—exclusively by his own efforts. During the Revolution he became a member of the factory committee at Odessa, where he educated his fellow workers; later he became a member of the Executive Committee of the city. While remaining a worker, he takes part in the government of the country. An old Communist himself, he is every inch a man—the man of muscles, the man of brains and the man of action as he is dreamed by Communism. He is returning from a mission that was concerned with the supplying of the region of Astrakhan and the Steppes.

In that region even the bourgeois population is very well disposed toward the Soviet regime, and is energetically clamoring for a complete liberation of the Caspian. The "Whites" never entered that city, but they menaced it from so near that they made themselves thoroughly hated.

The picture is still more striking, if we consider the native population. The Kirghizes, only a short time ago oppressed, robbed, despised, humiliated by the all-powerful officials, have now their own Soviets, and are eagerly using the opportunities for progress and education offered them very liberally.

Communism is their savior—they join it in masses. Here again it is life itself.

Let us again change the place and theater of action. While the proletariat, those millions of former pariahs, are learning, working, organizing, repairing the ruins left by capitalism, in order to build up, by degrees, a Communist society, there are also quiet sanctuaries, comfortable palaces, where scholars, surrounded by the care of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, are concerned with their disinterested investigations.

Last Monday, in the company of Professor Lazarev, I visited the Physical Institute of Moscow. I saw the laboratories, the instruments, the library, the young scholars who are working there. Here again it is life under another aspect. The discoveries that are made here are of interest for the higher spheres of science, X-rays, N-rays, magnetism, the Theory of Ions, atomism, etc. They refer to those border-zones which are still very insufficiently explored and form a connecting link between several branches of science, as for instance between physics and chemistry or biology. And yet the Physical Institute, which is but a part of the Scientific Institute of Moscow, has the full support of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and of

the Commissariat of Public Health. From these institutions it gets the needed instruments and the credits, amounting to tens of millions of rubles. About 150 scholars inhabit this Prytaneum.

What could be less proletarian from the bourgeois point of view? But the Soviet power knows that science is at the same time the guide and the assistant of labor, and with this aim in view it multiplies the scientific centers. It encourages not only public education in all its forms but also science in the narrower meaning of the word.

An astronomic observatory is now being constructed at Nizhni-Novgorod. At present there are going on experiments in wireless telephony for long distances. An expedition of mathematicians, physicists and geologists is studying the magnetic anomalies of Kursk.

I could still quote a great number of similar cases and shall have still to write again about the Scientific Institute of Moscow. But from my visit I, once more, carried away the impression that here, as everywhere in the Communist Republic, there is life—not a life of stagnation, but a life of activity, of fruitful creation that is organized in the interest of a working humanity. And here you have a true definition of Soviet Russia.

“News” from Russia

IN SPITE of industrial and commercial slackness, at least one branch of human endeavor seems not to have suffered much, but continues to flourish as before. It is the American and European industry of “news” from Russia. We rarely have time to read, much less to refute, all the humorous stories coming from the factories in Helsingfors, Copenhagen, Constantinople, and Paris; but last week's crop was so remarkable, so variegated, so—Munchausenesque, that we should commit a sin of omission in depriving our readers of a concise account of this journalistic smoke-screen.

There was a short time ago a report that Gorky, having quarrelled with Lenin over the “persecution” of Russian scholars, was finally banished from his afflicted country and had to seek refuge in one of the democratic countries of Europe. The whole civilized world was impatiently waiting for his “revelations”, which would certainly have destroyed what little moral credit the newspapers had left to the Kremlin “tyranny”. But again it was perfidious Albion that greatly disappointed all lovers of liberty. Instead of receiving him with open arms and enabling him to join the venerable crowd of the Bertrand Russells, the Arthur Joneses *e tutti quanti*—England simply refused to visa his passport. And so Gorky had to keep silence. It was really a pity . . .

But although Gorky remained silent, another great man did not, and was hailed by the press of both hemispheres. It is true, he was not as famous as the author of “The Lower Depths”—he was only a Mr. Schwartz from San Francisco, the credibility of whose gruesome stories was supposed to be con-

firmed by the fact that that gentleman had once been a member of the American Socialist Party. But that assertion was promptly denied by the *New York Call*, and a few days later came a statement of a contributor of the *New Yorker Volks Zeitung*, revealing this unweaver of Russian horrors as an agent of a government far from friendly to Soviet Russia.

Then came a report from Copenhagen, according to which Lenin intends to spend this summer in Finland; we must complement this interesting bit of news with the revelation that simultaneously with this decision of Lenin, the Third International is alleged to have ordered Bela Kun to spend the summer in Hungary and Radek to spend his vacation as a guest of Mr. Pilsudski.

Perhaps this sudden decision of Lenin has something to do with the sensational news coming from Berlin, according to which the venerable Eduard Bernstein, originator of Socialist “Revisionism”, has confirmed the famous revelations of Edgar Sisson, Creel and General Hoffmann. If Lenin is thus finally exposed as having taken German gold, he must also know that, owing to the breakdown of the Russian transport, the news will not reach the Russian people before summer, and has probably decided to wait a few months before fleeing from the rage of the comrades with whom he failed to share the thirty pieces of silver for which he is said to have sold the Russian people.

It seems that even for a time—crushed by the cumbrous weight of these revelations—Lenin was expected to commit suicide, for the papers were full of reports of his mysterious death which—after he

had vainly resorted to this *alias*—was to strike him under the assumed name of Karpoff.

However, the news of Lenin's death turned out to be a little exaggerated, but something very serious must have happened in the capital of the Red Tsar, for Mr. Albert Boni informs us in the *Globe* that Lenin "holds no official position in the Russian Government", deriving all his power exclusively from the fact that he is President of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. This is certainly very interesting news and still more interesting is the headline of Mr. Boni's correspondence, declaring that "Lenin's Absolutism Bars Revolution by Russians." At last we understand why there has as yet been no revolution against the Soviet system. It is *verboten* by Lenin . . .

Some enterprising newspaper man may some day point out that in reality the Postmaster-General of the United States is an official without any authority or power, as his office, like that of the other Cabinet members, is not provided for in the American Constitution. Not dissimilar is the contention that the office of President of the Council of People's Commissars in Soviet Russia is not a recognized executive branch of the Russian State.

It is a pity that Mr. Don Marquis, of the *Evening Sun*, long ago discontinued the publication of his remarkable series about Hermione and her little group of serious thinkers. He would have found much inspiration in the contribution of a young lady (we are not so cruel as to mention her name) who in the "New York Times Book Review and Magazine" of January 23, 1921, gave her impressions of Soviet Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is economically the most important of the three Caucasian republics, its great national asset being the rich oil wells of Baku; no wonder therefore that, after Persia and Mesopotamia, England should want to add to her "White Man's Burden" this Tartar Republic also. But the workers of Baku did not appreciate this tender solicitude at all, and, after driving off their corrupt government, proclaimed a Soviet republic and established a close union with Russia. According to our Hermione, this is how this revolution was effected: "When Azerbaijan was off her guard, they (the Russian Bolsheviki) came down and took her with an armored train and a handful of soldiers." Isn't it admirable: A republic of five million Tartars, reputed in all the school-books as dreadful and savage fighters—taken by one armored train and a handful of soldiers! Let us suppose the Soviet Government has at its disposal one hundred armored trains; a little arithmetic should enable it to conquer all of Europe—as well as Africa and Asia . . .

Anxious to know how this misfortune could befall Azerbaijan, Hermione tried to get information from a Bolshevik colonel. His answer was: "I can't tell you. I have only been a Bolshevik for about four weeks. I fought faithfully when I was in Denikin's army and after I was taken prisoner and told by the Reds that I was now a Bolshevik, I fought faithfully for the new regime." You see

what an idyllic tea-party affair civil war in Russia is. A Denikin officer is taken prisoner by the Reds and on the spot he is made a colonel in their own army. Denikin and Wrangel, we may presume, proceeded along the same lines.

The villain of the whole affair is of course a Jewish Commissar, about whom "*it was said* that his rooms were richly furnished with requisitioned furniture."

London telegrams are bringing reports of numerous mutinies of Soviet troops along the Latvian, Esthonian and Finnish borders. The same telegrams report also "that a number of secret organizations are systematically preparing for a new rebellion in Finland, with the object of enabling the proletariat to assume power *with the help of troops of Russia*." They are evidently rehearsing mutinies in Soviet Russia, to be prepared for the forthcoming performance announced to take place in Finland.

An editorial of the London Tory daily, *The Morning Post*, attacks the impending conclusion of a British-Russian trade agreement. The newspaper asks what Great Britain's position would be, if "*loyal Russians* should come into their own again." "*Loyal Russians*", it should be remembered, live outside of Russia, as pensioners of governments fighting against Russia, and refuse to return to their country to take part in the work of reconstruction.

A report from Paris has it that Alexander Kerensky has established in Paris a permanent organization to oppose the Soviet Government in Russia. One of the objects of this organization, it is announced, "is to obtain the funds which the Allied Government owed to the Tsarist regime in Russia! This, indeed, is regarded as the principal object." We may say the great Alexander's chances of overthrowing the Soviet regime are no larger or better than his chances of getting those funds.

LONDON "TIMES" AT WORK

TRIESTE, January 8, 1921.—The *Idea Nazionale* recently reproduced a report of *The Times* (London), according to which the Italian ship "Baron Rock" had returned to Constantinople from Sebastopol because the sailors who were touched by the rows of dead men hanging in the principal streets of the city, had forced the captain to quit the place. Two refugees whom they had brought away with them stated that the Bolshevists had hanged 8,000 people on the trees and telegraph poles of the city. *Il Lavoratore della Sera* interviewed the officials of the Lloyd Triestino and were informed that since the war none of their ships had been in Sebastopol. A representative of the *Lavoratore* then went on board the "Baron Rock" which had recently returned from Constantinople and was lying at anchor in the harbor of Trieste. Upon reading the above-mentioned telegram the officers and men of the ship broke into Homeric laughter.

(Perhaps *The Times* will now justify its story.)

CHARLES RECHT APPOINTED ATTORNEY BY MR. MARTENS

Prior to his departure from the United States, Mr. L. A. Martens appointed Mr. Charles Recht, Attorney-at-Law, 110 West 40th Street, New York City, as his personal attorney in his absence. Mr. Martens also authorized Mr. Recht, in event of instructions from the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, to act as attorney on behalf of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Included in Mr. Recht's instructions is the authorization to act as attorney on behalf of such indigent and meritorious Russians as may apply to him for legal aid.

Mr. Martens' letter of instructions to Mr. Recht reads as follows:

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC
*Bureau of the Representative in the
United States of America*

January 18, 1921.

"Charles Recht, Esq.,
110 West 40th Street,
New York City."

"Dear Comrade Recht:

"In view of my departure, I am desirous of making some arrangements and leaving certain instructions that should be carried out by you during my absence or until other instructions have been received by you from the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government.

"1st. You are instructed to act as my personal attorney and to transact for me all such business as may be necessary.

"2nd. You are authorized, in the event that it should become necessary and you should be so instructed by the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, to accept service of papers, and otherwise to act as the attorney representing the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

"3rd. You are authorized to act on behalf of and to represent all such cases of indigent and meritorious Russians as may apply to you for relief, in accordance with instructions which you will receive.

"For all these purposes, let this be your sufficient authorization.

(Signed) L. MARTENS,
*Representative in the United States of the
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic."*

GREETINGS FROM MID-OCEAN

The following wireless message was delivered at the business office of SOVIET RUSSIA on Wednesday, January 26:

S.S. STOCKHOLM

SOVIET RUSSIA:

*All well and happy. Weather Beautiful. Hear-
tiest greetings and thanks to all comrades and
friends.*

(Signed) MARTENS.

CONGRESS OF METALLURGISTS

The Scientific Technical Section of the Supreme Council of Public Economy called a congress of metallurgists, which was attended by a great number of noted scientists and practicing engineers. About 100 reports were read at the Congress. One professor made a report of his scientific work before and during the war, which showed that scientific work has not been disturbed by the roar of the cannon.

A noted practicing engineer, who has spent many years in preparing different kinds of steel for shells, presented before the Congress many drawings, schemes, and figures on the electrification of Russia. Different projects and counter projects were considered for the utilization of the Ural, of the Donets, and Kushnetzk basins. A fine spirit prevailed among the members of the Congress. They were conscious of the importance of the task before them—the regeneration of one of the most responsible and most significant branches of our industry. They know how much the Russian metallurgists have accomplished in the past in the field of producing steel and copper, and they are willing to take up the great task which is put before them.

ENGLAND DENIES SEIZURE OF "ANCONA"

Moscow, January 6, 1921.—Last November British ships seized an Italian ship which was carrying merchandise to Novorossisk and took it to Batum. When it attempted to escape, it was pursued and brought back. These facts were denied by the English Government. But the investigations undertaken by our representatives have established that our statement was correct and the denial of the English Government false.

Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia

This 85 page booklet gives the complete text of the first code of laws of the Russian Soviet Republic dealing with:

1. CIVIL STATUS AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS.
2. MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.
3. FAMILY RIGHTS, PERSONAL AND PROPERTY RIGHTS.
4. GUARDIANSHIP, ETC.

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"What is New in the Russian Revolution?"

SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Journal of Information

Ten Cents

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Education at Moscow

[SOVIET RUSSIA has frequently printed material on educational and welfare matters in Soviet Russia. We are able this week to present to our readers two short articles from the pen of W. McLaine, an English Communist who visited Russia last summer. As a third piece, to accompany Mr. McLaine's articles, we have added an outline of the rules and regulations of the Workers' University, which will be of interest to those readers who wish to know about higher education in Russia.]

The Karl Marx University, Moscow

By W. McLAINE

THIS university was a large school of some kind or another in the old days, and is now the home of a part of the "Labor Faculty" of the Moscow University. The names of the Moscow streets were always so confusing to me that I cannot give its exact location, but that is not an important matter.

The "Labor Faculty" is a new department of the higher educational work, based upon a recognition of the fact that quite a new kind of material is being handled by the teachers, new in the subject-matter and new in the personnel of the students.

It is necessary that many party men and women shall now be trained for administrative parts of all kinds—men and women who have not had the preliminary general training necessary for a university education, and for these, a special preparatory course has been arranged.

The curriculum has been divided into two parts—the economic and the technical. In the first named section, students are trained in price fixing, management of factories, administration, and organization. The persons eligible for admission to this training are factory and office workers, who must be recommended by the factory or office committee. They continue at work, and attend in the evenings. Some additional food is provided for them because of the extra work occasioned by their studies. In the technical section are studies in chemistry, food analysis, dynamics, etc.

Each department—the technical and the economic—has its special and general courses; and the instruction given, enables students to prepare and qualify for higher and research work.

The preparatory course is for two terms, the technical two, and the economic four.

At the wish of the trade unions, special courses are arranged; thus, the metal unions have asked for a course in "standardization of labor" and in "statistical methods", the food workers for instruction in preserving eggs, and the railway workers a special course in railway organization.

The management of the college is in the hands of a committee of twenty-nine students, and twenty-nine tutors, who are all elected, and this committee in turn elects a presidium of three to carry on the work.

There are labor faculties similar to this, but the others differ from this, in that it is nearer to the trade unions. Nominations for studentships are in the hands of the unions and the factory committees, but the others, which are mainly concerned with state administration, have their students nominated by the state and the party. In these latter schools, there are special courses in foreign affairs, home affairs, war problems, etc., and nominations are accepted from the army.

The Moscow University has its labor faculty to which all may enter, no nominations being required. A preparatory course is necessary there also, and before students are admitted to the courses proper, they must pass an examination rather more difficult than the Matriculation Examination of the British Universities.

On the occasion of our visit, we inspected the various class and lecture rooms, and although it was practically the end of June, and therefore not exactly the busy time for schools, there were several classes working. The average attendance was 60 per cent of the students on the roll, and at the university proper, the average was about 85 per cent.

In our conversations with the professors, we were told that the students were as good, if not better, than those they taught in pre-war days. They were younger and more adaptable, attentive and desirous of learning, though of course they had not behind them the educational grounding common to the old type of student.

In the classroom occupied by the class taking Trade Union Statistics, were young men and women all sent by their trade unions, and all engaged in the metal industry. The attendance in this class is 100 per cent. An analysis of the previous education of its members showed that 37 had had an elementary schooling; 15 secondary; 5 at church schools; 3, trade classes; 3, home education; 2, technical training; 1, commercial classes; 1, high school, and 1, not known. All the students in this class are full-time students, and are maintained and paid an allowance.

In a preparatory class, we found 116 factory workers and 37 office workers, receiving instruction to fit them for the advanced studies. Subsequently we spent an hour or so in one of the lecture rooms, and saw a number of lantern slides being shown on the screen descriptive of up-to-date methods of preparing and using peat fuel. Here again the professor in charge, in reply to our questions, expressed his satisfaction at the eagerness of the students to learn, and declared that this, together with their attractiveness, compensated for the lower educational standard when compared with the pupils he had previously taught.

A Visit to a School Near Moscow

June 28, 1920

By W. MCLAINE

The school was at one time a training center for cadets for the army. It is situated in a very pleasant country district in the midst of a farming area. There are a number of buildings that serve as dormitories, dining rooms, schoolrooms, etc. The children attend the Elizabeth Institute in Moscow during the winter and live at this school during the spring and summer months. There are nine pavilions that serve as dormitories, dining-rooms, schoolrooms, etc., and a teacher is in charge of each. When we visited the place, there were about 200 children in residence.

Much of the work done is of a practical character. The children work in the fields, growing potatoes and vegetables generally. They have allotments, and are personally responsible for them. A number of goats and rabbits are kept, and these are attended to by the children also. Parties go

out into the fields and woods, and collect specimens which are brought back and examined and discussed in the evenings. Practical surveying is learned by actual work at measuring up the field surrounding the school and the preparation of plans of the places thus surveyed.

A theater has been fitted up, and the scholars take part in the performances. Just before our visit, some of the older girls had rehearsed a play, and had prepared the scenery and costumes, without anything being known of it until it was announced to be performed.

Drawing, sewing, fitting, German, literature, gymnastics, and singing all find a place in the curriculum. Plays are discussed and read, and the games are organized. For their Swedish drill they lack apparatus because of the blockade. The visitors had the opportunity of visiting the various parts of the school. The buildings were very clean, and the dormitories appeared to be in a good and tidy state. It was interesting to note that the girls' dormitories were gaily decorated with bunches of wild flowers, and on the little lockers at the head of the beds, were arranged picture postcards and other humble treasures. The boys' rooms, by humorous contrast, were examples of Spartan simplicity; there were no flowers, no decorative odds and ends—nothing but perhaps a few books.

We lunched with the children on excellent soup and a dish of kasha,—a kind of meal paste that the writer found quite appetizing. At lunch we had an opportunity of seeing all the children together. We were all assembled in an open air pavilion with sides. The children were of all ages,—from about four to seventeen. They all looked exceedingly healthy and very happy, and in our conversations with them we found them very grateful for the great change that had come in their lives. They asked us if our own town children were fortunate enough to be taken out into the country for the summer months, and when we thought of our city boys and girls playing in the dusty streets we were made painfully aware of the difference.

In our talks with the children we were much impressed with their frank manner and sturdy bearing. The immediate responses to our queries, and the way in which they were given, were evidences of a training quite different to the usual kind. There was no simpering shyness, and yet there was no over-boldness. Some could speak German and French well enough to converse with those of our party who were familiar with these languages.

The teachers told us that the sexes mixed quite freely, and for the older ones there were sex talks. Although it was a mixed school, there had been no sex troubles of any kind.

After lunch the children escorted us around the fields and allotments, and were immensely proud of their work. They brought out the white goats—clean and sleek—for our inspection, and took us to see the rabbit house. This was of special interest. When the school was a training place for the young cadets, it was used as a kind of prison for refractory youths. There was a central passage,

and on each side of it, tiny wooden cells that must have been positively stifling in the hot summer weather. Now, the cells house a good collection of pet bunnies! On one of the cell walls was an inscription evidently written by a one-time sufferer, "The stars will fall, the heavens will open before justice will be done to a poor cadet," and on another, one that made reference to regrets for having illicitly used tobacco.

Some of the children were sons and daughters of the old middle class, and in some cases their parents were known to be active opponents of the present regime. One charming young girl of about sixteen years of age, was the daughter of an officer fighting against Soviet Russia—she told us so herself quite frankly—but it made no difference whatever to the treatment she received. She was not fighting against the people and so she had the same place in the school as any other child.

Most of the children were proletarians and came from the outskirts of Moscow.

One boy interested us very much. He was fifteen years of age, tall and strong-looking, and had been with the Red Army for two years. He had been sent back once or twice but wanted to return again. For our benefit he went to his room and changed into his uniform, and rode round the fields on a horse, like a born cavalryman. A Californian representative who was with us, photographed him and promised to hand us all copies, but unfortunately he later took a snapshot of a group of children, and had neglected to change his slides!

Before we left, the children brought to us great bunches of wild flowers—marguerites and blossoms—and at the end of our day crowded round our autos giving us numberless messages for the children of our respective countries, cheering us vigorously and waving us a joyous farewell.

It was without doubt a happy day for us, and one well spent.

Constitution of the Workers' University

[The following description of an interesting new proletarian institution of learning in Russia is taken from a recent issue of the Spanish weekly "España", of Madrid. We are obliged to use this translation from the Spanish, as we have not obtained the original Russian version.]

ALL those who have been in Soviet Russia have been unanimous in their appreciation of the care, the intelligence, and the efficiency with which the Bolshevik Government deals with the problems of education.

There exists today an institution which has a branch in every city of the Soviet Republic, and from which we may legitimately await the formation of generations more perfect than the oppressed and confused generations of the present: the Free Socialist University. According to the testimony of some travelers, among others, that of the Italian Socialists who have recently returned from Russia, this institution is accomplishing a profound transformation in the proletariat.

We print the program of this institution because it is a document more worthy of study than most of the documents which have been published in reviews, periodicals, and books in great profusion:

I. *The Object and the Tasks of the University*

The Free Socialist University has for its object:

1. To give to the proletariat a Communist conception of the world, based on scientifically exact data.
2. To initiate the proletariat as soon as possible into all the most recent universal scientific discoveries, urging them to find always new scientific methods.
3. To explain to the masses the intimate connection between the so-called exact sciences and practical life.
4. To awaken in the masses, not only a love of learning, but also a love of action.
5. To direct the masses towards creative activity on the basis of science.
6. To create institutions which will be suitable for developing in the citizens an aspiration towards self-culture.

II. *Methods of Attaining these Ends*

Systematic and personal lectures should be organized, to be accompanied by experimental studies in laboratories and observatories, in scientific classrooms and museums, supplemented by scientific excursions.

III. *Students*

Citizens of both sexes, over sixteen years of age, who can read and write, will be permitted to attend the university.

IV. *Division of the Students into Various Groups*

The students will be divided into several groups, as follows:

1. According to the degree of preparation and of mental development.
2. According to a predisposition for one or another branch of science.
3. According to the psychological type of the pupil, this type to be determined by the methods of psychological pedagogy.

V. *Subjects of Instruction*

1. The Universe (Cosmology).
2. Man (Anthropology).
3. Human Society (Social Sciences).

VI. *Methods of Self-Education for the Students*

In view of the fact that the university tends, not so much toward the instruction (pedagogy of the intelligence), as toward the education of the individual (pedagogy of character), the fundamental method of the Socialist University is the self-education of the students. To achieve this result, and in order that the student may develop his own individuality and give to his own life the most useful and productive direction, the university is organizing a course of lectures on the development of the force of the will by means of auto-analysis (a method of systematic self-observation), employing methods of practical pedagogy applied by the students to themselves.

VII. Professors

Every citizen having general information and scientific preparation, capable of thought and of speech, capable of generalizing and of interpreting the phenomena of daily life scientifically.

In order to make the instruction of the professors more homogenous, in order to make a connection between all the subjects of instruction, a chair of Methodology will be created (for the first time in schools of this kind), which will have for its object the unification of the private lectures, regulating them so that they conform to the general scheme of the university, the acquisition of a vast Communist interpretation of the universe.

VIII. Duration of the Course

The length of the course shall be two years. The sessions shall take place in the afternoons, not less than three nor more than five times a week, each lecture to be three hours. Special courses may be arranged after conferences with the students, during the third and even during the first two years of the course.

IX. Auxiliary Organizations

Supplementing the Free Socialist University, libraries, observatories, laboratories, scientific classrooms, museums, an office for excursions, an office for encyclopedic information and relations with all kindred organizations will be organized.

X

The Free Socialist University shall include organizations among the students and the professors, having for an object the arrangement of lectures in the laboratories, and in the libraries, in order that all student organizations which are of an educational character and which are working together

to perfect the proletarian institution shall be grouped together.

XI. Organization of the University

The Free Socialist University shall follow the general direction of the Commissariat of Public Education, its executive organs shall be the members of the presidency of the college, the collegium to be composed of representatives of the professors, of the students, of the office of Public Instruction and the director and the secretary of the university itself.

XII. Administrative Organization

The entire administration of the F. S. U. is under the jurisdiction of the collegium, but the administration itself is to be confined to an administrator elected for this purpose.

The collegium will be composed of a representative of the office of Public Instruction, another representative of the professors, three of the students, the official in charge of the university, and the secretary of the university, in all, seven members.

The direction of the university may be confided solely to one who has proved that he possesses initiative and creative faculties in the domain of science; among those eligible for membership in the collegium shall be those who know thoroughly the program of the university, its objects, and who are working actively to educate and perfect themselves in the spirit of the program and the purposes of the university.

The F. S. U. shall be subsidized by the Commissariat of Public Instruction according to the fluctuations which may occur in the affairs of the university. The stipends shall be fixed by decree of the Commissariat of Public Instruction.

“Marxian” Opponents of Soviet Russia

The Final Chapter of “Terrorismus und Kommunismus—Anti-Kautsky”.

By LEON TROTSKY

[Vienna before 1914 was one of the centers of the pleasure-life of Europe, although it was less an asylum for foreign pleasure-seekers than Paris. Viennese literature was, as a result of the peculiar distracted political life of the Dual Monarchy, devoted more to a pandering to the specific senses than to a serious consideration of principles. Arthur Schnitzler is, characteristically enough, Vienna's greatest novelist, Dr. Freud its most distinguished psychologist, and even the more serious Karl Kraus finds it hard to free himself from the dominant Viennese dilettantism. Leon Trotsky points out below the Viennese nature of the Austrian “Marxians” and of Kautsky himself.]

IN EARLIER days the Austrian-Marxian school (Bauer, Renner, Hilferding, Max Adler, Friedrich Adler) was not infrequently distinguished from the school of Kautsky as concealed opportunism versus genuine Marxism. This turned out to be a complete historical misunderstanding, which misled some people for a longer and others for a shorter time, but finally it became clearly disclosed that Kautsky is the founder and the most thoroughgoing representative of the Austrian falsification of Marxism.

Whereas the actual teaching of Marx is the theoretical formula of action, of aggression, of development of revolutionary energy, of the most complete conduct of the class struggle, the Aus-

trian school was transformed into the Academy of Passivity and of Deviation, and became vulgarly-historical and conservative, i.e., it reduced its task to this: to explaining phenomena and justifying them, instead of directing them to action and overthrow. It (the Austrian School) lowered itself to the role of a servant of the current needs of parliamentary and trade union opportunism; it substituted for dialectics a juggling sophistry, and finally, in spite of its noisy wave of law-abiding revolutionary phrases, it was transformed into the surest support of the capitalist state, and of the throne and altar above it. If the former went to pot it was not the fault of the Austrian-Marxian school.

What distinguishes Austrian Marxism is its ab-

horrence of revolutionary action and fear of such action. The Austrian Marxist is capable of developing a remarkably profound interpretation of the events of yesterday (the past) and a considerable daring courage in prophesying for tomorrow (the future)—but for the present day he never has any big idea, any predisposition for a great action. For him, the present day is lost under the pressure of small opportunistic cares, which are later interpreted as an immutable link between the past and the future.

The Austrian Marxist is inexhaustible when it comes to picking out the causes that obstruct initiative and make revolutionary action difficult. Austrian Marxism is a learned and bombastic theory of passivity and capitulation. It is, of course, no accident that just in Austria—a Babylon torn by unfruitful national controversies, in this state which is a living example of an impossible existence and a precluded development—that the pseudo-Marxian philosophy of the impossibility of a revolutionary action arose and gained strength.

The most prominent Austro-Marxists exhibit, each in his way, a certain "individuality". On certain questions they not infrequently diverged. There were even political differences among them. In general, however, they were in thorough accord.

Karl Renner presents the most perfect artificially cultivated representative of this type and the most in love with himself. He possessed to a high degree the gift of literary imitation or to be plainer, the gift of stylistic deception. His solemn May articles exhibited an excellent stylistic combination of the foremost and most distinguished words. But since words as well as their combinations within certain limits lead an independent life of their own, Renner's articles aroused in the hearts of many workers the revolutionary fire which their composer apparently never knew. The trumpetry of Austro-Viennese culture, the pursuit of the external, of rank, of title, was to a greater degree characteristic of Renner than of his associates. Fundamentally, he always remained an imperial official who knew how to make use of Marxian phraseology to the top of his bent.

The transformation of this writer, who once produced a jubilee article on Karl Marx that was noted for its revolutionary rhetoric, into a comic-opera chancellor who expresses with emotion his esteem and gratitude to Scandinavian monarchs, is one of history's most convincing paradoxes.

Otto Bauer is more learned, more prosaic, more serious and more boring than Renner. One cannot deny his ability to read books, to gather facts and to draw conclusions—as required by the tasks which practical politics, as conducted by other men, set for him. Bauer has no political will. His chief ability consists in worming his way out of the most burning practical questions by means of commonplaces and platitudes. His thinking—his political thinking—always leads a parallel existence to his will—his thought is devoid of courage. His works are never more than learned compilations of a gifted scholar of a university seminar. The

most shameful deeds of Austrian opportunism, the lowest cringing of the German-Austrian social democracy before the powers that be, found in Bauer its profoundest exponent who sometimes protested duly against the form, but who always accepted the essence. If it sometimes happened to Bauer that he exhibited something like temperament or political energy, it was always exclusively in the struggle against the revolutionary wing—in the piling up of reasons and facts as well as citations against revolutionary action. He reached his summit at that time (after 1907) when, still too young to be a deputy, he played the role of Secretary of the Social Democratic Parliamentary Group, and provided it with material, figures, substitutes for action, made out rough drafts, and seemed to himself to be the promoter of great deeds, when in reality he was only the purveyor of surrogates and imitations for the parliamentary opportunists.

Max Adler represents a quite complicated variety of the Austro-Marxian type. He is a lyricist, a philosopher, a mystic—the philosophic lyricist of passivity, just as Renner is its journalist and jurist, Hilferding its political economist, and Bauer its sociologist. Max Adler feels himself a prisoner in the small world of three dimensions, although he placed himself very comfortably in the frame of the Viennese bourgeois Socialism and of the Hapsburg state. The union of petty lawyer-like superficiality and political faintheartedness with unfruitful philosophic effort and cheap imitations of idealism imparted a peculiarly insipid and unsympathetic character to the species represented by Max Adler.

Rudolph Hilferding, like the others, entered the German Social Democracy almost as a rebel. But as a rebel of the Austrian type, i.e., one always ready to capitulate without a fight. Hilferding considered the external variability and inconstancy of Austrian politics, in which he had been raised, as revolutionary initiative, and demanded for several months, to be sure in the most modest terms, a more determined policy from the leaders of the German Social Democracy. But the Austro-Viennese fickleness was soon replaced in him by another quality. He soon surrendered to the mechanical rhythm of Berlin and to the automatic intellectual life of the German Social Democracy. He transferred his intellectual energy to the purely theoretical field where to be sure he contributed nothing of any importance—no single Austro-Marxist has contributed anything of importance in any field—but nevertheless he wrote a serious book in his field. With this book on his back, like a porter with a heavy load, he entered the revolutionary epoch. But even the most learned book cannot take the place of a lack of will, of initiative, of revolutionary instinct, of political determination, without which action is impossible. A physician by education, Hilferding is inclined to moderation and in spite of his training he is the most primitive empiricist in the realm of political questions. For him the principal question of the present day consists in not getting out of the rut set by the day before,

and in finding a learned scientific justification for this conservatism and petty bourgeois decadence.

Friedrich Adler shows less stability of character than any other representative of the Austro-Marxian type. He inherited from his father a political temperament. In the petty frictions of the struggle with the tangle of Austrian conditions, Friedrich Adler allowed his ironical skepticism finally to destroy the revolutionary foundations of his world view. The temperament inherited from his father pushed him into the opposition against the school created by his father. At certain moments Friedrich Adler might have been considered as a downright revolutionary negation of the old school, but in fact he was and had always been its necessary complement. His explosive revolutionism reflected the acute attacks of despair of Austrian opportunism, which, from time to time, recoiled before its own hollowness.

Friedrich Adler is a doubter down to his very marrow, he does not believe in the masses, in their effectiveness for action. While Karl Liebknecht was appearing on the Potsdamer Platz at the moment of the greatest triumphs of German militarism, to summon the oppressed masses to open combat, Friedrich Adler walked into a bourgeois restaurant to assassinate the Austrian Prime Minister. By his isolated shot, Friedrich Adler made the unsuccessful attempt to put an end to his own doubts. After this hysterical excess he collapsed into a condition of even more complete impotence.

The black-yellow* pack of social patriots (Austerlitz, Leuthner, etc.), bespattered the terrorist Adler with all the venom of their cowardly rhetoric. But when the acute period was over and the prodigal son returned to his father's house from prison with the halo of the martyr, he was bound to become doubly and triply precious for Austrian Social Democracy. The golden halo of the terrorist was coined into the ringing gold of demagogy by the experienced counterfeiters of the party. Friedrich Adler became the voucher in the eyes of the masses for the deeds of Austerlitz, and Renner. Fortunately the Austrian workers are finding it harder and harder to differentiate between the sentimental-lyric enervation of Friedrich Adler and the bombastic insipidity of Renner, or the high talmudic unfruitfulness of Max Adler, or the analytical self-complacency of Otto Bauer.

The cowardice of the thinking of the theoreticians of the Austro-Marxian school revealed itself completely when faced with the great tasks of the period of revolution. In his immortal attempt to find a place for the Soviet system in the Ebert-Noske constitution, Hilferding gave expression not only to his own spirit, but also to the spirit of the whole Austro-Marxian school, which attempted, at the beginning of the revolutionary epoch, to place itself just so much to the left of Kautsky as it had been to the right of him up to the Revolution.

From this point of view, Max Adler's opinion of the Soviet system is most instructive.

The Viennese eclectic philosopher recognizes the significance of the Soviet. His courage goes so far as to adopt it. He even goes so far as to proclaim it as an instrument of the social revolution. Max Adler is, it is understood, for the social revolution. Still, not for the stormy, barricading, terroristic, bloody revolution but for a moderate, economical, well-adjusted, legally sanctified kind, approved at philosophic headquarters.

Max Adler does not even shrink from the idea that the Soviet system offends against the "principle" of constitutional division of power (in the Austrian Social Democracy there are not a few fools who regard such a violation as a great defect in the Soviet system!), on the contrary, Max Adler, counsel for the trades-unions and legal adviser of the social revolution, sees even an advantage in the concentration of power which affords a direct expression of the will of the proletariat. Max Adler is in favor of the direct expression of the will of the proletariat, not however of the direct way of seizure of power by means of Soviets. He proposes a surer method. In every city, in every locality and district, the Workers' Soviets must "control" the police and the other officials, and impose the will of the proletariat upon them. But what will be the "constitutional" position of the Soviets in the republic of Seitz, Renner, and their consorts? Our philosopher answers as follows: "The workers' councils in the last analysis will have so much constitutional power as they can manage to get by their activities." (*Arbeiter Zeitung*, No. 179, July 1, 1919.)

The proletarian Soviets are gradually to grow into the political power of the proletariat, as before—according to the theory of reformism—all proletarian organizations were to grow into Socialism—a process which was somewhat upset by unforeseen misunderstandings lasting for four years between the Central European states and the Allies and by all the consequences of these misunderstandings. One was compelled to reject the economical program of growing into Socialism according to schedule and without social revolution. In exchange there was afforded the prospect of an orderly evolution of the Soviets into the social revolution of unarmed uprising and seizure of power.

In order that the Soviets should not fail in the tasks of the precincts and districts, the courageous legal adviser proposes—propaganda of Social Democratic ideas! Political power is to remain as before in the hands of the bourgeoisie and its accomplices. To make up for this, however, the Soviets control the district manager and inspector of the precinct and district. And to console the working class and at the same time to enable them to school their thought and their will, Max Adler will deliver lectures on Sundays on the constitutional position of the Soviets just as he formerly delivered lectures on the constitutional position of the trade unions.

"In this way," promises Max Adler, "the constitutional regulation of the situation of the workers' councils, their weight and their significance all

* An allusion to the colors of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.

along the line of the national and public life will be assured, and—without a dictatorship of the Soviets—the Soviet system would have achieved an influence that could not be greater even in a Soviet Republic, and at the same time one would not have had to pay for this influence with political storms and economic destructions.” (Ibid.) We see, Max Adler, in addition to all else remains still in agreement with the Austrian tradition: to make a revolution without colliding with the public prosecutor.

The father of the Austrian school, and its highest authority, is Kautsky. Solicitously nursing his reputation as the guardian of Marxian orthodoxy, particularly after the Dresden Convention,* and the First Russian Revolution, Kautsky shook his head from time to time, disapprovingly, over the most compromising blunders of his Austrian school. Following the example of the deceased Victor Adler—Bauer, Renner, Hilferding—all together and each singly—regarded Kautsky as too pedantic, too cumbersome, yet as the very much honored and altogether useful father and teacher of the quietistic church.

Kautsky gave his own school occasion for the most serious misgivings at the time of his revolutionary zenith, at the time of the first Russian Revolution, when he recognized as necessary the seizure of power by the Russian Social Democracy and made an attempt to impart to the German working class the theoretical conclusions from the experiences of the general strike in Russia. The failure of the First Russian Revolution suddenly cut short Kautsky's course of development along the path of radicalism. The more directly the question of mass action was put by the course of events in Germany, the more evasive became Kautsky's attitude to it. He marked time, receded, lost his sureness, and the pedantically scholastic trend of his thought came more and more to the fore. The imperialistic war, which killed all indecision and brought to a head all fundamental questions, exposed Kautsky's entire political bankruptcy. He at once entangled himself hopelessly in so simple a question as that of voting the war credits. All his writings on this subject are variations of one and the same theme: “I and my confusion”. The Russian Revolution definitely put an end to Kautsky. By means of his entire previous development he was put into a hostile position towards the November victories of the proletariat. The latter threw him irrevocably into the camp of the counter-revolution. He lost the last trace of historical acumen. His later writings were transformed more and more into yellow literature for the bourgeois market.

The pamphlet of Kautsky criticized by us possesses externally all the earmarks of a so-called objective scientific work. In investigating the question of the Red Terror, Kautsky proceeds with all the circumstantiality peculiar to him. He begins with a study of the social conditions which prepared the great French Revolution, as well as the

physiological and social causes which have favored the development of cruelty or of humanity in the entire extent of the history of the human race. In his pamphlet devoted to Bolshevism, in which this question is treated in 154 pages, Kautsky tells in detail upon what our most primitive manlike ancestor subsisted, and ventures the conjecture that while he lived mostly on vegetable nourishment, this latter was nevertheless occasionally supplemented by small animals, caterpillars, worms, reptiles, possibly also little unfledged birds (see page 85). In other words, nothing could have led one to believe that from such an extremely respectable ancestor, apparently inclined to vegetarian practices, there could arise such bloodthirsty descendants as the Bolsheviki. Behold how solid is the scientific basis on which Kautsky treats the question!

But in this case, as is not infrequently true of such productions, a malicious political pamphlet is concealed under the academic-scholastic cloak. We are dealing with one of the most lying and unscrupulous of books. Is it not monstrous even to the superficial observer, that Kautsky should pick up the most abominable slander of the Bolsheviki from the well-set table of Havas, Reuter and W. T. B., and thus permit the long ears of the traducer to stick out under the scholar's mortarboard! But these unclean details are only a mosaic on a foundation of solid learned deceptions, directed against the Soviet Republic and the party in control in that country.

Kautsky paints in the darkest colors our cruelty to the bourgeoisie which according to him had shown no inclination to resist.

Kautsky brands our cruelty towards the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviki; who he declares are varieties of Socialism.

Kautsky depicts the Soviet economy as a chaotic disintegration.

Kautsky pictures those active in the Soviets, as well as the entire Russian working class, as a band of egoists.

With not a single word does he mention a syllable of the conduct of the Russian bourgeoisie which—in the compass of its baseness—is unparalleled in history, of their national treasons: of the surrender of Riga to the Germans for “pedagogic” purposes, of the preparation of a similar surrender of St. Petersburg; of how they turned for help to foreign armies, to the Czecho-Slovak army, to the German, Russian, English, Japanese, French, Arabian, and even negro armies; of all the conspiracies and massacres they arranged with Entente moneys, of how they used the blockade not only for the deadly exhaustion of our children, but also to spread most systematically, unremittingly, constantly, the most unheard of lies and calumnies about us.

He does not mention with a single word the basest prosecutions and violations to which our party was subjected by the government of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviki before the November overthrow,—the penal persecution of sev-

* 1903.

eral thousand responsible party comrades, on the ground of accusations of espionage in favor of Hohenzollern Germany, the participation of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries in all conspiracies of the bourgeoisie, their cooperation with Tsarist generals and admirals—Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich, the terroristic acts which were consummated by the Social Revolutionaries by order of the Entente, the uprisings instigated by the Social Revolutionaries in our army, paid for with the money of foreign embassies while our army was bleeding to death in the struggle against the monarchist bands of imperialism.

Kautsky does not mention with a single word that we not only repeatedly declared, but also demonstrated by deed, our readiness to insure peace to the country even at the price of concessions and sacrifices, that in spite of all this we are compelled to wage an exhausting war on all fronts in order to maintain the existence of our country, and in order to prevent its conversion into a colony of Anglo-French imperialism.

Kautsky does not speak a word of the fact that the Russian proletariat is compelled to devote its main energies and its best and most precious powers to this heroic struggle in which we defend the future of world Socialism, and to withhold them from its economic and cultural constructive activities.

In his entire pamphlet Kautsky mentions nothing of this—that at first German militarism, with the support of its Scheidemanns and the non-intervention of its Kautskys, later the militarism of the Allies with the support of its Renaudels and the non-intervention of its Longuets, surrounded us with an iron blockade, tore away from us all our ports, cut us off from the world, and with the help of paid White Guards took possession of great provinces rich in raw products and for long periods cut us off from Baku's naphtha, from the Donets coal, from the wheat of the Don and Siberia, and from Turkestan's cotton.

Kautsky does not mention a single word of the fact that under these conditions of unparalleled

difficulty the Russian working class has been carrying on for nearly three years a heroic struggle against its enemies on a front of 8,000 kilometers (5,000 miles), that the Russian working class understood that it had to take up the sword instead of the hammer, and created a mighty army, that it mobilized its exhausted industry for this army, that in spite of the devastation of the country, over which the hangmen of the whole world inflicted blockade and civil war, it is clothing, feeding, arming, providing for, transporting, an army of millions who have learnt to conquer.

On all these matters Kautsky is silent in his book on Russian Communism. And his silence is the most basic, fundamental sort of lie, indeed a passive lie, but a more foul and criminal lie than the active lies of all the swindlers of the international bourgeois press put together.

Slandering the policy of the Communist Party Kautsky nowhere says what it is he wants and what he has to propose. The Bolsheviks were not the only ones to appear on the stage of the Russian Revolution. We beheld and still behold upon this stage—now in power, now in opposition, Social Revolutionaries (not less than five groupings and currents), Mensheviks, Maximalists, Anarchists—absolutely all “gradations within Socialism” (to speak in Kautsky's language), tested their strength and showed what they wanted and what they can do. Of these “shades” there are so many that you could not insert even a knife-edge between the contiguous varieties. The origin of these “shades” is not accidental: they represent, so to say, the different variations of adaptability of the Socialist parties and groups to the conditions of the greatest revolutionary epoch. It appears that a sufficiently complete political keyboard lies before Kautsky to enable him to touch that key which sounds the proper Marxian pitch in the Russian Revolution. But Kautsky is silent. He rejects the Bolshevik melody which offends his ear, but he does not look for another. The solution is simple: *the old fiddler refuses altogether to play on the instrument of revolution.*

Soviet Russian Concessions to Capital

By KARL RADEK

[This article treats the subject of concessions from the standpoint of the general policy of the Soviet Government. The reader will find information concerning resources of one of the states of the Soviet Russian Federated Republic (Karelia) in the current issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. Next week's issue will contain detailed descriptions of the areas intended to be opened up to concessions.]

WHEN the working class of Russia assumed power in November, 1917, neither the bourgeois world nor the Socialist world believed that this power would last two months, not to mention two years. The negotiations of German imperialism with Soviet Russia were only the result of the straits in which Germany found itself as a consequence of the war: German imperialism desired to conclude peace in the East, even with a purely

transitory government, under the well-founded impression that even though the Bolsheviks might disappear, no party and no government in Russia could within a calculable period mobilize the peasants. Soviet Russia however needed peace, not only because it had no army at all, but because it could only reach the stage of reality by obtaining a breathing spell. At the time of the Brest negotiations, Soviet Russia was only a program, existed

only in the declarative decrees of the Council of People's Commissars. Not even Tsarist absolutism had been completely destroyed in its lower organs at that time, nor had feudal landlordism been wiped out. The forms of the Soviet Government in city and country were still an experiment, not an organism. The Soviet Government was faced with the choice of either waging, with the help of the Allies—as a government of the revolutionary partisan party of the Urals, a guerrilla warfare against German imperialism, and to permit Russian capital to carry out its restoration under the protection of German bayonets, or to pass through the Golgotha of Brest and thus to carry out, at the price of a national humiliation, the task of immediately putting down the bourgeoisie and organizing the proletariat.

The fact that the policy of the Soviet Government, based on the conviction that the process of disintegration of world capitalism would not be retarded by the Brest peace, but accelerated, was a proper policy, has been proved not only by its late victories, by the fact that Soviet Russia, between the devil and the deep sea so to speak, was able to collect and organize itself to the extent of forcing from the representatives of victorious Entente imperialism the admission, a year after the collapse of German imperialism, that: "Bolshevism cannot be put down with the sword." The Brest peace, in spite of its predatory character a positive benefit to Soviet Russia, since it ended the great war, was not forced by Soviet Russia out of its own power, nor by the German workers; the peace of Brest was brought about by the pressure of Entente armies in the west. Should the victorious imperialism of the Entente now conclude a still more unfavorable predatory peace, this peace, if it only affords Soviet Russia the possibility of existence, will be a fundamental breach in the capitalistic system of states, for this peace will be a result of the resistance offered by Soviet Russia with its own powers, a result of the aid given Soviet Russia by the world proletariat. But why should Soviet Russia, which cannot be destroyed by the sword, make any compromise peace at all with the Entente? Why should it not wait for the moment when the disintegration of Entente capitalism has progressed at least so far that this capitalism must grant an honest peace to Soviet Russia? The answer to this question is very simple. During the world war, which was being prolonged by the policy of all the states, it was possible to count upon a swift catastrophe of world capitalism, on a reaction of the popular masses in various countries, if once the general slaughter should allow them no other means of escape. At the conclusion of the Brest treaty, the Soviet Government estimated the breathing spell afforded by this peace as a very short one; either the world revolution would soon come and rescue Soviet Russia, or Soviet Russia would go down in the unequal conflict—such was our view at that time. And this conception was in accordance with the situation at that moment.

The collapse of German imperialism, the inabil-

ity of the Allies to put down Soviet Russia by military means, and simultaneously the fact that the world war has since been ended, that the demobilization crisis has been overcome, that the world revolution has not broken up the capitalist world in the form of an explosion, but in the form of a gradual corrosion—this fact completely alters the situation, the conditions, of the foreign policies of the Soviet Government.

On the one hand the Soviet Government cannot reckon on a swift mechanical liberation through a mass movement that would completely overthrow the Clemenceaus, Lloyd Georges, and all they stand for, and on the other hand the Soviet Government may be mathematically certain that the process of capitalistic disintegration will continue and lighten its burdens. But as this is a long process, Soviet Russia cannot escape the question of seeking a *modus vivendi* with those states that are still capitalistic. If tomorrow the proletarian revolution in Germany or France should be victorious, Soviet Russia's position would be much easier, for two proletarian states, organized economically and militarily—can exert a greater pressure on the capitalist world. But they will nevertheless still be interested in concluding peace with the as yet capitalist states, if only for the reason of having an opportunity at last to take up economic reconstruction.

Soviet Russia could not be put down, and we are certain that if the Entente states will not grant Soviet Russia a capitalist peace at this moment, Soviet Russia will continue to hunger and to fight, and they will be obliged to grant our country a better peace later on. To put down a country with Soviet Russia's resources, by means of blockade, will require a period that will exceed the length the imperialistic epoch in the Entente countries has still to run. But it is clear that if Soviet Russia must continue to fight for very long it cannot take up its economic reconstruction. The war makes it necessary to put its weakened productive forces at the service of the manufacture of munitions, to use its best forces for the practice of war, to apply its ruined railways for the transportation of troops. The distress of war obliges the energy of the state to be centralized in the hands of the executive, threatens the Soviet system, and, what is most important, in the long run menaces the complete using up of the best elements of the working class. The Soviet Government has performed a superhuman task in opposing these conditions. Its accomplishments in the field of instruction, in spite of all the distress, impresses even now those bourgeois opponents who are honest (read Goode's report in the *Manchester Guardian*). In two or three years Soviet Russia will dispose of hundreds of thousands of new organizational and cultural talents.

How seriously our leaders regard the dangers of reconstruction, of the *chinovnik* in a new form, is shown with complete clearness by the discussions in the party convention of the Bolsheviki in March, 1919, the minutes of which—constituting a very instructive document—have been recently

published. But war is war. War is a cruel destroyer, and if war can be concluded by making sacrifices, the sacrifices must be made. It is unfortunate, to be sure, that the Russian people should be obliged to grant mining concessions to English, American, and French capitalists, for it could make better use of the metals itself than to apply them for paying tribute. But, so long as Soviet Russia must wage war, it can not only not mine ore, but is even obliged to throw its miners into the jaws of war. If the dilemma were this: economic Socialist reconstruction, or war against world capital, which is restricting the Socialist reconstruction, the only proper decision would be for war. But that is not the state of affairs. The question to be decided is this: Socialist reconstruction within the limits of a provisional compromise, or war without any economic reconstruction at all.

Already in the spring of 1918, the Soviet Government was faced with the question of economic compromise. When the American, Colonel Raymond Robins, on May 14, 1918, left Moscow for Washington, he took with him a concrete proposition of the Soviet Government, containing conditions for economic concessions (this proposition was published in the minutes of the First Congress of Russian Economic Soviets in the speech of Radek on the economic consequences of the Brest peace). Simultaneously, Bronsky, Assistant to the People's Commissar for Trade and Industry, submitted in

the first session with the representatives of the German Government practical proposals for the co-operation of Soviet Russia with German capital. Bruce Lockhart (the English representative) was confidentially informed of a basis for negotiations. We may admit that even in the midst of the world war we had a right to hope that immediate explosions would eliminate the necessity of making such concessions, but in principle we had already then determined on this policy of concessions, and it was a well-founded policy. So long as the proletariat has not been victorious in all the most important states, so long as it is not in a position to make use of all the productive forces of the world for purposes of reconstruction, so long as capitalist states exist side by side with proletarian states, for just so long will the proletarian states be obliged to conclude compromises, for there is under these circumstances neither a pure Socialism, nor a pure capitalism, but, in spite of territorial divisions between these two systems, they will be obliged to grant concessions to each other, on their respective areas. The extent of these concessions to be made to capitalism will depend on the power of the proletarian states, and on the number of such states in existence. No one has the right to deny that such concessions must be made unless he is ready to point out a method by which our opponents may be forced immediately to grant the proletariat in all countries a simultaneous victory.

What is New in the Russian Revolution?

By N. BUKHARIN

OUR Revolution, which closes "mankind's prehistoric period" and begins the first chapter of its real history, is extraordinarily interesting and instructive in its gigantic and altogether new experiments. If one reads Kautsky's well-known pamphlet on the social revolution, much of it now seems mere childish babbling. At that time there was not as yet any empirical material for estimating the concrete forms of the proletarian dictatorship, and all the concrete circumstances of a revolution. It is only this material, however, which prescribed and is prescribing a very specific course of development for the Socialism which is being born of the chaos of the world war, on the foundations of a ruined, exhausted economic life. Only the great men of the past—Marx and Engels—thought of that. But the sorry upstarts, the new "heroes" of the old Internationale, scarcely thought of it at all. And everything in the Russian Revolution is new in this sense. That is why no earnest revolutionist, whether he be now in Germany or in Argentina, can overlook the gigantic laboratory which is Soviet Russia. We shall here examine more closely some of these new features.

Above all the Russian Revolution solved the question of the forms of the dictatorship. It solved the question as to what should constitute the power of the proletarian state. The Soviets, the Soviet

power,—that is the form which was born of our Revolution. In the beginning, one could still think, perhaps, that the Soviets were a specifically Russian product. But the further experiences of Western Europe showed that this was the general form rooted in the fundamental conditions of the war of the working class against the bourgeoisie. And it is for just that reason that all who advocate the dictatorship of the proletariat must support the Soviet power. We have already become so accustomed to the idea that it seems to be something altogether self-evident. But this axiom of proletarian politics was given us by our Revolution.

Our Revolution first showed us the role and the meaning of the proletarian vanguard—the Communist Party—in all its tremendous significance.

No one can completely understand how, after the party had gained its power and its importance increased, no one imagined the exclusive and decisive organizing role that this most important organization of the working class would have to fill. Previously the role of the party was thought of in more or less parliamentary forms, at best it was looked upon as some kind of controlling or regulating organ. And what was the fact? In fact, the party worked everywhere, and *only* because of this can the proletarian dictatorship maintain itself. Transport, factory, bank, barracks, bread supply,

regiment and division, sanitary troops, groups for combating illiteracy, political sections of the army—everything possible, everything to advance, arouse, organize, incite to new life, construct—all this the party does through the Soviets, the trade unions, and a thousand other organizations. It controls centralized administration. It not only rules, but also administers the various forms of life, it becomes in its importance an altogether peculiar organizing and creating power. This, and the necessity for it, were shown by our Revolution.

People had spoken before of the rule of the working class. But only the present experiences show clearly how this rule came into being. And then, besides that already mentioned, we have had important experience in the matter of arousing the proletarian masses to work. The role of the worker in the army; party and trade union mobilization; commissariat divisions and armies; our economic campaigns; the structure of our economic organs; the role of the trade unions; workers' and peasants' inspection; all-party conferences;—all these are innovations which our revolution has created.

The education of a body of labor administrators, a new type of man, that also is one of our triumphs, and perhaps the greatest that we have to show. We have already forgotten the past completely. To us it does not appear peculiar to find at the head of an *Uyezd* (administrative district) or government, a Petrograd metal worker or Moscow textile worker, a hairdresser in command of a division, in the party school a house-painter delivering lectures or an agricultural laborer writing reports on causation and evolution in natural science. We no longer wonder that there should be a large class of persons who have educated themselves during the revolution—"golden-handed" ones who are masters of every trade; who one day command in battle, the next day direct distribution, the next supervise a factory or, weapon in hand, suppress a White Guard uprising. We are not astounded that a former servant girl or a cook should be at the head of a political section in the army or the secretary of a party committee, passing from one activity to another and causing new vital creations to arise everywhere under her hands. One need but compare the present with the past to completely understand and feel the difference. Hunger and cold exist. But on the other hand there are already—and more of them every day—people who terminate this hunger and cold, and lead the land out of suffering.

But it is not sufficient that bodies of new men are being formed out of the ranks of the workers and peasants. The whole psychology, the whole horizon of the masses, their whole manner of thinking, is changing for the better. Among the bourgeois "observers" and those who ape them, it is good fashion to speak of the "passivity of the masses" in the Soviet Republic. But a serious comparison of the present with the past reveals a different picture. The psychology of the masses finds its best expression in their speech. If one should compare the present speech of the village with that before the Revolution he would be astounded. The speech

of today is indeed the literary language. And their vision? Has it not grown with almost miraculous rapidity? And also have not the Russian people—in the broadest sense—ceased to be the "lout" of whom our superwise sophisticated Intellectuals made game? A tremendous, hitherto unprecedented elevation of ideas has taken place.

But the Russian Revolution gave the masses something new in the way of guidance on the new path. Or are perhaps the *Communist Subbotniki* (Saturdays) not a new development of the present? No one would have thought of it before, no one anticipated it, it was a wholly new "discovery" of the revolution, just as was the Soviet power. All forms of collective work, from the volunteer, or Subbotniki to the labor army and labor duty in the form existing among us, are experiences of the greatest significance. We ourselves know little as yet about ourselves. Much we overlook. The writer of these lines knows a case where our fighting army helped the peasants plow the land, improved their tools, built schools and arranged children's festivals, for which the poorly supplied Red Guard sacrificed their last. Thus appears in embryo that mighty humane spirit which is developing with the construction of a new life.

The matter of mass enlightenment is altogether of a different kind than formerly—who indeed would have thought of it in the good old times? Who could have carried on agitation and propaganda to such an extent as we? Who could have conceived such a campaign as ours against illiteracy? Where, when, by whom, in general, was the significance understood of such campaigns, where the cooperation of different elements produces a mass result?

We are still poor, but not helpless. Hour by hour, day by day, new forces are arising. From unbelievable confusion of methods, out of a sea of vulgar selfishness and dross, are appearing more and more the outlines of our future. They cried to us: Down with monopoly, long live free trade! But we did not acknowledge the ruin of our transport and throw ourselves into the hands of the speculators. And provisioning is improving. We were warned that all would perish of cold as a consequence of our methods. But fuel conditions also have improved. This has been accomplished through the arising of new forces to improve conditions. It is the result of the fact that in practice, in the struggle of life, our working class is becoming the great creator, martyr, and champion of the happiness of mankind, of the real history of man in the future.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

THE immediate demand for agricultural machinery in Soviet Russia has been carefully studied by a correspondent of the English *Manchester Guardian*, recently returned from Russia. On the basis of what he terms a "very conservative estimate" by the Commissariat of Agriculture, he finds a yearly need for 850,000 new ploughs, 85,000 reapers, 17,000 threshers, 340,000 drill ploughs, 850,000 winnowing machines and over a million each of scythes and sickles. These figures, however, enormous as they are, represent only the average yearly needs. "When we consider," the *Guardian* correspondent points out, "that after 1915 the import of agricultural machinery practically ceased, while the production of agricultural machinery in Russia, which was restored at the end of 1918, has so far resulted in the supply of only about one-seventh of the total yearly requirements, it becomes obvious that in order to bring the total of these figures up to 1920, we must multiply them by nearly five." (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, December 24.)

Where will the Soviet Government buy these huge supplies? One would naturally suppose that American manufacturers were best fitted to supply the type and quantity of agricultural machines needed by Russia. Strange to say, however, even before the war the American manufacturers were far outstripped by their English and German competitors in this field. In 1910, out of a total of \$19,500,000 worth of agricultural machinery imported by Russia, the United States supplied only \$5,191,000; and in 1912, when the total imports had increased to \$25,600,000, the share of the United States was still only \$5,826,000. The surprising condition revealed in these figures was dealt with in the last annual report of the Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce at Washington. Pointing out that "the United States is probably less familiar with Russia than any of its competitors," he recommended that "America endeavor to promote direct commercial intercourse with Russia." That recommendation, however, still awaits action. At the time of the closing of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, upon the departure of Mr. Martens, the Commercial Department of that Bureau had on file detailed orders and specifications from the Commissariat of Foreign Trade for immediate purchase

of agricultural machinery in the United States amounting to \$50,000,000. Contracts for this machinery could not be placed with the American manufacturers because of the obstacles placed in the way of trade with Russia by the authorities at Washington.

THE decision of Moscow regarding the draft trade agreement carried back from London by Mr. Krassin has not been announced as we go to press. Lacking the text of that draft, which probably differs in several respects from each of the preliminary Russian and English drafts which we published in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, January 22, it is, of course, impossible to forecast the decision. The manner in which this latest draft was handed to Mr. Krassin did not inspire confidence. It was obvious that the English, having dragged out the negotiations for more than twelve months, were anxious to place the burden for any further delay upon Moscow, and were, therefore, suspiciously loud in their protestations that the document was thoroughly satisfactory to the British Government. Suspicion in this respect, moreover, was strengthened by the flood of inspired dispatches from Helsingfors, and other centers of propaganda, which hastened to announce, upon no authority whatsoever, that the agreement would be or had been rejected at Moscow. As against these stories, however, there may be balanced a Central News agency dispatch (*New York Times*, January 21), which announced that the Soviet Government was expected to ratify the agreement without change. Before his departure, Mr. Krassin took pains to correct the impression which the British officials had endeavored to create to the effect that he and they were in perfect agreement and that the draft agreement was thoroughly satisfactory. On the contrary, Mr. Krassin told a correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian*, "the draft which I am conveying to Moscow is, in my opinion, unsatisfactory in many respects." The settlement of the main difficulties, he said, did not lie with Moscow. "The fundamental source of disagreement is the enlargement of the scope and the attempt to particularize the basis of the preliminary agreement of June 30." As to the desire of the British Government to define the territories within which the Russian Government should abstain from anti-British propaganda, Mr. Krassin said: "We are ready to accept this condition, but only on the basis of mutuality and only after a competent commission has defined all the conditions and all the complicated political questions involved." It is not Great Britain alone that requires safeguards against hostile propaganda. Mr. Krassin pointed out some of the possibilities. "Imagine," he said, "British propaganda among Persian workers, urging them not to accept employment in the oil fields of Baku; or propaganda among Turks in Asia Minor to attack Azerbaijan, or any other Soviet Republic. It is not enough merely to say: 'abstain from anti-British or anti-Russian propaganda.' It is necessary to define exactly what this means and what it may involve,

and that can be done only by a competent political conference."

In spite of Sir Robert Horne's announcement that Krassin had heard "the last word of the British Government," a London dispatch to the *New York World* (February 2, 1921) stated that "it is expected here that Krassin will soon return to London from Moscow with counter proposals." The *World's* correspondent gave plausible grounds for his confidence that the British Government was in no such final mood on the matter as it pretended: "Pressed as it is by commercial interests and particularly by organized labor for the reestablishment of commercial relations with Russia, the British Government is expected to make certain modifications in the treaty, rather than cause a breakdown of the negotiations."

THE British Government takes a generous view of those territories from which propaganda "against British interests" must be specifically excluded by the terms of the pending commercial treaty. With a large gesture, Great Britain demands that the Soviet Government restrain Russian citizens from all actions unfriendly to British interests in, among other places, the Caucasus, Asia Minor, Persia and Afghanistan. Whereat even the *London Nation* is moved to remark that "one fails to see why Russia should consent to 'disinterest' herself in Persia, two-thirds of which was a closed Russian sphere before the Revolution."

The sordid plundering of Persia by a conspiracy of British and Russian imperialisms is open history. In 1907 the English and Russian Governments signed an agreement for the partition of Persia. With the customary cant about "non-interference" and "maintenance of sovereignty", the two powers divided the country between them. To Russia was assigned the northern half, including the rich regions of Teheran, Tabriz, and Ispahan; England took a slice to the south; an intervening "neutral" trip of desert and mountains was generously left unappropriated. In the following year the Persian Parliament moved to depose the Shah for repudiating the Constitution. The Russian Minister and the English Chargé d'Affaires promptly notified the Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs that England and Russia would tolerate no mitigation of Persian tyranny. To make things secure a Russian army, with the approval of Sir Edward Grey, marched into Tabriz.

The origin and nature of British "interests" in Persia are the subject of several revealing entries in the recently published diary of Wilfred Blunt, English poet and landowner, formerly a member of the British diplomatic service, who actively interested himself in the fate of the various Eastern peoples fallen under British domination. On November 7, 1910, a friend brought Blunt news of the intended British occupation of Persia. "Major Sykes, our Consul at Meshhed, who is . . . chief adviser on South Persian affairs at the Foreign

Office, . . . told him that the occupation of Southern Persia, on the same lines as the occupation of Egypt, has been decided on." In November of the following year, Blunt records the Russian ultimatum to Persia, demanding complete control of Teheran and the dismissal of Mr. Morgan Shuster, an American who had been working to reorganize Persian finance too successfully to please the Czar. "This," remarks Blunt (November 29, 1911), "means the conquest of Persia, and already Russian troops have marched . . . It is an infamy for which Grey is responsible." The Russian invasion of Persia was openly encouraged by the British Government. On December 15, Blunt notes: "Grey has made another long speech in the House of Commons about his Persian policy, in which he approves all the Russians are doing." British official approval of the Russian conquest did not even balk at the abominable massacres at Tabriz. For these things, Blunt remarks, "Grey invented a formula"—he had "no official knowledge."

Such was the attitude of the British Government towards Persia in the days when it seemed a profitable business to dispose of that unfortunate country in secret bargains with the Czar. Thus Great Britain acquired those precious "interests" in Persia, which today it demands that no Russian, by so much as a whisper, shall endanger. It is, of course, not Bolshevik propaganda that the British Foreign Office fears in Persia—and in other spheres—but the long smoldering resentment of oppressed peoples.

The Persian situation was succinctly described in a recent Reuter dispatch to *The Manchester Guardian* (January 21, 1921), which reported naively: "The Persians have failed to take advantage of the Anglo-Persian Agreement, which was concluded so long ago, and the ratification of which would have enabled Persia to put her house in order." On the same day the *Guardian's* correspondent at Reval also reported: "The Russian agreement with Persia has been signed. Mr. Theodore Rothstein, who is well-known in England, has been appointed Russian diplomatic representative to Persia and will shortly proceed to Teheran."

It is interesting to find the name of Mr. Rothstein in this connection. Rothstein was a friend and adviser of Blunt's on Near Eastern affairs. The latter writes of him: "Rothstein . . . owes his wonderful knowledge of the European situation to the fact that he was the London correspondent of nearly all the Socialist newspapers on the continent. He was by birth a Russian subject, born at Kiev, who had made his studies at the Odessa University, and, having become involved there with the authorities about twenty years ago, had made his escape to Western Europe and had taken up his residence in London. He was on the staff of more than one of our newspapers, but often complained to me that the editors would not listen to him on subjects of European importance." It now appears that the London editors might have profited by listening more attentively to the opinions of Mr. Rothstein.

* *My Diaries*, by Wilfred Scawen Blunt; Martin Seckor, London, 1920.

The Ghosts of Golgotha

By JOHN S. CLARKE

"Fear not the tyrants shall rule for ever,
Or the priests of the bloody Faith:
They stand on the brink of that mighty river
Whose waves they have tainted with death.
It is fed from the depths of a thousand dells,
Around them it foams and rages and swells,
And their swords and their scepters I floating see
Like wrecks in the surge of eternity."

—*Shelley* (Rosalind and Helen).

MOSCOW is as unlike Petersburg as Glasgow is unlike Edinburgh old town, or as Derby is unlike Chester. Petersburg is a city of yesterday; Moscow is hoary with antiquity. Petersburg has broad streets and spacious squares; Moscow has gigantic squares, but narrow streets. Petersburg is a "planned" city; Moscow is a growth of the centuries. Petersburg is European; Moscow is Asiatic. Petersburg rises out of the waves like a damsel smiling at the morning sun, with the dew of health upon her tresses and the bloom of youth upon her cheeks; Moscow stands upon its little river like a patriarch wrapped in thought, stroking his beard with contemplations of the past and forebodings of the future disturbing his equanimity. For here Occident meets Orient, West commingles with East, Antiquity and Modernity blend, and Futurity casts its lights and shadows on the Past and Present.

In Petersburg one cannot think of the remote past. The mind dwells upon Peter, its founder; on shipyards and merchandise; on Catherine and Voltaire; on Alexanders and Nicholases; on aristocrats and proletarians, underground propaganda, nihilists, terrorists, "yellow tickets", fortresses, strikes, riots, and revolutions. Zinoviev called it the "cradle of the revolution". It is more than that; it is the womb wherein was conceived that which shall become the greatest and most splendid race on earth. In Moscow one does not think of these things. One thinks of Djenghis Khan and Tamerlane; of slit-eyed Tartars and Volga hordes; of "Terrible" Ivans and ghastly torture-chambers; of miracles and saints, and "priests of the bloody faith."

Moscow is another Rome in many things. It is a Granada in others. It is a Constantinople, a Jerusalem, a Dublin, and a Glasgow rolled into one. This sounds very incongruous, but Moscow is incongruous. Moscow is almost indescribable. It is seen and heard, but more so is it felt. It is a city of grisly ghosts which weave around the mind cobwebs of a hideous past, and yet it is a city of resurrection where the mind is urged and stimulated. The crescent of Mahomet glitters golden in the sunshine at every corner; the cross of Christ rears heavenward in every street; and the Red Flag of Communism flutters victoriously over a thousand roofs. Is not that an incongruity?

Both of Russia's capitals, however widely they differ, are perfect gems set in a crown of romance, and each evokes those sensations, those charming

emotions, which sensitive spirits delight to feel. There is one old grey city wall in Moscow which slopes down a declivity upon which a tree-embroidered "square" has been built. At the foot of the square stands the "Delavoy Dvor" (our hotel), and the old wall spans the off-street nearby with a lofty arch. The very fiercest fighting of November, 1917, took place at this historic corner. From top to bottom the ancient arch, and most of the adjacent buildings, are pock-marked with bullet holes. Great scars disfigure the stonework upon which machine-gun fire was concentrated, and gaping rents appear in the woodwork. Terrific battles have taken place at this identical spot before—but the missiles of that period were the swift, feather-tipped arrows of the barbarous Mongols. Why, one might ask, should this corner be an age-long sufferer from ruthless warfare? It is what military-minded people would call, I suppose, "a strategical point". Go through the arch and follow the street ahead of you for two hundred yards, then turn up a steep but short incline to the right, and you will land in the *Krasnaya Ploshchad*, or Red Square. One of the most magnificent open spaces in any city in the world, it is completely bordered on the west by the picturesque walls, tall and battlemented, of the Kremlin, with the beautiful Spassky Gate at the southern end and Nicholas Gate at the northern. Along the eastern side of the square are the one-time arcades called *Riadi*, while at one end stands the solid red pile of the Historical Museum and at the other the weird looking Church of St. Basil.

A group of statuary representing Minin, the Nizhni cattle-dealer, urging Pozharski, the prince, to free Russia from the Poles, and surrendering his fortune for this purpose, occupies some space in front of the arcades. It is very fine sculpture, and was executed by Martop, the Russian artist.

Opposite St. Basil's a walled circular structure with gated entrance stands. This is the *Lobnoye Myesto*, where the Tsars of olden time issued their proclamations and made momentous promises. On this walled platform in 1547 Ivan the Terrible tearfully promised to rule mercifully and wisely. Here he led the ass which the High Priest (Patriarch) mounted every Easter, and here he manifested the wisdom and benevolence of his latter years by committing the frightful atrocities that make his name abhorred. In 1565 he commenced his infamous work on this very spot by executing Prince Alexander Gorbati-Shuisky and his seventeen year-old son. On the same day two other princes, a chief officer, and a royal cup-bearer were beheaded, and the Prince Shevirev impaled and left to writhe in agony for twelve hours. Five years later, on July 25, eighteen gibbets were erected, and many instruments of torture were displayed in the square among which was a huge cauldron suspended above a roaring fire. What was toward? You may doubt me, reader, but you cannot well doubt the historian,

Karamzin. Let him describe the doings of that day:

"On seeing these terrific preparations the people of Moscow were convinced that their last hour was come, and that the Tsar was determined at once to make an end of his capital and its inhabitants. Besides themselves with terror, they fled and hid themselves wherever they could, abandoning in their open shops both their merchandise and their money. Soon the place was deserted, and nothing was seen but a troop of *Oprichniks* (Ivan's Guards, literally 'fiends'—J.S.C.) ranged round the gibbets and the burning pile, in profound silence. Suddenly the air resounded with the roll of drums; the Tsar appeared on horseback with his eldest son, the object of his affection. He was accompanied by the boyars, the princes, and by his guard, marching in order, followed by the condemned, to the number of more than three hundred, like spectres in appearance, wounded, torn, bleeding, scarce able to drag themselves along. Arrived at the foot of the gibbets, Ivan looked around him; and being astonished to see no spectators, he ordered his guard to assemble the inhabitants and bring them to the square. Impatient at their delay, he ran himself to summon them, calling the Muscovites to witness the spectacle he had prepared for them, and promising them pardon and safety. The citizens did not dare to disobey; they came out of the cellars, of the hiding-places where they were concealed, and, trembling with fright, hastened to the place of execution, which they filled in a few moments; even the walls and roofs were covered with spectators. Then, with a loud voice, the Tsar said to them: 'People of Moscow, you are going to witness tortures and executions; but I am punishing traitors. Answer me! does my judgment seem to you just?' At these words loud acclamations were raised on all sides: 'Long live the Tsar, our lord and master, and may his enemies perish!' Ivan then ordered eighty persons to be drawn out of the crowd, to whom, as the least guilty, he granted their lives. The secretary of the privy council, unfolding a roll of parchment, then published the names of the victims. After this he made Viskovaty advance, and read his condemnation aloud . . . The executioners threw themselves upon him, gagged him, hung him up by his feet, and hacked him to pieces. Maluta-Skuratov, descending from his horse, was the first to cut an ear from the sufferer.

"The second victim was the treasurer Funikov, the friend of Viskovaty, also accused, upon very slight foundation, of treason. They poured boiling and iced water alternately upon the body of this wretched man, who died in terrific agonies. The rest had their throats cut, were hung, or hewn to bits. The Tsar himself, on horseback, with a tranquil air, ran an old man through with his lance: in the space of four hours more than two hundred men were put to death! Finally, their horrible duties accomplished, the murderers bathed in blood, brandishing their smoking swords, gathered in front of the Tsar, with the cry of joy: 'Hoida! hoida!'^{*} lauding his justice. Ivan, going through the square,

examined the heap of corpses; but, though surfeited of murder, he was not yet surfeited of the despair of his subjects. He desired to see the unhappy wives of Funikov and Viskovaty; he went to their houses, laughed at their tears, and put the first to torture, demanding her treasures. He wanted also to put her daughter, aged fifteen, to the torture, but upon her cries of despair, he changed his mind, and gave her to his son, the Tsarevich Ivan. She was eventually shut up with her mother and the wife of Viskovaty in a convent, where they all three died of grief.

"The inhabitants of Moscow who witnessed this terrible day did not see either Prince Vyazemski or Alexis Basmanov amongst the victims. The first had died under the torture, and as to the end of the second, in spite of the atrocities we have described, it may seem incredible, but contemporaries state that Ivan forced young Feodor Basmanov to kill his father. The tyrant rested for three days, for it was absolutely necessary to bury the corpses, but on the fourth he brought out upon the square new victims, whom he put to death. Maluta-Skuratov, chief of the executioners, hewed the bodies of those who were executed in pieces with an axe, and the bleeding fragments, deprived of burial, remained for eight days exposed to the greediness of the dogs, who fought over them. The wives of the gentlemen executed, to the number of eighty, were drowned in the river."

That was but two days' work in the long reign of one of those pestiferous objects called monarchs, which the earth has been cursed with for at least ten thousand years. No wonder that little structure in the Red Square is named *Lobnoye Myesto*, which means, being interpreted, the "place of skulls", the same as its more famous namesake, Golgotha or Mount Calvary.

That hideous carnage was but one incident in Ivan's bloody career; it happened in 1570. One hundred and forty years later Peter, surnamed the "Great", was Tsar of Russia. He is the hero of the children's schoolbooks. The bluff, genial, simple monarch who "worked in the shipyard" like "an ordinary man", who built Petersburg and married "a commoner". Well, the people hated him so much for his beastly cruel tyranny that all over Russia they revolted against him. Even his own bodyguard, the "Streltsi" rebelled. Did the genial, homely Peter amend? Let us read a passage from Maxwell's "Tsar, Court, and People" (page 143), and remember that this tragedy was enacted, no doubt with a view to effect, at the scene of Ivan's previous public entertainment—in the Red Square, Moscow: "Peter hurried all the way from Holland to superintend the slaughter. Seated on a throne, he witnessed the dying agonies of two thousand Streltsi, and when tired of the rack he compelled his nobles to complete the destruction with the sword. With the wine cup in one hand, a scimitar in the other, he swallowed twenty bumpers and cut off twenty heads in a single hour, and as if proud of the achievement, invited the ambassador to try

^{*} A cry of the Tartars, by which they excite their horses.

his skill. Eighty of the guilty Janissaries were subsequently held up by the hair before the crowd and decapitated by the hand of the infuriated Tsar."

Such is one episode in the life of Peter the "Great". Providence is surely to be praised for making him "great". What might not he have done had he been bereft of this apochryphal quality of "greatness". Such days have happily vanished! Have they? No, reader, they have not vanished; the stage has been transferred elsewhere. The nature of an Ivan or a Peter, with all its attributes of ferocity and torture lust, malignantly animates the bodies and inspires the deeds of King George the Fifth's Black and Tan *Oprichniks* in Ireland at this very moment.

Like Mark Twain's "nobility" in the "Yankee at the Court of King Arthur", Peter had the redeeming feature of fervent piety. When criticized for this particular "severity", as the bourgeois historian describes it, he indignantly replied: "Let malice defame me, my conscience is clear. God is my judge." That he meant it we might be sure from the following fact. In St. Isaac's at Petersburg there is an ikon of the Tikhvin Madonna. In Peter's time an old woman attempted to extract a jewel from it with her teeth under pretence of kissing it. The historian gravely tells us that Peter "ordered her to be burned alive, for, according to his lights, he was a religious and devout man." Perhaps that's why Ivan Ivanovich was wont to shout "God save the Tsar" in days of old, even as Donald Macdonald yells "God save the King" today.

Out of the shadows of antiquity, from the morning of human cupidity and avarice, two sinister figures have crawled with crooked talons through history, leaving a trail of blood and fear most horrible which has not halted yet. The *Monarch* and the *Priest*. The one is symbolical of despotic or oligarchic power, the other typifies the sordid ignorance and fearful superstition of the credulous masses which maintains the power of the first. High in the streets of Moscow, where one may see the pallid, long-haired, degenerate-looking vendors of holy lies and pious impositions shuffle along like spectres from a remoter age, there hangs a woven streamer of scarlet hue with huge white lettering, which defiantly proclaims that "*Religion is the Opium of the People.*"

Though many still cross themselves a score of times daily on passing the church, yet nevertheless the people are rapidly assimilating the knowledge which elevates and enlightens, and learning to reject that which terrorizes and deforms the mind, and just so sure as the last filthy tyrant, whose damnable atrocities were equal to any of Ivan's, though less spectacular, has been placed for ever beyond mischief, so will the last priest soon vanish from the land once contemptuously known as "Holy Russia".

If Peter was a religious and devout specimen of the Tsarist profession, Ivan the Terrible was infinitely more so. He built scores upon scores of churches to the glory of God. One of them, 38

already mentioned, stands beside the "place of skulls" at the foot of the Red Square. A more bizarre and incoherent piece of architecture does not exist in Russia. It is questionable indeed if anything as curious and ugly exists on earth. Ivan had it built in 1534-84 to commemorate the fall of Kazan, an event in Russian history as important as the capture of Granada is in Spanish history, or as Waterloo is in British. Ivan watched its spiky spires and onion-like cupolas arise from a canopied seat on the Kremlin wall. Saint Basil the "Simple",* to whom the building is dedicated was in all probability one of those half-mad hermits who, in medieval times, followed the calling of the early ascetics and still earlier prophets. Fletcher described them in the 16th century as "certain eremites who go stark naked, save for a clout about their middle, with their hair hanging long and wildly about their shoulders, and many of them with a collar and chain about their necks . . . The people liketh them very well, because they are as pasquils to note great men's faults, that no man else dare speak of. Yet it falleth out sometimes that for this rude liberty which they take upon them, after a counterfeited manner, by imitation of prophets, they are made away of in secret as was one or two of them in the late Emperor's time, for being over bold in speaking against the government . . ."

Somewhere under the intricate galleries of the interior, which is decorated in the arabesque style, the bones of Basil were buried, and with him there lies another "simple" called Ivan whose neck-collar and chain are still preserved. Russia has always been afflicted with religious maniacs from the very earliest times unto the present day. There were the "Old Believers", who once numbered seven millions; the *Bozslvestnye*, or "dumb" believers, who never permitted one word to pass their lips after joining up; the sect of the Beatified Redeemer, who spent their lives looking at a picture of Jesus; the *Subbotniki*** (not the kind which Gallacher joined), the "wizards of Novgorod"; the *Skoptsi*, who believed that Christ is still alive but sexless, and whose male members consequently castrated themselves; the *Dukhobors*, besides many others. The most freakish crowd appears to have been the *Khlistovstchina*, or "Flagellators." In his "Russian Empire", Haxthausen describes their meeting in the following words:

"On one day in the year the men, after their mad jumping and stamping, sink down about midnight upon benches, which are placed around, and the women fall under the benches, suddenly all the lights are extinguished, and horrible orgies commence. They call this *svalny grekh*—(promiscuity). My secretary in Moscow, who had opportunities of becoming acquainted with members of the sect, described the *Khlisti* or *Khlistovstchina* as by no means harmless, but an extremely cruel sect. Among

* "One there was whom they called Basil, that would take upon him to reprove the old Emperor for all his cruelty and oppression done towards the people. His body they have translated into a sumptuous church near the Emperor's house in Moscow, and have canonized him for a saint."—Giles Fletcher (written in 1588).

** Seventh-Day Adventists.

other things, he related that on Easter night the *Skoptsi* and *Khlisti* all assemble for a great solemnity, the worship of the Mother of God. A virgin fifteen years of age, whom they have induced to act the part by tempting promises, is bound and placed in a tub of warm water; some old women come and make a large incision in the left breast, then cut it off, and staunch the blood in a wonderfully short time. During the operation a mystical picture of the Holy spirit is put into the victim's hand, in order that she may be absorbed in regarding it. The breast which has been removed is laid upon a plate, and cut into small pieces, which are eaten by all the members of the sect present: the girl in the tub is placed upon an altar which stands near, and the whole congregation dance wildly round it. The jumping grows wilder and wilder: at last all the lights are suddenly extinguished, and the orgies above described commence. My secretary had become acquainted with several of these girls, who were always afterwards regarded as sacred, and said that at the age of nineteen or twenty they looked quite like women of fifty or sixty. They generally died before their thirtieth year; one of them, however, had married and had two children.

In Peter the Great's time many edicts were issued against the "impostors who went naked and thrashed out devils with a knout," and which description seems to fit Saint Basil. Never mind, if the old dear actually shook his fist at the bloody Tsar himself and "told him off", we can well afford to ignore his weaknesses, and love him for his strength.

The quaint church in which his bones repose almost baffles the pen. It is impossible to describe so grotesque a structure. There are smooth-sided, ribbed-sided, and fluted-sided cupolas none of which are identical in size. The flutes are sometimes perpendicular and sometimes spiral, and the sides are made of tiles and bricks which differ from one another again. Some are smooth, some glazed, and some covered with scales. These very scales are variegated, not only in color, but in shape—oval, round and shaped like leaves. There are nine cupolas all painted different colors with the ribs and flutes upon them of a different color still. The towers are four-sided, six-sided and eight-sided, and the whole structure is a rough octagon. The golden crosses rise from crescents,* and these crosses have the usual second cross-bar placed slantingly below the top one. This idea of placing a crooked bar in the middle of the upright arises from a belief the Russians had that Jesus was lame through having one leg shorter than the other. A wall protects the western side.

There are fanciful tales told about the building of St. Basil's, as there are of almost every celebrated building in the world. One of them is that Ivan called the church architect to him, after the work was completed, and asked him if there was

such another church in existence. The man answered no! "Could there be another like it?" queried Ivan. "I alone know how to build such another!" replied the craftsman.

"Then put out his eyes that he may never build its like again elsewhere," order the Tsar.

He was to be blinded, not for having produced a temple to God's glory, which resembles nothing so much as it does a gigantic bunch of carrots, onions, and Scotch thistles, but for having created an edifice which to the infatuated mind of Ivan was "a thing of beauty and a joy for ever." The story is a pure fabrication. The church was erected by one hundred and fifty German craftsmen and artists sent for by the "Terrible", who worked upon Tartar plans, and who have left behind them a monument of grotesque and barbaric artistry to fatigue the brains of people like myself, who nearly succumbed to intellectual delirium-tremens through the intoxication induced by studying it. The total lack of symmetry of the whole building, its weird curves, impossible angles, and multifarious color-designs, is really due to a preposterous architectural conception. Ivan, it appears, wanted eight churches erected in the Red Square, and one stone and seven wooden buildings were actually built. This did not please him, however, so his artists conceived the idea of building one church and "glueing" another eight on to it. St. Basil's is in reality, therefore, nine churches in one. When Napoleon was preparing his artillery for bombardment he ordered "that mosque" to be undermined and blown up because it interfered with the direct line of fire. The Cossacks arrived just in time to save it from destruction. The tower on the right hand of the picture was undergoing repairs during our visit, and the scaffolding poles partly obscured it. Napoleon the vandal would have totally destroyed it; the atheist Bolsheviks are carefully cherishing it and protecting it from the ravages of the weather. It is a historic marvel not to be lost without a pang of regret. When the November Revolution was an accomplished fact in Petersburg, rumors came from Moscow of the Bolshevik insurrection there, and Lunacharsky, believing the Church of St. Basil to have been demolished by the Communists' gun-fire, wept bitter tears and sent in his resignation to the party. Once again, however, rumor was a lying jade, for St. Basil's was practically untouched.

There is one more interesting spot in the Red Square. A long strip of earth, fragrant with glory and hallowed with immortal memories. It lies in the shadow of the Kremlin's hoary walls, and the stunted lindens drop their leaves tenderly upon it. Beneath the sward above, which shrivels in the tropical heat of summer and droops 'neath the snows of winter, the heroic dead who fell in the revolution are sleeping their eternal sleep. It is the "Brotherhood Grave", the holiest spot in Moscow. Beside them the citadel wall, whereon is hung the oriflamme they upheld, now blazoned with the story of their deed; below them the fantastic church of St. Basil's, and beyond them to the north the

* For two hundred years the Tartars were in possession of Moscow, and they fixed the crescents to the churches. When Grand Duke Ivan Vassilevich drove them out of the land he let the crescents remain and fixed the cross on top as a sign of victory. The practice of fixing the cross on the crescent has obtained since then.

Iberian Madonna. Could a more romantic burial ground have been found! John Reed was in Moscow the eve before the funeral. Snow was thick upon the ground. Men were digging the two long trenches, and John peeped down upon them over the piled-up earth. Tomorrow five hundred proletarians were to be laid therein:

"Here in this holy place," said a student, "holiest of all Russia, we shall bury our most holy. Here where are the tombs of the Tsars, our Tsar—the People shall sleep." His arm was in a sling, from a bullet wound gained in the fighting. He looked at it. "You foreigners look down on us Russians because so long we tolerated a medieval monarchy",

said he. "But we saw that the Tsar was not the only tyrant in the world; Capitalism was worse, and in all the countries of the world Capitalism was Emperor."

I stood there one burning summer's day with him whose privilege it was to enshrine in vivid prose the pregnant deeds of those who lay below. We both lifted our hats in silence. John was in happy mood that day. I was depressed. John was big and strong, hearty and boyish. I was ill, peevish, and pale. Life is full of mystery. In that thrice-blessed corner of Russia's sacred city John Reed himself now sleeps in dreamless slumber. It is almost unbelievable.

Eastern Karelia

(A Link Between Soviet Russia and Scandinavia. Impressions of a Voyage to Bjarmaland.)

By HAAVARD LANGSETH

[Recent events are again bringing Russian and Scandinavian populations closer together. Already in the ninth century there was active communication between Sweden and Northern Russia. The following article deals with territory concerning which the ancient Swedes knew very little, however, and which they regarded as a land of fable and mystery.]

ALL the information we have in Scandinavia concerning the work of a number of Finnish comrades, with Edvard Gylling at the head, just beyond the Finnish boundary, is a few little items in the newspapers. Most of the Scandinavian comrades are perhaps entirely unacquainted with what the name Eastern Karelia stands for, and what the work out there is driving at. As I very recently visited Comrade Gylling in the capital of his realm, Petrozavodsk, I am very glad to comply with the request to tell something about that country.

The country and the people were already known to us Scandinavians in the Viking period, under the name of *Bjarmaland*. This was the country which Erik Vidfarne passed on his journey to *Gardarike** about the year 600, and this country was the object of Tore Hund's famous pillaging expedition to *Bjarmaland* in the year 1026. The *Bjarmalanders*, which probably meant all the Finnish tribes, were in constant feud with both the Swedes and Norwegians until far into the thirteenth century. Their neighborly relations then expressed themselves in continuous mutual attacks and punitive expeditions, which occasionally degenerated into wars of absolute extermination. Later arose the struggle for land between Sweden and Russia, which lasted for several centuries, until Sweden, at the peace of Stolbova (1617), was obliged to limit its possessions to the boundaries of present-day Finland. This divided the Finns from the Karelians, who are essentially of the same race, and the racial origin of the Karelians was forgotten by Western Europeans, who included them under the designation "Russians". The fact that Finland in 1809 was ceded in its entirety to Russia did not produce any alteration in this condition. But

the Karelians nevertheless have retained to this day their qualities as a Finnish tribe, their language, their customs and manners. The boundaries of present-day Karelia follow the language line, which in the east runs from Lake Ladoga along the Svir River to Lake Onega and thence almost straight over to Soroka on the White Sea. The Karelian language does not differ much from the Finnish, and it was in the Karelian language and in the remote forest regions of Karelia that fragments of the Finnish national epic "*Kalevala*" survived for centuries, until they were collected to form a single whole, in the last century.

Economically and culturally the country is far behind its western neighbor, Finland. This is due to the fact that its Russian rulers did absolutely nothing to develop or to exploit the rich natural resources hidden there.

The aspect of nature is typically Finnish, the chief impression being one of forest, moor, and water. High mountains are found only in the north and west, and the country is pretty well cut up west and north of Lake Onega; but the tract north and east of Lake Ladoga runs pretty uniformly to the Russian plains. Of lakes there are thousands, all the way from very little ones to regular "inland seas", such as Seesjärvi, Vikujärvi, Tuopajärvi, and others. Voluminous rivers flow from these great lakes out into Lakes Ladoga and Onega and the White Sea. The lake plateau is about 100 to 200 meters above sea level, and the rivers therefore form in their courses either cataracts that are miles in length, or precipitous waterfalls. An idea of the country's wealth in water power may be gained from the fact that along the Murman railway, from Petrozavodsk to Murmansk, there are waterfalls with about one million horsepower, all very easy to harness.

* The Old Norse name for the portion of Russia known to them was *Gardarike*.

The climate of course varies in the various parts of this extensive country, but the difference between the mean temperature in the south and north is less than might be expected. This is due to the equalizing influence of the White Sea and the Great Lakes, particularly Ladoga and Onega. Along the coast of the Arctic Ocean, the effect of the Gulf Stream is of decisive importance in determining the climate.

The flora is about that of Central Scandinavia. In the southern districts even wheat may be raised, and a number of cereals thrive rather well as far north as the White Sea. The chief vegetable life is the forests, in the south, pine and deciduous forests; in the north, almost exclusively fir and spruce. The total forest area is about 10,000,000 hectares, or one and one-half times that of Norway. Of the forests, many are really primeval forests, in which you may pass for forty miles without finding a trace of other men, even of hunters or fishermen. Trees of a diameter less than thirty centimeters, four feet above the ground, are never cut down. It is self-evident that there is preserved here a forest capital that should and must be utilized for the welfare both of Karelia and the rest of the world. In the forests there is an unbelievable wealth of game. The king of the forest, the bear, holds his own here, almost absolutely unmolested. The rivers and lakes are rich in fish, man has not yet even taken the fresh-water fish out of the Karelian lakes. Salmon, in the many rivers that descend to the White Sea, are more abundant than anywhere else in northern Europe.

In addition to the forests, the fruitful, workable soil, the water power, the game, and the fish, Karelia has peat-bogs that are miles in width, great deposits of minerals, even veins of coal in some places. These possibilities have been but little investigated, but it may be of interest to point out the wealth in bog iron ore in a single lake, Vikujärvi, where there are 11,000,000 tons of bog iron ore. This will perhaps give a slight idea of the possibilities that a systematic geological survey would reveal.

The Karelian Labor Commune

After the defeat of our Finnish comrades about ten years ago, great bodies of the revolutionists moved over toward Russia, seeking refuge and a livelihood. Many went to Norway and Sweden, many lived as fugitives in Finland. To gather these bands, to afford them economic protection, to organize them anew for continued work for Communism, this was of course a thought that many a Finnish comrade had in mind. But nothing came of these plans until Comrade Edvard Gylling, in the spring of 1920, proposed to the Russian Government to form a colony of the fugitive Finnish comrades in Eastern Karelia. His plan was approved. Karelia was separated and given the name "The Karelian Labor Commune", constituting a partly autonomous area belonging to the Russian Federative Republic, and the Karelian Revolutionary Committee was formed on Midsummer Day, 1920.

The Revolutionary Committee consists of Finnish and Karelian Communists with Gylling as Chairman. The first task taken up was the economic reconstruction of the country, and we may say that the comrades in Karelia were not idle. In addition to keeping the most necessary branches of economic activity in operation and developing and improving them, they undertook an extensive reconstruction and reorganization in a Communist direction. In spite of the great difficulties, in spite of the almost absolute lack of usable talents, at first only a few dozen, now at most a few hundred, in spite of a very moderate degree of understanding and assistance from both the Finnish and the other Scandinavian comrades, they have already accomplished great things. The economic council, which has control of the solution of economic questions, consists of twelve persons with a Presidium of five members. On Gylling's shoulders as Chairman of this Presidium, there rests many burdens. Among the other members are the Karelians Potoyev, Gur'yev, and Nikitin, as well as the Finnish Comrades Mäki, Hapalainen, Mäkinen, and Saksman.

A KARELIAN SOVIET CONGRESS

MOSCOW, January 15.—The Karelian Revolutionary Committee has sent out the following communication: "The first Soviet Congress of the Karelian Workers' Commune will assemble on February 10 in Petrozavodsk. Representatives of the Scandinavian comrades are welcome.

Karelian Revolutionary Committee,
by GYLLING."

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The Turkish Offensive Against Armenia

An Interview With Comrade Michael Pavlovich

[Comrade Michael Pavlovich, a member of the Presidium of the Council of Propaganda and Action of the Peoples of the East, has arrived in Moscow from Azerbaijan. In an interview given before the revolution in Armenia took place, he made the following statements as to events now in progress in the Caucasus.]

1. The Turkish Offensive; Armenia and Georgia

THE Turkish offensive against Armenia, the occupation of Sarahamish, Ardagan, and Kars by the Kemalist troops, the offensive which is menacing Erivan, the capital of Armenia, and Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, these two bases of the international counter-revolution in the Caucasus, all this is of the greatest international significance. The Turkish offensive manifests the whole strength of the Turkey of Kemal, which the European diplomats had already tried to divide and to disintegrate. It shows the whole silliness of the imperialistic plans of Armenia, which was endeavoring to capture for itself Turkish territories. Even while it was attacked by Greece, France, and England, the Turkey of Kemal manifested so much force, that it was sufficient for the Turkish troops to cross the border of Armenia, and at once the question arose in Erivan and Tiflis of the necessity to fight for the very existence of the two Caucasian states.

It was quite recently that the Armenian and Georgian press organs were maintaining a bitter campaign against Soviet Russia and against the Turkey of Kemal, preparing the mass of the people for the eventuality of an open war against both neighboring states, which would break out at the first opportunity. It was quite recently that the Georgian press, in connection with the visit of the representatives of the Yellow International, Renaudel and Vandervelde, the servants of capital, and of old Kautsky who has lost his senses, poured out an ocean of dirty calumnies against Soviet Russia. It was only yesterday, that Georgia assisted the counter-revolutionary bands of the big landlord and pseudo-*iman*,* Nashludin, and of Denikin's colonel Alikhanov to pass into Red Daghestan, supplying these bands with arms, munitions, horses and officers, and that Armenia sent its provocateurs into Sangesour and Karabakh to organize an uprising of the Armenian peasants, who were deceived by the village bourgeoisie into taking up arms against the Red troops. And today the same press organs have to put forward the question of the very existence of Georgia and Armenia.

The danger which threatens us from the side of Georgia and Armenia would have been very serious, and, even without the encouragement of Renaudel and Huysmans, these states would have attacked us long ago, if it were not for one circumstance. The mass of the people of Georgia and Armenia cherished the greatest sympathy for the idea of Soviet Government. Dozens of representatives of

Armenia and Georgia attended the Congress of the Peoples of the East at Baku and they took an oath, together with the other delegates at the Congress, to defend Soviet Russia against the assaults of World Imperialism. The Armenian and Georgian delegates had to overcome many obstacles in order to attend the Congress. Some of them were afterwards banished from their countries. But notwithstanding the fact that they were well aware of what was awaiting them, they came to the Congress. This is the best proof of the fervent sympathies which are cherished by the toilers of Armenia and Georgia for Soviet Russia and Azerbaijan. Hundreds of thousands of Georgian and Armenian peasants and workers are impatiently awaiting the moment, when the Red troops will come to their assistance and help them to overthrow the bourgeois governments and to introduce the Soviet system. On many occasions I have personally heard the Georgian and Armenian peasants saying: "If the Turks or Tartars come against us, we shall fight them to the last drop of our blood, but the Russian Red Army are our brothers and we shall take up no arms against them."

2. The Failures of the Entente

World reaction suffered serious defeats on both fronts of the Soviet Federation—on the Western and Eastern.

On the Western front, peace was concluded with Poland, and Wrangel was crushed with the quickness of lightning. Soviet Russia gained a new opportunity to gather its forces for the economic and cultural reconstruction of the country. All this was accomplished in spite of the efforts exerted by the French imperialists, who did everything to entice Poland and to assist Wrangel.

On the Eastern front, all the plans of the international counter-revolution were frustrated by the victorious march of the Turkish revolutionary troops against the Armenian *Dashnaks*,* these agents of world imperialism in the Caucasus, and allies of the bandit Venizelos, who has been opposed by the best elements of the Greek people and who, at last, was compelled to retire. The ground is shaking under the feet of the reactionary Government of Armenia and, at the same time, the whole plan of the international counter-revolution, which endeavored to preserve and strengthen Armenia and Georgia as two bourgeois despotisms to play the part of the gendarmes of world imperialism in the Caucasus, has become futile.

Many leading men in Armenia were conscious

* The name of the Armenian Nationalists, usually parading under a Socialist cloak, like the "Socialist" followers of the Polish President Pilsudski.

* "Iman"—Mohammedan religious dignitary.

of the impending disaster even before the final defeat of the Armenian troops had been accomplished. The Armenian newspaper, *Nor Hocks*, wrote:

"The march of the Turkish troops against Armenia is the first act in the tragedy of the struggle between East and West. Turkey has for its ally the Russian Communist Government, which has already manifested the incomparable force of its revolutionary resistance. The leading persons of Armenia should understand, that, in the struggle between East and West, Armenia must be friendly to Russia and Turkey . . ."

Hundreds of representatives of the Communist Party of Armenia appealed in the name of the Armenian toiling masses to the Russian comrades to use their influence and get the Soviet Government to intervene in the Armenian-Turkish massacres, to exert a pressure upon both sides to put an end to the war between Turkey and Armenia and to initiate peace negotiations. And Soviet Russia should do this.

At present, the Entente, which lost its hopes of weakening Russia on its eastern frontier, is trying to negotiate with Kemal Pasha and to entice him against Soviet Russia. But this new plan, even if Kemal can be made to listen to the Entente, will fail just as disgracefully as all the past adventures of England and France.

3. *The Cause of the Armenian Defeats*

Desiring to blacken Soviet Russia in the eyes of the masses, the *Dashnaks* were crying both in their press organs and at meetings, that Soviet Russia is supporting the imperialistic plans of the Kemalists, and that the Bolsheviki, together with the Turks, are preparing a combined assault against Armenia with the object of dividing it between themselves. This was a conscious lie. And this time the ruling classes became the victims of their own lies.

When the Turkish troops rushed into Armenia, and the Government of the *Dashnaks* started to call the mass of the people to arms for the protection of the very existence of the Armenian people, the latter did not answer this call with sufficient enthusiasm. The people of Armenia were panic-stricken. The first condition for a vigorous defense against the enemy is faith in the possibility of such defense, the hope that the blow of the enemy can be repulsed. But the Armenians could have no such faith. The small Armenian nation could not hope to come out victorious in a bloody struggle against Turkey, which it believed was supported by the powerful Soviet Federation, which had crushed so many of its enemies. The bravest became downhearted, and thousands of soldiers threw away their arms and deserted. This was during the first period of the war. The loss of Kars, Ardagan, Alexandropol—this was the first result of the falsehood, by which the *Dashnaks* poisoned the soul of the people and disheartened even the most brave and courageous. But when it became clear, that powerful Soviet Russia had no intention at all to take advantage of the difficult situation of the small Ar-

menian nation, but, on the contrary, had shown its willingness to exert every effort to make an end of needless bloodshed, then the *Dashnaks* were dealt a second and even more menacing blow. After having lost much of the Armenian territory, which was occupied by the Turks, the *Dashnak* Government lost also the last remnants of confidence which it enjoyed with the Armenian people and which was now bestowed upon Soviet Russia. The falsehood of the *Dashnaks* became clear to everybody. The course of the events exposed to the Armenian people the criminal treachery and, at best, the frivolity of the *Dashnaks*, who placed faith in the "sincere" desire of the Entente to preserve the independence of Armenia.

In the same time it became clear that Soviet Russia had no selfish intentions in regard to Armenia, that she desired to live in peace with all her neighbors and that she was a sincere friend of all weak nations.

The *Dashnaks* were powerless and were defeated by the small army of Kemal only as a result of the lies, which they systematically spread against Soviet Russia.

4. *The Turkey of Kemal and Soviet Russia. The Intrigues of the Entente*

The Kemalists, even if they were anxious to change their policy and to throw the Turkish army against Soviet Russia, would be powerless to accomplish this on account of the truth which they themselves were telling the people of Turkey about Soviet Russia, about the honesty and greatness of the People's Commissaries, about the might of the Red Army. During the most critical moments of Anatolian Turkey, when the soldiers of the Turkish revolutionary army had to fight simultaneously against the advancing Greeks, against the French and English, and against the Armenian expeditionary corps, Kemal and his followers were telling their soldiers, who had sometimes become exhausted from suffering and hardships: "Don't be discouraged. Make a stand for one more month. Great Soviet Russia is hurrying to your assistance. She sends us shells, rifles, and machine-guns. She crushed the Polish troops, the army of Wrangel, and she is rapidly approaching the borders of Western Europe. Soon France and England will be exhausted by the war against powerful Soviet Russia to such an extent, that they will be compelled to give up their struggle against us." This kind of propaganda was carried on in Turkey day after day. Soviet Russia was represented as the most faithful friend of all Eastern nations and especially of Moslem Turkey. Much was said and written about the attitude of the Soviet Government toward the Tartars, who were granted independence, toward the Bashkirs, etc.

It would be quite naive to believe that, after having carried on such propaganda, it would be easy to get the Red *Askers** to war against Soviet Russia. And if Kemal and his followers would risk such an adventure it will be sufficient to deal

* Turkish soldiers.

him one or two good blows, and his army will fall to pieces like a house of cards.

It should be borne in mind that the strength of the Turkey of Kemal is based upon two factors: In the first place, its own intrinsic force; and in the second place the power of Soviet Russia. The Turkey of Kemal drew its energy and most of its power from the moral support it was receiving from Soviet Russia. When Turkey loses this support, her power would at once be shattered, and this loss would be replaced neither by the fleets and expeditional detachments of the Entente, nor by its gold.

5. *The Moslem Population of the Caucasus and Soviet Russia*

The fears, which are expressed by some timid persons, that the Turkish Pan-Islamists might get the assistance of the Moslem population of the Caucasus, are quite idle. During the recent assault of the bands of the *Iman* Nashludin upon Red Daghestan, the Moslem partisans rallied in thousands around the banner of Soviet Russia in spite of the fact that Nashludin appealed to the religious sentiments of his co-religionists. During the attack upon Resht, the Moslem partisans were fighting like lions, and it was not they who joined the Persian Cossacks, but the latter who came over to our side.

It is doubtful whether Kemal would try a hostile attack against the Soviet troops. But if such an adventure on his part takes place, we should not hesitate to call the mountain partisans into our ranks, and it is quite sure that they will not side with Kemal, but, on the contrary, the Red *Askers* will join us.

6. *The Soviet Revolution in the Caucasus*

We are on the eve of a Soviet Revolution in the Caucasus. Such a revolution will be the best pledge for the peaceful development of the Caucasus. In the same time, revolutionary Georgia and Armenia would become our most faithful allies in the event of a change in the policy of Kemal, and his siding with the imperialistic powers of the west.

Soviet Russia can have no intention of enslaving Georgia and Armenia. On the contrary, our vital interests in the Caucasus and in the whole East require, that Georgia and Armenia be actually independent and that they do not serve as a tool in the hands of the Entente, nor become provinces of Turkey, even though it be the Turkey of Kemal.

RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN POLAND

RIGA, January 10.—Last night Yoffe sent a note to Dombosky, in which he points out that though the Polish delegation had already promised to take measures for the improvement of conditions in which Russian and Ukrainian war prisoners and interned are living, in reality no effective measures have been taken. Yoffe says that camps in which the prisoners are kept are entirely unfit and unadapted for living purposes. There are no beds, no clothing, no footwear, no medicines. There are no decently equipped labor battalions. This is attested by the American Young Men's Christian Asso-

ciation's Warsaw Department. The rations fixed for prisoners remain fixed on paper only. The wounded are left without medical assistance for a long time, with the result that microbes multiply in every wound. Many men are frozen in their huts. These inhuman conditions frequently lead to death: the mortality is awful and epidemic dangers are greatly increased. Aside from this there are also many cruelties. The Lemberg newspaper *Vpered* on January 2 tells that forty-five men died in one day as a result of having been frozen. War prisoners are beaten with wires used for electrical purposes. An actress attached to a field theater, who was taken prisoner, states that she was beaten with rubber boots and hung up by her feet to the ceiling. Communist and Jewish soldiers are treated far worse. All these awful incidents have been reflected in the Polish press, which protests against such cruelty. In view of this, the note says that the Workers' and Peasants' Governments of Russia and Ukraine can not bear such actions to their citizens, and categorically insist on an immediate change of attitude. They particularly insist that officials responsible for such actions shall be removed. The Soviet Governments of Russia and Ukraine warn the Polish Government that unless it will refrain from such inhumane treatment of prisoners, the Soviet Governments of Russia and Ukraine will take the necessary measures toward the Polish war prisoners in Russia and Ukraine.

Next Week's

Soviet Russia

PICTURES—4 pages—reproductions of Soviet posters showing how the Workers' and Peasants' Republic encourages education, military service, etc.

THREE YEARS OF UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING—by *G. Sax*. This article describes the system of obtaining recruits for service in the Russian army.

TRADE UNIONS—Statistics of the trade unions in Russia, a complete table of figures indicating the geographical distribution of all members of Russian trade unions.

FOREIGN CONCESSIONS—An extensive statistical account of the concession areas.

THE CITADEL OF HOPE—by *John S. Clarke*. Gives a complete historical account of the Kremlin, and tells how this fortress has been used as the stronghold of the proletarian revolution.

Wireless and Other News

THE DEMOBILIZED RED SOLDIER

Moscow, January 11 (*Rosta*).—On the subject of the partial demobilization of the Red Army, A. Verkhotursky writes in the Petrograd *Pravda*: "Under the Tsarist regime the soldier, who after the completion of his military service returned to his native village, was a rather doubtful bearer of culture—but the Red soldier who has received a political education will have to fulfill a very important mission among the peasants. We must avail ourselves of his aid for the purpose of a constant enlightenment of the peasants to the achievements of the Revolution, as well as for the purpose of a still closer organization of the landless peasants. It is the mission of the Red soldier to form a connecting link between city and country. In his person the Revolution obtains a new defender and representative of Communist ideas in the darkest and most backward corners of our great Russia."

LEFT SOCIAL-REVOLUTIONISTS

Moscow, January 11 (*Rosta*).—An All-Russian Conference of the International Party of Left Social-Revolutionists, which was convoked under a decision of the Central District Office, of October 26, 1920, was concerned with the tasks of the party with reference to the internal and international situation of Soviet Russia. The conference fully recognizes the tactical position of the Conference which was adopted in the resolution of April 29 and October 26, and decides that it shall be the basis for the further activity of the party. The party is to participate in the elections and in the work of the Soviets applying at the same time whatever criticism it wishes to make of Communist policies. The party wants to participate in productive work and rejects all efforts to bring the Left Social-Revolutionaries into antagonism with the ruling (Communist) Party.

POLAND PREPARING FOR WAR

January 18 (*Rosta*).—According to news from Danzig, train-loads of arms and ammunition are arriving every day. Under the command of the French officers an energetic reorganization of the Polish armies has begun. The number of batteries with the artillery regiments has been increased by 50 per cent. English firms have received large orders for soldiers' boots and army cloth. Everything points to the certainty that these are preparations for a spring offensive against Soviet Russia.

ITALIAN TRADE WITH RUSSIA

January 17 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—A correspondent of the *Daily Express* reports from Constantinople that while the negotiations between Russia and England were dragging on, Italy was already developing considerable activity in Russia.

A correspondent has it from a reliable source that Italian business firms have undertaken to fur-

nish Russia with manufactured goods in exchange for rugs.

Italian automobile concerns have concluded contracts for delivering 50 motor cars to the Government of Azerbaijan, and the Banca Commerciale Italiana is opening a credit in order to facilitate the transactions between Italy and Russia.

THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

Moscow, January 18.—Rakovsky (Ukrainian Commissar of Foreign Affairs) has granted an interview to a newspaper correspondent in which he declares that the Ukrainian Soviet Republic is at present conducting negotiations with five states, i.e., Poland, Lithuania, Georgia, Esthonia, and Latvia, for reestablishing normal political and economic relations. He further spoke of the plans of the government tending to cover the whole of Ukraine with a close network of electrical power stations in order to exploit thus in the best possible way the coal and peat deposits of the country.

RUSSIAN POLICY IN CONSTANTINOPLE

BERLIN, January 19 (*Rosta*).—According to the Russian counter-revolutionary paper *Golos Rossii*, appearing in Berlin, a French Military Court at Constantinople has caused ten soldiers of Wrangel's former army to be shot for Bolshevik propaganda among the interned troops. We do not know whether the appearance of the first number of a new Communist newspaper, printed in Russian at Constantinople, which is also reported in *Golos Rossii*, has anything to do with the execution of these men. This paper appears as an organ of the International Workers' Union and makes a strong appeal to continue the struggle against the Venizelists as well as against the adherents of Constantine and to organize the fight against the bourgeoisie.

TROTSKY ON DEMOBILIZATION

Moscow, January 4 (Wolf).—From the last speech of Trotsky at the Soviet congress the following passages have subsequently become known: "We hope that up to the middle of next summer we will be in a position to reduce the army to half of its present size, provided there will be no complications. We will reduce the strength of the cadres without weakening the army. But this result will be attained only then if we will improve the military and the political education. Therefore we will have to increase the number and the quality of the Red officers who are issued from the workmen's and peasant class. By demobilizing our armies in a cautious way, we will nevertheless be unable to remain without reserves. For this reason we must introduce the militia system, relying upon the experiences of the three years of serious struggles and defeats. We will also have to act according to the extent of the international intentions directed against us."

EINSTEIN WRITES TO RUSSIA

BERLIN, January 28 (Jewish Correspondence Bureau).—We have learned from reliable sources that Professor Einstein, now famous all over the world, has sent a letter of congratulations to the Soviet Government in which the activity of the Soviet's Foreign Bureau for Science is highly praised. Professor Einstein says in his letter that the Soviet Government deserves to be thanked for having reestablished relations between Russian and German scientists.

The following Moscow wireless statement probably is concerned with the matter in connection with which Professor Einstein forwarded the above letter:

Moscow, January 14.—The Section for Science and Technology of the Supreme Council of National Economy has created a bureau for Foreign Science and Technology, which is to enter into regular relations with the scholars of the West, in order to study new inventions and technical methods and to inform the West about the scientific achievements of Russia.

BUSINESS WITH HOLLAND

The Prime Minister of Holland has declared in the Parliament that private commercial transactions with Soviet Russia are allowed by the government.

A SOVIET BANK IN KHARBIN

A representative of the Soviet Government has arrived in Kharbin with instructions to establish a special Soviet bank.

The task of this bank will be the establishment of commercial relations between Soviet Russia and

the Eastern-Asiatic states, as well as the exchange of Soviet notes and valuables, such as precious stones, objects of art, etc.

With reference to the establishment of the bank, negotiations were conducted with one of the biggest local business men. For the organization of this bank the Soviet Government will in addition to its paper money and valuables advance 65 million rubles in gold.

On the other hand the Kharbin business man, in establishing the bank, will have to organize a financial syndicate to furnish the bank with a capital of no less than 100 million rubles.

In its commercial and financial transactions the bank will have complete independence. In order to watch its activity, however, there will be appointed a commercial agent from Moscow.

One month after the establishment of the bank the Soviet Government will have to receive from Manchuria goods for not less than 100 million rubles.

The negotiations lasted a week, and as a result the Kharbin business men informed the representative of Soviet Russia that the bank might be opened under the following conditions:

The bank will be an exclusively commercial undertaking and refrain from any political activity.

Fifty per cent of the net profits of the transactions of the bank will be used for the benefit of the private shareholders of the bank; 10 per cent for the management and the employees of the bank; the remaining 40 per cent for the Soviet Government.

The Kharbin terms have been reported to Moscow.

The Laws of the Russian Soviet Republic

How is labor protected by the Workers' and Peasants' Government? What do they mean by "the right to work" and "compulsory labor"? How are working hours regulated, and efficiency attained? These and other important facts are made clear in the booklet

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which gives the full official text of the labor laws.

The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia

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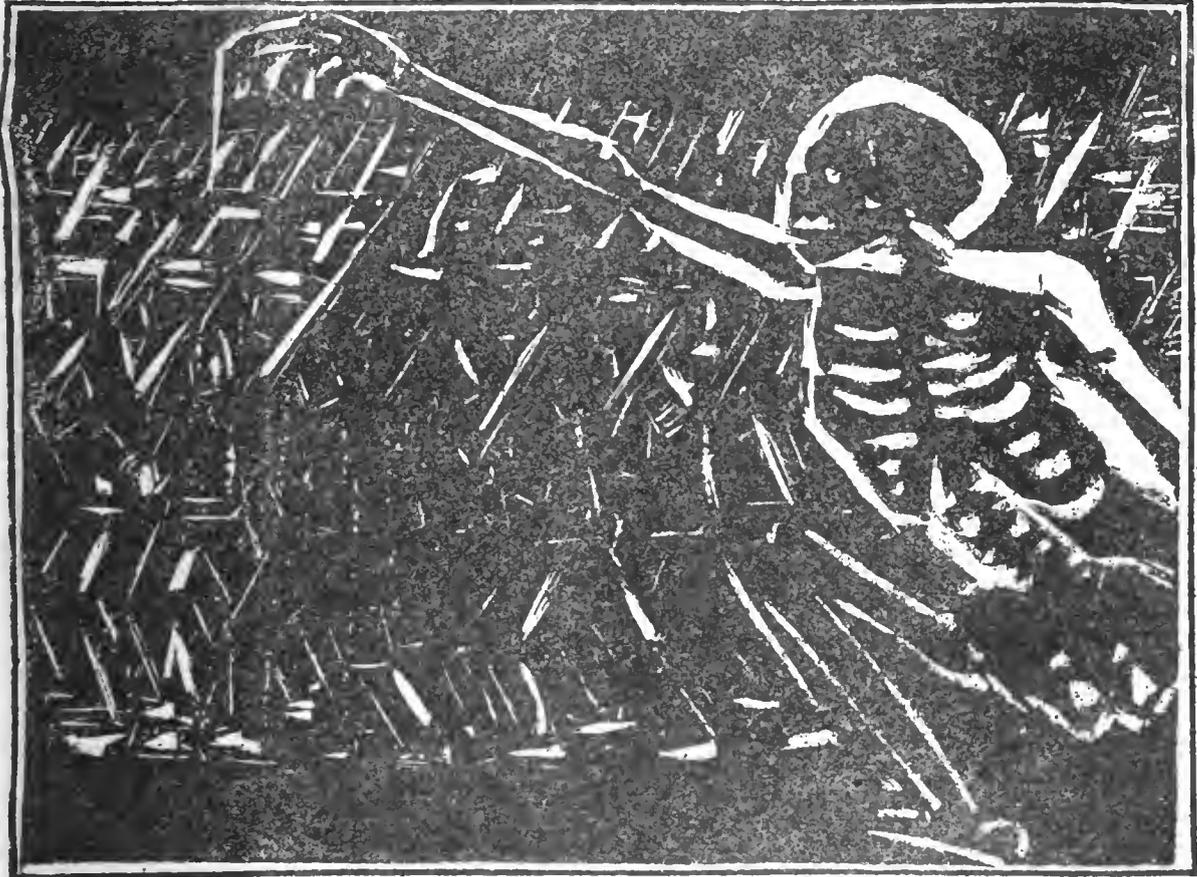
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VILNA

This cartoon, taken from the Dutch daily "De Tribune", illustrates the reaction of all the proletariats of the small nations that have been invited to send troops to form an "international" army for the "policing" of Vilna. They understand that if they send even small bodies of troops, they may be involved in warfare against their brother-workers of Russia, for the Soviet Government has notified the Lithuanian Government that it will consider it an unfriendly act on the part of the Lithuanian Government if it permits any of these "international" troops to proceed to Vilna. The Swiss Government, knowing the temper of its workers, has already refused to allow such troops to pass through Switzerland.

PICTURES THIS WEEK

This week's SOVIET RUSSIA has four full page posters used by the Soviet Government to encourage the various activities for defending and building up the Soviet state. These posters are the following:

Page 183: Poster to encourage literacy: "The Illiterate Is a Blind Man: Everywhere Pitfalls and Misfortunes Waylay Him."

Page 187: Poster to encourage volunteering in the Red Army: "Have You Enrolled as a Volunteer?"

Page 193: Poster to stimulate education (particularly in agricultural areas): "In Order to Have More, We Must Produce More; To Produce More, We Must Know More."

Page 197: Poster to stimulate production: "With Arms We Got the Enemy, With Work We Will Get Bread. All Get to Work, Comrades."

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The Kremlin, Citadel of Hope

By JOHN S. CLARKE

"Thou shalt call thy walls Salvation and thy gates Praise."—Isaiah, 60, 13.

LONDON has its Tower and Abbey, Rome its Capitol, Granada its Alhambra, Seville its Alcazar, and Moscow its Kremlin. "And the greatest of these"—is the Kremlin.

Come with me to the Kremlin, reader, and let the twentieth century take care of itself for a little while; leave the follies of this generation for a little hour and peep with me at the follies of those of former days. Follies as foolish, as wicked, as ineffectual as are our own, but which may claim a measure of extenuation in that they were the products of elemental impulse rather than the effects of a bastard culture. Come with me, then, and glimpse the fantastic and ornate, the bewildering and sublime prospects of far off years. We will saunter, you and I, through the streets of this tiny Byzantium, this sepulchre of despair, this necropolis of despotism, and if perchance we hear mad shrieks of pain and groans of hope abandoned, and sense the presence of human blood fresh-spilled—remember such things are but figments of the imagination conjured forth by memories which perception awakes. The heart may palpitate, the brain grow fevered, the blood turn cold and the hand clammy, but it may be that here and there the fragrance of some old time eastern garden shall scent our nostrils, borne on such an atmosphere as that with which the womanly wit or feminine cunning of Scheherazade bewitched her sultan. And from the clusters of iron and gold, of silver and precious stones, of paint and plaster, of jasper and agate and dead men's bones, we shall hear arise above the sound of passing souls and women's sighs and falling tear-drops, the trump of an inextinguishable renaissance. We shall walk on pathways paved with human skulls and tread the dust that shall be ours, for where others stretch both hands towards and gaze with eager eyes upon the past—we who walk the Kremlin's holy ground shall glimpse the future too.

There are many "kremlins" in Russia. The word is simply a Tartar word for fortress. Not one of them, however, is quite so wonderful as the Kremlin. It is triangular in shape and girdled by loop-holed walls sixty feet in height, with ramparts and picturesque bastions of Russo-Italian design. These fifteenth century fortifications (for previous to this the walls of the Kremlin were of oak like the walls

of the Athenian Acropolis) are breached by four magnificently towered gateways—the Troitsa, the Borovitsky, the Spasskoi, and the Nicholas.*

The most beautiful gateway of all is the glorious red and green Spasskoi Vorota or "Gate of the Saviour", which stands opposite St. Basil's Church in the Red Square. This was the entrance chiefly used by the delegates, and upon the lofty tower of which is fixed the clock which chimes the "International" every hour. What a miracle is this to be sure. What an irony of fate. What a delicately, tantalizing piece of sarcasm. Perhaps you don't see it, reader. Let me tell you something about the Saviour Gate. To begin with, the Palladium of the Russian Empire hangs here—the "Redeemer of Smolensk", it is called, and, before the Revolution, something like ten thousand people used to visit it every twelve hours. It is only a picture, but pictures have mysterious meanings to the folk of Russia. No one, not even the Tsar, was ever permitted to pass this sacred picture without uncovering the head, for it "delivered" Russia from the Polish yoke in 1613 when it went before the victorious army of Pozharski. On the conqueror's return he entered by this gate, since when the "uncovering" law has been in force. It is miraculously invulnerable, of course, for Tartars have attempted to steal it, but every ladder they scaled broke down at the precise moment, until in fear and vexation they abandoned their nefarious designs. When the French had possession of Moscow they brought along a cannon to bombard it into bits, but the Lord sent invisible angels to damp their powder and so frustrate their dirty doings. Along came the Bolsheviks and—well perhaps they think a thing so extraordinarily uncanny is better left alone. They haven't, therefore, interfered with it; instead when the superstitious muzhiks came along to cross themselves before the "Saviour", the Bolsheviks wickedly make the big clock above them tinkle forth—

"No Saviours from on high deliver!"

I wonder how many of them see the point.

Through this *porta sacra* we climb a cobbled incline and pass the Nunnery and the small Nikolai Palace. In front of us rises the enormous tower of Ivan the Great with its deep-toned bell, at the foot of which the "Tsar Kolokol" with the great

* Just within the latter is the spot where the Grand Duke Sergius was killed by the bomb of Kalayev on February 17, 1905.

piece broken out of its side, is lying. This tremendous bell was cast in 1733 by the Empress Anne from metal which had been used previously for a similar purpose by Boris Godunov. This Tsar tried to atone for his many crimes by presenting a big bell to the city. Originally it weighed 135 tons, but, when after lying broken for 100 years, Anne had it recast, she piously added something to it. It is now 19 feet high, 60 feet in circumference, and weighs 200 tons. The tongue is 18 feet long. The shed in which it was cast took fire, and the water thrown upon it to extinguish the flames cracked the over-heated bell and broke a huge piece from its side. Behind it the tower of Ivan the Great rises to a height of 318 feet. It is the grandest belfry in Russia, which is not saying much, and was erected in 1600 by Boris Godunov to commemorate the deliverance of the country from the great famine and to provide "relief work" for the famished people. Two of its bells weigh respectively 66 tons and 33 tons. Halfway up there is a balcony from which the Tsars from the time of Boris to Peter the Great made speeches to the multitude. Behind and beyond the belfry are the three Cathedrals of the Kremlin and the palace; while opposite, near the river, is the three-sided structure which once embraced the colossal statue of Alexander, but which the Bolsheviks have dethroned. The ceilings of the three-sided promenade are made of beautifully executed mosaics representing in effigy all the Tsars since Ivan's time.

The little river flows smoothly below the loop-holed walls, and the sun beats down upon the glorious golden-domed white marble Church of the Redeemer, away beyond the bridge over which the stricken troops of Napoleon crossed on their retreat. In the distance the low Sparrow hills break the monotony of the flat-lands, and recall the anguish of the days when the Siberia-bound criminals and "political" were gathered upon them and formed up in marching order for the murderous march in chains.

The great open space between the wall and the belfry is weed-grown and ruinous-looking, but always has been I understand; the soldiers quartered in the barracks behind the palace use it as a recreation ground. The three cathedrals (1) The Assumption, (2) The Annunciation, (3) The Archangel Michael are dreary and dilapidated looking in the extreme. Stucco and whitewashed piles with only elaborate frescoes and faded paintings on the exterior to save them from being little more than eyesores. But they teem with historical associations, and to view their half-tarnished gilt domes, golden crosses, and vividly colored roofs from across the river on either a moonlight night or a sunny day is to glimpse fairyland. Green, red, white, pink, and black clusters with gold and silver spires leaping heavenward like tongues of flame from out of the crowded flashing domes is an enchantment never to be forgotten.

I explored the Kremlin alone, and developed in the task an eeriness which has not been thrown off to this day. Around the bends, angles, curves

and twists, in and out the courts and alleys everything is silent, strange, weird, and spectral. One traverses the pathways of medieval Russia, and fancy creates out of every shadow a geni which startles the heart.

Cathedral of the Archangel Michael

Where solitude reigns there reigns not always peace. The mind becomes more alert, and the pulse is quickened, as memory brings to life the famous and infamous dead. And a multitude of ghosts haunt the Kremlin. The Russian Nero, Ivan the Terrible, grins at one round every corner. His is a most intrusive ghost, an unwelcome, objectionable, nightmarish ghost. The corpse lies with the body of the son—the son whom the father slew—in the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael. An old song, a translation of which Professor Morfill gives, describes his funeral:

"At the Ouspenski Cathedral
Of Michael the Archangel
They beat upon the great bell—
They gave forth a sound over the whole damp mother earth.
All the princes—the boyars—came together,
There was a new coffin made of cypress wood:
In the coffin lies the orthodox Tsar—
The orthodox Tsar—Ivan Vassilivich the Terrible.
At his head lies the life-giving cross;
By the cross lies the imperial crown;
At his feet lies the terrible sword;
Everyone prays to the life-giving cross;
Everyone bows to the golden diadem;
Everyone looks with trembling at the terrible sword.
Around the coffin the wax lights burn;
Before the coffin stand all the priests and patriarchs.
They read and sing the farewell hymn,
They sing farewell to our orthodox Tsar—
Our terrible Tsar—Ivan Vassilivich."

They were evidently bent on securing his admission into paradise at all costs, but on reflection one is surely justified in echoing the sentiments of Burns:

"If such as he in heaven may be,
Then welcome! hail! damnation."

Yes! the life-giving cross at his head. At the ghastly head of the monster who once amused himself by roasting and otherwise torturing 60,000 people at once; who used to let bears loose upon his Moscow "subjects"; who is alleged to have nailed a man's hat to his head as an "act of censure"; who caused a woman to be placed astride of a rope naked, and drawn to and fro until she was sawn in twain; who committed the horrors described in the last chapter, and who hammered the brains out of his own child. No doubt he is in the Christian heaven, for such deeds were performed by David of old, and was not David "a man after God's own heart"? Near him lies the body, or what remains of it, of another son, Feodor, the last male of the house of Rurik; while yet another, the youngest child, Dmitry, is buried nearby.*

Dmitry was murdered by creatures of the boyar Boris Godunov, who usurped the throne. Had he lived he would have succeeded Feodor the weakling, who was wedded to the sister of Boris. Thus the dynasty founded by Rurik came to an end, and in exactly the same manner as both Merovingian

*"Within the Church of the Archangel, amidst the tombs of the Tsars, the one coffin glittering with jewels and gold is that of the young child Demetrius, whose death or martyrdom was lamented with an everlasting lamentation, as the cause of the convulsions which followed upon it."—Stanley, "Church and State."

and Carolingian dynasties of France ended—by murder. Karamzin describes the murder with brutal realism:

"On the fifteenth of May, a Saturday, at the sixth hour of the day, the Tsaritsa came back from church with her son, and was preparing for dinner. Her brothers were away from the palace, and the servants were occupied with their domestic duties. At that moment the governess Volokhov called to Dmitry to take him out for a walk in the court; the Tsaritsa wished to follow, but unfortunately her attention was called off, and she lingered. The nurse wished to prevent the Tsarevich from going out, though from no reason which she could account for, but the governess drew him forcibly into the vestibule, and thence, upon the staircase, where they were met by Joseph Volokhov, Daniel Bitiagovsky, and Katchatov. The first of these, taking Dmitry by the hand, said, 'Sire, you have a new collar on.' The child, raising his head with an innocent smile, said, 'No, it is an old one.' At that moment the knife of the assassin struck him, but, while only slightly wounded in the throat, he slipped from the hands of Volokhov. The nurse then raised piercing outcries, clasping her infant sovereign in her arms. Volokhov took flight. But Daniel Bitiagovsky and Katchatov snatched the Tsarevich from his nurses, stabbed him, and threw him down the staircase, at the very moment when the Tsaritsa made her appearance, coming from the vestibule. The young martyr, of nine years old, already lay bleeding in the arms of his nurse, who had tried to defend him at the risk of her life. 'He palpitated like a dove,' and breathed his last without hearing the cries of his frantic mother."

Altogether there are between forty and fifty royal tombs in this one cathedral, some of them containing remains of princes who died before the building was erected and which were removed here by the "Terrible".

The Cathedral of the Assumption

The Cathedral of the Assumption, with its frescoed walls and five golden domes, stands at the northeast end of the palace almost opposite the building in which Lenin works. It contains the bones of many saints—St. Theognostos, who died in 1353 of the very "black death" which visited England; St. Jonah, who shook his bony hand at Napoleon when that invader looked at his mummy in the coffin to see if the body was "uncorrupt"; Cyprian and Photius lie here as well. Many of the former patriarchs found their last long home beneath these domes. Hermogenes, Philaret, the founder of the house of Romanov, and Philip, who, my readers will recollect, came from Solovetski. Philip is one of the few priests of Russia to whose memory I respectfully lift my hat. He was the one solitary martyr the Russian church has bred. He appears to have been, as far as men went in those days, a truly religious, gentle-hearted, and fearless hero. He aspired to no greatness, countenanced no intrigue; and though he never protested against the secular authority of Ivan, yet he

fearlessly denounced his enormities. "As the image of God I reverence thee," he once said to the tyrant, "but as a man, thou art but dust and ashes." He preached ceaselessly against the cruelties of the bloody Tsar, and questioned the virtue of offering up bloodless sacrifices to God, the while this beast was shedding Christian blood wholesale. Shade of Wycliffe, of John Ball, of Bruno, it wasn't in the nature of things that this could continue for long. Ivan sent his bosom friend Maluta Skuratov—the same who officiated at the massacres described in the last chapter—to Philip, to "ask his blessing" at the Tver monastery. Philip recognizing the miscreant, calmly said: "Execute thy mission", whereupon, says Muraviev, "he was strangled in his cell."

In this cathedral all the Tsars were crowned, and here Boris tore his coronation robe to signify that he would always be prepared to share his effects with the poor. Once upon a time, one of the nails which crucified Jesus, a seamless coat worn by him, and a piece of his mother's gown, were carefully enshrined as holy relics, in this church; and there is still a niche in the wall where Ivan peeped at the ceremony after he was excommunicated and dared not enter the building proper.

The Cathedral of the Annunciation

Adjoining the palace at the southeast corner, and almost dwarfed by it, is the small Cathedral of the Annunciation. It has a great many golden domes and contains the famous ikon called the "Virgin of the Don" which was carried at the battle of Kulikova (1380) and at the battle in 1591 between Boris and the Crimean Khan. Marvelous indeed are the legends surrounding its supernatural powers. One of them is related by Kohl:

"With the greatest goodwill in the world the French did not discover all the gold here. A rent was made with hammer and tongs in the frame of the Virgin of the Don, which is of pure gold, but they were smitten with blindness, and rejected it as copper."

These stories of the miraculous ikons, the authenticity of which is never for a moment doubted by the mass of the Russian people, give some idea of the appalling superstition in which they are submerged.

Before we enter the great Palace, reader, in the Vladimir Hall of which the delegates to the Congress of the Third Communist International are sitting, stand in the paved yard just between the Cathedrals of Annunciation and Assumption, and you will see the "Red Staircase" or "Beautiful" staircase as it is sometimes called. It is the bloodiest gangway in universal history. In three flights it leads from near the little cathedral to the Vladimir Hall, but we do not make use of it, but enter by the main staircase facing the river.

The Red Staircase has a truly gruesome history. As we approached the grand finale to the career of Ivan the Terrible in Karamzin's picturesque history, we read that Ivan came on to the Red Staircase one evening in 1584 to watch a comet which

had appeared in the sky, the tail of which "bore the form of a cross." After watching it for some time, he turned to those who stood with him and said, "It is the warning of my death." Soon afterwards, we read, he was attacked by a severe malady and "his entrails began to putrify and his body swelled."

After the death of the pretender Boris Godunov and when another pretender, "false Dmitry," ascended the throne, a hideous crime was enacted at the house of Boris, on the persons of Feodor and the young Tsar (and rightful successor to Boris) and upon his mother Marie, and his sister Xenie. Dmitry, who was a sheer imposter himself, determined to wipe the family of Boris completely out. The princes Galitsky and Masalsky with two functionaries, Molchanov and Scherefedinov and three soldiers went to the house of the late Tsar (which is still standing near the Red Square) on June 10, 1605, where the widow and two children were awaiting events.

"They snatched these tender children from the arms of the Tsaritsa, made then enter separate rooms, and bade the Strelsti do their work. These at once strangled the Tsaritsa Marie, but the young Feodor, endowed by nature with extraordinary strength, contended for a long time with the four assassins, who with difficulty succeeded in suffocating him at last.* Xenie was more fortunate than her brother and mother: they left her her life. The usurper had heard of her charms; he ordered Prince Massalsky to remove her to his house. It was announced in Moscow that Marie and her son had poisoned themselves. But their bodies exposed to insult and outrage, bore certain evidence of her violent death."—Karamzin.

This exposure to outrage and insult of the people took place upon the Red Staircase. Meanwhile the little Xenie was incarcerated and as yet unacquainted with the form her fate was to take. An old Russian song brought from Russia in the 17th century by an English clergyman called Richard James, gives a vivid picture of the little Tsarevna's melancholia at this period:

"The little bird laments,
The white quail,
Oh! how must I weep, young as I am—
They are going to destroy the vigorous oak,
To destroy my little nest,
To kill my little fledgelings,
And to capture me the quail.
The Tsarevna weeps in Moscow,
Alas, I, the youthful, must mourn
Because the traitor is coming to Moscow,
Who wishes to take me prisoner,
And having imprisoned me, to make me a nun,
And to put me among those who wear black robes

Thus the Tsarevna weeps in Moscow,
The daughter of Boris Godunov—
O God, merciful Saviour,
It is for the sins of my father,
For my mother's lock of prayer."

The ambitious and unhappy Boris is supposed to have been fond of his wife and children, but this horrible fate was his only heritage to them. However, the day came when the murderer—the false Dmitry—whose real name was Gregory Otrepiev,**

* "The young Tsar and his unhappy mother were smothered by murderers like those who had been employed to make away with Dmitry, for the Lord sometimes visits the sins of the fathers upon the children."—Monraviev.

was overthrown himself. The Tsaritsa Marpha who had been forced to swear that he was her son, now exposed him. The crowd shot him and then hacked him to pieces on the Red Staircase, hurling the mangled corpse down the steps on to the body of Basmanov, his friend, with the cry, "You were friends in this world, be equally inseparable in hell."

In the year 1682, after the death of Feodor Alexievich, another horror occurred on this staircase. The right to the throne was claimed by two factions—representatives of the two wives of the Emperor Alexis, Maria Miloslavski (mother of Feodor) and Natalia Nariskin (mother of Peter the Great). After a great deal of intrigue and barefaced lying, the soldiery accompanied by a huge multitude stormed the Kremlin. Natalia came out to the staircase with her two children, Ivan and Peter, but the Prince Dolgoruki spoilt the dramatic effect and turned it into tragedy by abusing the soldiery (streltsi) from a window. The infuriated soldiers rushed into the palace, and catching the prince they dragged him out and threw him down the staircase on to the spears of their companions below.

A Meeting With Lenin

The first time I visited the Red Staircase, I stood at the foot pondering—"wool-gathering" some people call it—when I heard sharp footfalls, and a crisp voice said: "Do you know this place, do you know it?" I turned round and faced—Vladimir Ilych Ulianov. Together we walked past the little cathedral, turned the corner and entered the palace. Lenin—to use his more familiarly-known name—talked of the war with Poland and the threatened entry of Great Britain into the fighting arena. (Great Britain had been the inspirer of it and the sleeping partner of treacherous Poland since the beginning of it.) On this particular day which, strange to say, was August 4, the anniversary of the first day of the great war and Shelley's birthday, there was every prospect of war being declared on Russia by Britain. The Red Army was within fifty miles of Warsaw; Germany was proclaiming strict neutrality and forbidding the Poles to seek refuge across her frontiers; France was preparing a number of divisions to join the British Expeditionary Force to Poland; and all sorts of international complications were arising. I paid keen and particular attention to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars as I walked along, but there appeared no black clouds on the brow, no forehead was knit with heavy thought, no lines of responsibility or fear of impending danger disturbed the placid peasant face. He chuckled, laughed, and hinted that I might be able to journey home via Paris in a short time! trotted light of foot up the staircase, and on reaching the Hall began to hum a tune. I am perfectly sure there was not a man

** "Thou hast sent us, O God, the deceiver.
The wicked, unfrocked priest Griaika Otrepiev,
He called himself the lawful Tsar.
The Tsar Dmitri Ivanovich of Uglich."

—Old Russian Song.

or woman in all that gathering of international delegates that did not love Lenin. In spite of the heavy pressure of work which he, in common with everyone had to face at that trying time, he always had a cheery word, a happy smile, and patient ear to lend to all. He was highly pleased at Gallacher's performance on the platform, and laughed at his vehemence; for when Gallacher was not vehement in Russia he was over-vehement. But it was a joyous laugh, for in spite of the philosophy of the "Infantile Sickness of Leftism", Lenin much prefers an over-zealous character to one which is never quite certain as to what constitutes "right" and what "left", and there were plenty of specimens of this latter type at the Congress. I was fortunate enough to hear Lenin make three long speeches, in German and French. He does not orate, he speaks with perfect articulation, very few gestures and most of them facial, and emphasizes his ironical points with a metallic, but not displeasing laugh.

Lenin, Marx, and Wells

He apologized to me for not being able "to speak the English language very well," yet every word he uttered in English was beautifully articulated, much better so, for instance, than Balabanova seemed capable of, though nothing like so fluently. I had many conversations with him at the palace, and paid one visit to his office. A visit to the office is a purely formal affair. It is not so much Comrade Lenin you go to see, as the "Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, of the Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics." Consequently one has to negotiate several corridors, rooms and inquisitors before access to Lenin is obtained, even though one has just left him five minutes previously at the entrance. I mention this in order to remove the false impression likely to be gathered from a perusal of H. G. Wells' chapter on Lenin in "Russia in the Shadows."

Armed sentinels stand at the door, and it is utterly impossible to reach Lenin unless he himself has made the appointment. Usually two or three healthy mucky children are playing chuckle-stones on the doorstep, with the sentry looking on. Apart from this necessary safeguard to protect an extremely busy man from being intruded upon too often, Lenin is as free as anyone else. He frequently goes out of the Spasskoi gate, walks briskly right around the Red Square and returns to his work. Out of his office he is just Comrade Lenin, the kindly soul we all found him, without a scrap of self-superiority or "standoffishness", which, to all appearances, is a very pronounced failing of the British puppet-maker who visited Lenin, on his own confession, out of "mere curiosity", and who details a worthless conversation he held with the little "dreamer" who "shuts one eye" and has "short legs". Mr. Wells approaches Lenin with the patronizing air of a superior person who imagines his august presence will convert the acknowledged leader of the World Revolution into a popular lecturer on Sovietism. But a fiasco is the result. To the

queries, "What are you doing and what are you going to do?" Lenin puts the counter question: "We have done it, but when are you going to do it?"—and Mr. Wells is too conceited to recognize the snub.

Accordingly, Marxism which he "abhors", and which to use his own words, he "is frightfully ignorant of", comes in for some severe manhandling at the hands of this middle-class "writer of Jules Verne stories", as Harry Quelch described him years ago.

But neither Marxian philosophy nor economics are abhorred, mind you, because of any fallacies they contain! No! the hostility to the old "bore" Marx on the part of Mr. Wells is due solely to irritation excited by the overplus of whiskers worn by him:

"In Russia I must confess my *passive objection* (due to self-confessed ignorance.—J.S.C.) to Marx has *changed to a very active hostility*. Wherever we went we encountered busts, statues, and portraits of Marx. About two-thirds of the face of Marx is beard that must have made all normal exercise impossible. It is not the sort of beard that happens to a man; it is a beard cultivated, cherished, and thrust patriarchally upon the world . . . A gnawing desire grew upon me to see Karl Marx shaved. Some day if I am spared I will take up shears and a razor against "Das Kapital"; I will write "The Shaving of Karl Marx."

What a terrible threat! It would be a much more intelligent occupation to take up the spectacles and *read* Karl Marx, of course; but to a man capable of penning the above puerility the theories and facts of Marxism would be equally unpalatable even had their discoverer been the present writer, who is not only destitute of facial hair, but possesses damned little on his head.

As for shaving the philosophy of Marx, far cleverer thinkers—though Wells is more of a philosopher than a thinker—than H. G. Wells have tried it. Such illustrious economist-tonorialists, for example, as Boehm-Bawerk, Nicholson, and Seligman, besides scores of smaller fry, and they didn't assist the Autocrat of all the Russias very materially, did they? And a new Marx-slayer arises in each generation to slaughter a corpse already slain over and over again by his predecessors, but after the "death" there is no "rigor mortis", no wake, and each little killer scratches his head like the alleged Irishman and mutters, "He doesn't seem as dead as I thought he was, and I knew he wouldn't be!"

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ВСЮДУ ЕГО ЖДУТ НЕУДАЧИ И НЕСЧАСТЬЯ.

Three Years of General Military Training

By G. SAX

THE November Revolution has, in Soviet Russia, accomplished the ideas of the great European teachers of the working class, Marx and Engels, that the armed working class would be able to organize the revolution and to overcome the bourgeoisie. The general military training of the workers is the concrete expression of this idea in Soviet Russia. It is very difficult to organize the Russia of the workers into an "armed people", but the organization which has already been created represents an immense power, counting millions of people and is of the greatest historical interest and significance.

The German offensive along the Russian frontier, after it the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, compelled the Petrograd Workers to take up military training in a feverish haste. And here a short term of training was applied—96 hours—which afterwards became exemplary. A part of the workmen, the most qualified, went through a seven days' term of training for artillery service, being so occupied for six hours each day. Thus, the first foundation of the general military training was laid for the gigantic structure of the armed people, which is to assume shape in the form of a people's militia.

The "Chief Management of General Military Training" having been formed, strenuous work was started to help the front. Regiments were formed of workmen, brigades and detachments, which at the demand of the field staff, were regularly sent to the front. The organization of the general military training met with great obstacles of a material and moral order. The lack of technical means, of horses, munitions, wagons, supplies, extremely hindered the work, delaying the formation of the G. M. T. (General Military Training) regiment for months. But the organizers of the G. M. T., devoted to the revolution body and soul, exerted the greatest efforts to carry out the tasks which the revolution had put upon them.

To put matters in working order, two All-Russian Conferences were convened at which notes and experiences were compared, the necessary work to be undertaken outlined and the further course and the possibilities of organizing the militia settled. The ninth conference of the Russian Communist Party also adopted the following resolution dealing with the organization of the militia:

The Resolution Adopted at the Ninth Conference of the Russian Communist Party on the Question of Organizing a Militia

1. The approaching end of civil war and the favorable changes in the international position of Soviet Russia have placed on the order of the day the problem of introducing fundamental changes in our military organization which should be in keeping with the pressing economic and cultural needs of the country.

2. However, as long as the imperialist bour-

geoisie remains in power in most countries of the world, the position of the Socialist Republic cannot be regarded as safe.

The further progress of events may, at a certain point, again drive the imperialists, who feel the ground vanishing beneath their feet, on the way of bloody adventures directed against Soviet Russia.

Hence the necessity of maintaining the military defence of the Revolution on a proper level.

3. In keeping with the present transition period, which may prove to be of a protracted nature, an organization of the armed forces of the country must be established offering the workers the possibility of obtaining the necessary military training while taking away as little as possible of their time employed in productive labor. This may be accomplished solely by the organization of a Red Workers' and Peasants' Militia built on a territorial basis.

4. The essence of the Soviet Militia must be the approximation, as far as possible, of the army to producing areas so that the living human power of definite economic regions shall at the same time represent the living human forces of definite military units.

5. The militia sections (regiments, brigades, divisions) bearing in mind the territorial disposition of industry, must in the matter of territorial distribution be so arranged, that industrial centers with interdependent agricultural areas around them shall form the basis of the militia sections.

6. In matters of organization the militia must be based on units which are militarily, technically, and politically well trained, and which shall keep a constant register of the workers and peasants trained by them so as to be in a position to get at them at any time, and, when necessary, to incorporate them in the military organization, providing them with arms and leading them into battle.

7. The passing to the militia system must be carried out gradually, in accordance with the military and international diplomatic position of the Soviet Republic; with the proviso, that at all times the defensive strength of the republic be kept at a high level.

8. The gradually demobilized Red Army must be distributed so that its best units are put to the best advantage, that is to say, the distribution must run on lines best suited for the local industrial and social conditions, thus assuring a ready machinery of administration for the militia section.

9. Subsequently, the staff of the militia units will have to be gradually renewed, with a view to establishing a closer connection with the economic life of the given region, so that the commanding staff of the militia stationed in the territory embracing, let us say, a group of factories or works with an agricultural district adjoining it, should consist of the best elements of the local workers.

10. For the purposes of the indicated renewal of the staff, the military training courses must be

territorially distributed in accordance with the militia districts, and the best representatives of the local workers and peasants must pass through these courses.

11. To assure the highest military efficiency the military training for the militia shall be carried on as follows:

(a) Preliminary military training of citizens, the military departments, in this connection, working hand in hand with the departments of public education, with the trade unions, with the organizations of the party, with the leagues of youth, and with sporting societies, etc.

(b) Military training of citizens who have reached the age of military service, this training to be of an ever shorter and shorter duration with the approximation of the barracks to the type of military schools.

(c) Calling up, for a very brief period, of those who have been trained, in order to test the military efficiency of the militia units.

12. The organization of the militia units set up for the purpose of military defence must in due measure be adapted also to the purposes of labor service, that is to say, it must be in a position to form labor sections and supply them with the necessary machinery of instruction.

13. The militia tending to develop into the armed Communist organization of the people must in the present transition period retain in its organization all the elements of the dictatorship of the workers.

Operation of the Training System

The G. M. T. has made a beginning with those who have not yet reached the age of military service. All children from eight years of age are obliged to undergo, in school as well as out of school, a course of training in physical culture. Along with the ordinary primer they must acquire the primer of physical culture.

For the management of this great and responsible work a special "Supreme Council of Physical Culture" has been created, with scholars and professors at its head, controlling through its local branches the work throughout the republic. In this manner a new generation is being raised of bright, strong, and alert people, who will defend Socialism and the Revolution. In accordance with the decree of the Council of People's Commissars, the young, between the age of 16 and 18, are undergoing military training. By the terms of this decree boys and girls, the latter voluntarily, but the members of the Communist Union of Youth, by obligation, are receiving such military training as to acquire, at the age of 18, all that may be required of a young warrior of the Republic.

This scheme enables us to make the idea of the armed people, the militia, a reality with the smallest expense of energy and means. But the work of the General Military Training is going even farther. It is striving to solve the problem of improving the health of the working class, the problems of eugenics and of physical culture. Thousands

of different sporting societies and clubs have been established, institutions in which mass-sport is cultivated on scientific lines and with utilitarian aims. Hundreds of thousands of workers are taking part in the sports, thereby becoming bearers of the higher forms of culture.

Parallel with the work of physical culture, political as well as cultural and educational work is being carried on at the clubs, gymnasiums, etc., lectures, conversations on various subjects, moving pictures, and plastic art celebrations are being organized.

Special effort is made to draw the working women into the general military training. There are three to four month courses on communication service and on military matters for them. They may take up instructors' courses in sport and gymnastics. Many a hundred working women now training will be able to occupy different posts in military detachments. The G. M. T. is opening for Russian working women new possibilities, new horizons; and, in the near future, the Russian working woman will stand in the foremost ranks of the world movement.

Serious attention is being paid to the question of military training in schools and colleges. At present, there are about 100 schools in the regimental districts, in which non-commissioned officers are being prepared. The whole system of military training is conducted according to plan. First, a 96-hours' course of individual instruction is given, then a brief collective course, and finally a month is devoted to going over again the whole course of exercise. Then a part of the pupils are selected to attend the schools for non-commissioned officers (four months), from which they graduate as instructors. These instructors are sent to practice (for six months), after which they are transferred to higher instructors' courses. After a course of six months, they are again put to practice, and then the most able get into the highest organization and method courses (one year; after January, 1921, two years is proposed). They graduate from these courses as battalion instructors and as regimental commanders. After a practice of six to twelve months they are sent to a repeating course (not less than two months). This is, in short, the system of training instructors for the territorial militia. At the courses the applied method of work is that of the seminary type.

Soviet Russia is divided into regimental and brigade districts so that every province covers a regimental or brigade district. In each regimental district there is a sufficient number of instructors for the training of the young. Thus a regimental staff is to be found in every chief city of a province. This staff has different departments dealing with the technical work, as well as that of organization connected with the military training of the population. Each provincial regimental district is divided into three districts, and each company district into three platoon districts.

A noteworthy feature of the system is that a brigade is made up of three regiments, and that only a part of the commanders leave for the front

in war time while the rest are engaged in forming new units. Every regimental district is thus in a position, in time of peace, to go on forming brigades until the whole able-bodied population has been enrolled. The commander of a regiment in peace time becomes commander of a brigade in war time, etc., that is to say, we have potentially a staff who can occupy high positions in time of war. This is a very important feature of the system and due attention should be paid to it.

In spite of the severe times and in spite of the difficulties of the work, the General Military Training assists in the formation of labor-companies for work in the rear, helps to eradicate illiteracy, giving part of its time and of its instructors for these purposes.

Notwithstanding its gigantic work extending to millions of the working class, the General Military Training is in closest contact with the R. C. P.* All the commanding positions in the territorial companies are occupied by Communists. Besides, all the members of the Communist Party are taking part in the General Military Training, and are so distributed that a third of any military unit is composed of Communists. When the workers and the toiling peasants are, for instance, mobilized into a regiment, a third of that regiment must be Communists, besides sympathizers.

Glancing back at the road passed we can be proud of the great military, political, and cultural work that has been done. Millions of working men and working women, boys and girls, undergo military training. The gun and the hammer is their symbol while the future militia is their aim.

New French Inventions

RIGA, January 10.—Chicherin today forwards the following message:

"The campaign of lies regarding our alleged aggressive intentions towards our neighbors is becoming more and more outrageous. We cannot remain entirely indifferent toward this campaign, since the true reason for egging on our neighbors against us is becoming more and more apparent. The latest radio reports of American correspondents speak of a pretended serious danger on the part of the Bolsheviks with regard to neighboring states, and of the readiness of France to recognize the independence of Latvia and Esthonia because of this condition. A move like the latter we could only hail with approval. The *Temps* reports from official French sources that the independence of Latvia is endangered by the Bolsheviks. Similar reports are forwarded by the French military mission from Riga. In giving out these mendacious reports, the American correspondents mentioned the authority of the head of the American "Red Cross Mission", Col. Ryan, who is well-known as one of the worst enemies of the Soviet Government, and as a persistent originator of calumniating reports. This campaign of defamation apparently arises from France's attempts to prevent the inau-

guration of permanent friendly relations between Russia and its neighbors, as well as to destroy the possibility of an economic rapprochement. This campaign however is directed against the life interests of the Baltic provinces, whose welfare we desire to strengthen by the development of healthy economic relations. Please protest against these malicious attempts originating in French circles and declare categorically that the campaign of calumination is based upon evil inventions, redounding to the advantage not only of Soviet Russia, but also of the Baltic States. Point out that the tasks of present-day Soviet Russia are those of peaceful reconstruction, and refer to the character of the Eighth Congress of Soviets, which was devoted exclusively to such tasks.

"With regard to the movement of troops to which such calumniating reports make reference, the true state of affairs is as follows: During the military actions against Poland and Wrangel, troops were concentrated in certain directions. At present, in view of the transition to a peace condition, remobilization has begun to take place, but the latter cannot be carried out except in a gradual manner, which will require the immediate territorial deconcentration and equitable distribution of divisions not yet demobilized. For these reasons, detachments of troops have appeared in the vicinity of the Dniester which had not been in that region before. They are to be quartered for the winter in southwestern Ukraine. This deconcentration and equitable distribution, for peaceful reasons, will explain the transfers of troops that are exploited by the originators of lying reports with the object of egging on our peaceful neighboring states against us. Emphasize the extremely malevolent character of these intrigues on the part of French imperialism and again call attention to our unaltered ardent desire to advance the cause of the further development of an economic rapprochement with our neighbors."

Next Week's Soviet Russia

THE WELL-KNOWN GERMAN PROLETARIAN POET—MAX BARTHEL, gives his impressions of meetings he attended in Russia.

THE MAGNETIC CORPS: by Samuel Rafelovich. Describes Budenny's first Cavalry Army and its sensational and heroic exploits, especially in the fighting against the armies of Denikin and Wrangel.

This article takes the place of Col. Bek's weekly military review. The latter will shortly make its appearance again in this magazine.

DR. JUDAH L. MAGNES'S ADDRESS. (In January at the Metropolitan Opera House for the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Society.) The eloquent orator formulates the case of the Russian people against the Allied Blockade.

LENIN: "TRUTH TELLING" ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA. Lenin, in a brilliant criticism of the speech of the Menshevik Dan, at the Eighth Congress of the Soviets in December, 1920, shows how the Liberal and opposition critics of Soviet Russia involuntarily make themselves the allies of the counter-revolution.

* Russian Communist Party.



**ЗАПИСАЛСЯ
ДОБРОВОЛЬЦЕМ?**

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

THE news of the "creation" of the Russian Constituent Assembly at Paris is interesting, but not important. This body, it is announced, is composed of "all the Russian elements opposed to Bolshevism", which is merely to say that it consists of that same self-perpetuating group of tsarists and bourgeois reactionaries who have flocked under the banner of every counter-revolutionary leader from Kornilov to Wrangel. For the moment they appear to lack a leader, from which it is to be understood that they have not yet sufficiently reconciled all their separate interests and jealousies, even under the pressure of their common anti-Bolshevism. Moreover, "loyal leaders" and "saviors" of Russia are somewhat out of repute. The hour calls for a liberal gesture; hence the Constituent Assembly. It is not even pretended that this is the actual Constituent Assembly of 1917, although, according to *The New York Times* (February 1, 1921) 33 members of the Assembly "created" in Paris were elected to the former body in Russia in 1917. We are not told the total number of the Paris Assembly, nor what proportion these 33 bear to the whole. We are merely told—by the *Times*—that a "majority of the members" of the 1917 Assembly left Russia, and to these is attributed the creation of the Paris group.

In a note to Admiral Kolchak in the spring of 1919, President Wilson and the other members of the Supreme Council at Paris suggested to the "supreme ruler" and his associates, as one of the conditions under which they might count upon the support of the allied and associated powers, that "as soon as they reach Moscow" they should "summon the Constituent Assembly elected in 1917 to sit until such time as new elections are possible" (*N. Y. Times*, June 13, 1919). To which Kolchak replied (*N. Y. Times*, June 14, 1919), that his government did not "consider itself authorized to substitute for the inalienable right of free and legal elections the mere establishment of the Assembly of 1917, which was elected under a regime of Bolshevik violence and a majority of whose members are now in the ranks of the Soviet." The admiral having similarly declined to follow every one of the essential conditions laid down for him by the Supreme Council, the latter announced quaintly that they welcomed his reply as in "substantial agreement with the propositions they had made."

Such little discrepancies are of trivial importance when great issues are at stake. As the matter now stands, so far as we can make out, the allies who extended support to Admiral Kolchak in 1919, because he refused to reconvene the Constituent Assembly, "a majority of whose members" were in the ranks of the Soviets, are now asked to extend recognition to a body in Paris, created, according to the *Times*, by a majority of that same Assembly. It is interesting and ridiculous. But, as we have said, not very important, except as a display of the extraordinary ability of these gentlemen to keep themselves in employment. Mr. Bakhmetiev, who started out originally for the United States as a representative of the Government of Prince Lvov, and who arrived as a representative of Kerensky, and who stayed as a representative of Kolchak, is shortly, it is announced, to return as a representative of this fantastic "Assembly".

* * *

EVEN their French hosts have begun to realize the futility of these émigrés and are somewhat embarrassed by their intrigues. A writer in the *Journal des Débats* (January 10) remarks of the recent Paris gathering that "one would hardly be wrong in saying that of the 32 or 33 deputies present a good 30 represented divergent views."

"The time for foreign intervention has passed," concludes this conservative French journalist. "Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, successively taken seriously and helped by France to the limit of her powers, . . . are now seen to have been phantoms arising out of a whirl of passionate and interested agitation. We do not reproach the exiled Russians for their errors, but we cannot forget that it was the mistaken information they supplied us that led us astray . . . Moreover, they could not have been ignorant of the intrigues and disorders which were the ruin of Wrangel's army . . . Apparently, our War Ministry had developed Napoleonic plans last summer—either misinformed by its agents from the Crimea, or else building castles in the air from their reports . . . It was pure phantasmagoria. If Wrangel had ever reached Moscow he could not have ruled there a week. For their strategy and their diplomacy our War and Finance Ministries simply drew on their imaginations."

The air of this healthy confession is scarcely favorable atmosphere for the new schemes of the émigrés. According to the *Gazette de Lausanne* (January 13), the main question to which the Paris meeting devoted its oratorical powers during the first session was that of military intervention. The Cadets, led by Milyukov, "eloquently advocated it." Next day, however, "there was a change of tune." Even Milyukov appeared to be won over. The *Gazette* suggests that "between the two sittings Milyukov had heard how the public had received his first speech, and realized the impossibility of ever obtaining Entente support for another anti-Bolshevik movement." In the independent bourgeois French paper *L'Oeuvre* Stephen Valot asks if Chernov, Avksentiev, Kerensky and the Duma "really once existed."

"In any case these people must have died years ago and it must be their ghosts who held the phantom Parliament here in Paris yesterday . . . The phantoms did not hurry themselves. They have all eternity before them. The assembly opened two hours late . . . and still melancholy

groups continued walking the corridors or tapping on the windows of the office where Maklakov continues to represent in Paris a dead Russia . . . There was no need to go to Russia to understand why the Bolsheviks swept away the bourgeois revolution of 1917; it was quite enough to be at yesterday's assembly—and at Tours last week." (*L'Œuvre*, January 9.)

Meanwhile the first "diplomatic" act of these irrepressibles, at the very moment when France and Poland were concluding a military and economic alliance, was to protest against the "violent" annexation by Poland of territory containing several millions of "purely Russian population." Their next move was even more engaging. Simultaneously with the announcement that Mr. Bakhmetiev was to return to the United States to seek recognition for the recreated Constituent Assembly, they proceeded to threaten America with a Japanese alliance. "It is believed in Russian émigré circles here," reports the correspondent of *The New York Globe*, "that Japan now is entering upon an energetic anti-Bolshevist Russian policy, the effect of which might in the end be to win Russia's friendship, thus leaving Japan's hands free to deal with her American relations as circumstances may dictate." The correspondent of the *Globe* reports a dinner given by Japanese officials in Paris to a number of Russian generals "at the Inter-Allied Club in the Faubourg Saint Honoré." "General Watanabe read a speech in Russian . . . in which he declared . . . that the Bolsheviks were frittering away Russia's territory and that Japan would stand by Russia staunchly to overthrow the Bolshevik and restore Russia's territorial integrity." The correspondent of the *Globe* thinks that the "political significance of such a speech can hardly be ignored."

Still another item to add to this muddle of intrigue and conspiracy. *The New York Times* reports that the English Shell and Royal Dutch oil interests have concluded "a rather remarkable political-commercial bargain which amounts to betting that the Bolshevik regime in Russia will fall within ten years." Under the arrangement reported by the *Times*, the British oil interests are said to have purchased from certain émigrés the rights to the exclusive control of all oil production in the Grozny district in the Caucasus. The British realize apparently that the worthies in Paris cannot deliver at present and so the deal is made contingent upon the overthrow of the Soviet Government within ten years. Considerable secrecy, says the *Times*, surrounds the transaction, "but it is learned that it is of such magnitude that the lawyers who handled the deal got a commission of several millions of francs . . . A number of Russians owning property in the Grozny fields are refugees in Paris, and are engaged directly in the negotiations, it is said. It is common report in the Russian colonies here that a number of Russians have recently had much money to spend—men who did not have so much a short time ago." (*New York Times*, February 11, 1921.) Similar negotiations, the *Times* reports, are under way by both British and French oil interests for the control of petroleum in the Baku district.

Thus runs the course of anti-Bolshevism in Paris: a weird jungle of nationalist pretensions, grandiose political alliances, sordid huckstering and sheer buffoonery.

THE death of Peter Kropotkin, the aged Russian scientist and revolutionary writer, on February 8, was announced in a special cable to SOVIET RUSSIA from Professor George Lomonossov, head of the Soviet Government railway purchasing mission at Stockholm.

Before the report of Kropotkin's death reached this country no account of his serious illness had appeared in the American press, and the news of his death, therefore, came as a surprise. This, however, was due to the censorship which prevails against all news coming from Russia, and not to any heedlessness on the part of the Soviet Government which issued daily wireless bulletins on Kropotkin's illness. Copies of the official Rosta wireless despatches which have just arrived by mail show that Kropotkin was given every possible care. A Rosta message of January 21 reported that the President of the Council of the People's Commissars, himself, was interested in Kropotkin's condition and did what he could to alleviate it: "As soon as Lenin had been informed of the illness of Peter Kropotkin he at once ordered a special train with nurses, medicines, etc., sent to Dmitrov, where Kropotkin lived. This veteran of the Russian and the world revolution is now 78 years old." Another Rosta message of the same date announced that daily bulletins were being issued by the Commissariat of Health concerning Kropotkin's illness. The Rosta wireless of January 19 reported that Kropotkin was suffering from a light pneumonia, aggravated by the patient's great age and delicate health. The Rosta despatches of January 20, 21 and 22 contain daily bulletins of the patient's temperature, pulse, respiration and other medical details. Some of these bulletins are signed by Semashko, People's Commissar for Health, and by the consulting physicians, Shurovskich, Pletnev, Konchalovski, Levin, Ivanovski. Although sent out broadcast by the Moscow wireless, none of these bulletins was transmitted to America.

THE Allies are not always grateful to their "associates". A recent issue of the *Jewish Chronicle*, London, states that the British mandate over Palestine by no means satisfies all the Zionist ambitions. Russian counter-revolutionists would also perhaps be not fully pleased with the British or French disposal of Russian affairs. The Soviet Government will not be disappointed—it expects nothing from the Allies.

But it is very likely that the people of Soviet Russia will determine their own fate without any recourse to the Allied formula of "self-determination", apparently applied very efficiently in the case of Palestine: "self-determination" means that the Allies "themselves" determine the fate of small nations.

The Epoch of Great Tasks

By N. BUKHARIN

In a certain utopian romance by A. Bogdanov called the "Red Star", a book that was at one time swallowed whole by party workers, there is a chapter entitled, "The Epoch of Great Tasks."

The scene takes place on Mars, where a Russian Bolshevik, a child of the Russian Revolution and the best representative of terrestrial Man, happens to find himself.

On the borders between Capitalism and Communism, even before the conquest of power by the proletariat, the great agricultural crisis called forth the necessity of unprecedented work in the digging of canals. "The Epoch of Great Tasks", sets in. Hundreds of thousands of men were sent to this work. And, when it was accomplished, it became the technical foundation of the new Society. The leader of the Great Tasks was an engineer called Mani, a denizen of the old world looking already into the new world, the physical father of the proletarian leader.

I recalled all this while listening to Comrade Krizhanovsky's report at the Congress of the Soviets. The surroundings were unusual. The vast hall of the Grand Theater was overcrowded with workers and peasants, a great assembly of the ruling masses. On the rostrum stood, not a political leader, but an engineer, and, although an old and worthy party comrade, he is not a professional politician.

Behind the tribune is a great map of Soviet Russia, dotted over with many colored lamps which flare up in a strange and beautiful glow as the engineer enumerates every new electric station that we are going to build.

The speech, too, is unusual for our congress. Not a single word about politics; but there is the fervor of labor, the fervor of "The Great Tasks", Poor, starving and sheep-skinned Old Russia, Russia of primitive lighting and the repast of a crust of black bread, is going to be covered by a network of electric stations. The electric current will be transmitted by cables; it will set our factories and mills in motion; it will move freight and people by railway and waterway; it will drive the tractors and the ploughs; it will illuminate our buildings; it will transform Russia into a unique economy, and the dismembered nation into an intelligent and organized section of humanity. The horizon is endless and beautiful.

And all this is not taking place on Mars, neither is it the contents of a utopian romance. It has all been calculated and verified dozens of times. We can do it, we must start it.

The thousands of comrades strain all their facial muscles to catch the whole of the report, a report which lasted over two hours. One feels the palpitation of the new spirit, the spirit of the "Great Tasks", in the hall as it flaps its invisible wings . . .

When the "group of usurpers" declared through Lenin at the beginning of the war that the civil war was coming, they were considered irresponsible babblers.

When this "group", carried forward by the wave of revolution, took the helm of government into its hands, its ruin was prognosticated every day.

Today this "group", now a tremendous force, affirms: the chaos will give birth to an order such as mankind has not yet seen. We shall make this order, and shall now begin the "Epoch of Great Tasks".

Millions of builders of the future society, do you not feel the warm blood of this future coursing through your veins?

PETROGRAD CHILDREN AT HOME

Our readers will be glad to know that most of the Russian children who passed through the United States from Siberia last fall in charge of the American Red Cross are once more safe at home with their parents and relatives in Soviet Russia. A dispatch from Viborg, Finland, December 17, announced that on that date more than 600 out of the total of 781 children had crossed the border into Soviet Russia and had been returned to their homes.

It will be remembered that the intention of the Red Cross to land the children in France, which was frustrated only by the indignant and active protests of the children themselves, was based upon the alleged difficulty of locating the parents and a doubt as to whether the parents would desire their children to be returned to Soviet Russia. It is interesting to see how these imaginary fears and difficulties dissolved in actual experience. We quote from a statement issued by the Red Cross:

"Only a few parents were located outside of Soviet Russia. Since the arrival of the colony in Finland, hundreds of the children have received letters from relatives in Soviet Russia urging their return as soon as possible, and in response to these requests five groups have been repatriated, about a hundred in each group, at fortnightly intervals. A few of the letters received asked the children not to return immediately, owing to the difficult circumstances of the parents.

"Each successive group of children was taken to the Finnish border by special train from Halila. At Rajeki, the border town, the American officers delivered them to a 'parents' committee from Petrograd, which conducted the children into Russia and arranged all details of their meeting with relatives."

"SOVIET RUSSIA" LOSES A SUBSCRIBER

We are in receipt of the following communication:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE

"Washington

"February 3, 1921.

"SOVIET RUSSIA,

"110 West 40th Street,

"New York.

"The Economic Intelligence Section, Foreign Trade Adviser's Office, Department of State, Washington, D. C., does not desire to renew its subscription for 1921.

"Very truly yours,

"W. W. CUMBERLAND,

"Assistant Foreign Trade Adviser."

Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee

[The following documents are published at the request of the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee. The first is a statement of the Committee itself, the second and third are letters passing between Mr. L. A. Martens and the Committee.]

I

By action of the Central Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee in New York City, the Western District office of this Committee at 59 E. Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill., with Charles L. Drake as Director, was closed on January 15, 1921. Mr. Charles L. Drake is no longer connected in any capacity whatever with the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee.

The Central Russia Medical Relief Committee desires to establish closer contact with all its local Committees in the western states, to avoid the expense of the now abolished intermediary Western District office, and to put the Soviet Russia Medical Relief work on a more efficient basis through the cooperation of the local Committees.

The Committee desires all its supporters and sympathizers to understand that it has no connection whatever with the so-called "American Red Star League," organized by Charles L. Drake and others. It emphasizes this, because the headquarters of this League will probably be located at the same address where the Western District office of the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee was previously housed.

The attention of our Committee has been called to the fact that rumors are being spread in the Western States and Canada, about the discontinuation of the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee's work, and about the substitution of our work by that of some other organization. This is a plain misrepresentation.

We urge all the local committees and other organizations interested in the Medical Relief of Soviet Russia to continue their work, and to communicate with, and send all contributions direct to the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee, Room 506, 110 West 40th Street, New York City.

II

L. C. A. K. Martens,
Representative of the Russian Soviet
Republic in the United States,
New York City.

New York, January 22, 1921.

Dear Comrade:

Before your forced departure from the United States for Soviet Russia, the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee submits to you herewith the following report:

The Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee was organized as a volunteer organization in April, 1920, with headquarters in New York City. Local Committees grew up gradually in other cities, and up to the present moment there are about 115 local committees throughout the United States and Canada.

The aim of this organization has been and is to collect medical supplies, and money for the purchase of medical supplies and surgical instruments, also medical literature for Soviet Russia. With this end in view, 130 public meetings have been held in various cities throughout the United States and Canada, at which moneys were collected for the above purpose. Also subscription lists were circulated, and individual donations were solicited, both from organizations and individuals sympathetic to the above cause.

Up to date, the Treasurer of the Central Committee in New York has received \$58,199.39. Out of this sum \$51,663.34 has been paid towards shipments for medical supplies shipped to Soviet Russia, and \$5,014.82 was paid for organization expenses, printing of pamphlets, post cards, etc., leaving a balance on hand in the treasury January 21 of \$1,521.23. The total value of shipments consigned to Soviet Russia is \$74,283.06, which means that the balance payable on these shipments is \$22,619.72.

In addition to the above shipments purchased from funds

collected, drugs, instruments and other medical supplies were collected, to the value of over \$3,000.00, and likewise shipped to Soviet Russia.

Several hundred valuable text books and other publications on medicine have been collected and sent to the commissariat of Public Health of Soviet Russia.

Doubtless you are aware, both from the Russian official publications and from other sources that the bulk of these shipments have already been received by the public health authorities of Soviet Russia, and put to immediate use.

Most of the local Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committees have been organized only recently, and some of them are still in the process of organization. Among the tasks on which they are working one stands paramount in their minds, and that is the organization of medical councils, composed of physicians only, who are willing to collect for Soviet Russia medical literature, and all necessary information for the combating of diseases, and to acquaint Soviet Russia with the latest discoveries and achievements in medical science, and with the hospital care of infectious and other diseases. They desire ultimately to organize medical units of experts for service in Soviet Russia, when communication between this country and Russia shall have been thrown open. Through these councils we have secured the cooperation of medical men of note, who have expressed their desire to acquaint Russian physicians with the achievements of the medical and sanitary sciences in the United States during the seven years of blockade of Soviet Russia. Some of them have traveled to Europe to familiarize themselves with the present status of medical science in the Western European countries.

The lack of nurses and other hospital attendants seems to be a great handicap to Soviet Russia at the present time, according to reports which have reached us. Therefore the above medical councils are drawing within their sphere of influence nurses and other hospital personnel, who are willing to go to Russia to help alleviate the suffering of the victims of the war and the blockade. Serious consideration is given to the medical education of Russian emigrants desiring to return to Soviet Russia, especially to the unskilled laborer, who would be of great help in the hospital service in Soviet Russia.

With reference to the Western District Committee, the Central Committee has found it necessary to suspend the Western District office, and request Charles L. Drake to transfer in detail all the records concerning the work done in the Western District in the past. A local committee was organized in Chicago to go on with the work there, and the Central Committee is now in direct communication with the sub-committees, trying to coordinate their efforts for the sake of greater efficiency.

The work in Canada, under the supervision of the Central Committee, is making very good progress. The comrades in charge of the work there have proven to be exceedingly worthy by virtue of their accomplishments.

The general conditions of the country, with the enormous unemployment prevailing, do not promise a very bright outlook for collections in the near future. Our collections at present are almost exclusively from labor organizations. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the Committee will continue to endeavor to unite and coordinate the work throughout the country so as to produce the best results.

For the purpose of acquainting the people of the United States with conditions in Soviet Russia our Committee has published and distributed up to the present time about thirty thousand pamphlets, and in addition to these has issued a large number of leaflets, letters, and statements to the press.

Certain difficulties were encountered by the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee, due to the activities of the "presumable friends" and open enemies of Soviet Russia,

who insisted that their hobbies and their politics be dragged into this work, which was, from the very beginning, carried on and maintained as a non-partisan affair. Only on this basis has it been possible to maintain the organization, and make the work as successful as it has been under the circumstances. Regardless of the opposition and animosity, the Medical Relief Committee in New York, as the authorized mouthpiece of this undertaking, is outlining various plans to perfect an efficient organization in order to carry out the work successfully.

The Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee owes its existence and the success of its work up to this time chiefly, if not solely, to the earnest support and endorsement given to it by your Bureau and yourself. It is essential that you give us, as a parting word, a definite expression as to the future possible usefulness of our Committee, and your suggestions to aid us in our activities.

With cordial and comradely greetings to yourself and the comrades over there,

Faternally yours,

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE,
(Signed) Joseph Michael, Secretary.

III

Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Friends: New York, January 22, 1921.

Before leaving the United States of America it is my pleasant duty to thank you most sincerely on behalf of the people and the government of Soviet Russia for your earnest and successful efforts to bring medical relief to the men, women and children of Soviet Russia, who are suffering because of the dreadful war and the inhuman blockade.

It is my profound wish that my absence from this country should not deter you for a moment from the continuation of your highly useful and commendable work. On the contrary, my forced departure from this country should spur on the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee, and all its supporters and sympathizers, to redouble their efforts to wipe out the apparent unfriendliness of America towards Soviet Russia, as exhibited by the deportation decree of the Secretary of Labor. I still refuse to believe that the American people share his sentiments. The vast number of assurances of sympathy and regret received by me during the last week of my stay in this country have now convinced me more than ever that the American people, whether of the working class or of the general public, bear no enmity toward the hard-trying people of Soviet Russia. I appreciate most deeply not only the physical relief offered through the medicines shipped by your Committee to Soviet Russia, but also the feeling of sympathy and friendly understanding created through the efforts of your Committee.

It will be one of my first tasks upon my arrival at Moscow to lay your report before the Commissariat of Health, and I shall urge that your recommendations be acted upon as quickly as possible. I hope that your work will meet with the heartiest approval of the Soviet Government, and of the peasants and workers of Soviet Russia.

Again I wish to thank your Committee and the men and women of the United States whose sympathy for the people of Soviet Russia has contributed to the success of your work. I most heartily endorse the efforts of your Committee, and urge you to go on with your tasks, as heretofore, regardless of carping criticism and slanderous attacks, either through misconception of your work or deliberate malicious intent.

I remain,

Most sincerely,
(Signed) L. MARTENS.

SWEDISH TRADE WITH RUSSIA

The steamer *Kalevipoeg* left Stockholm January 13 with a cargo consigned to Russia by way of Reval, consisting of 85 tons of saws, hoisting tackle, scythes, cranes, etc., valued altogether at 395,000 crowns.

Russian Trade for America?

Official Statement by the United States Department of Commerce

The following article is reproduced from the annual report of the Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce at Washington, to the Secretary of Commerce, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1920:

"Importance of the Russian Field and Interest Manifested in it"

"The territory assigned to the Russian division of the Bureau is that of the former Russian Empire, Finland, and Poland. The former Russian Empire includes such grand divisions as Siberia, the Caucasus, the Baltic Provinces, the Ukraine, and Turkestan. The importance of this field lies mainly in its capacity as an enormous consuming market of nearly 200,000,000 people, who are now in need of almost every kind of commodity. Russia is rich in raw materials, some of which are very much needed for American industries. Though only a small fraction of the former Russian Empire was open to trade and chaotic conditions prevailed, the United States exported to that country goods valued at more than \$66,000,000, and imported from it about \$15,000,000 worth of merchandise during the year ended June 30, 1920. The total transactions with Russia during this period amounted, therefore, to approximately \$81,000,000; with Finland, to \$26,000,000; and with Poland, during the first six months of 1920, to \$50,000,000. It is necessary to bear in mind, also, that the imports into certain other European countries from the United States include a large amount of goods that were purchased for reselling to Russia as soon as conditions permit. Since a fairly large trade is now being carried on with certain parts of the former Russian Empire under the conditions stated, one can readily realize what an amount of trade there will be when conditions are again normal.

"Russia will be a tremendous field for investments. Its whole economic fabric (railways, factories, mills, mines, etc.) is disorganized and damaged and the country needs outside help to rebuild it.

"If one may judge by the communications addressed to the Russian division of the Bureau, American business men feel that this field is of very great importance to the United States. The leading concerns are giving much of their attention to it, and the board of directors of the United States Chamber of Commerce has held several meetings mainly to discuss Russian affairs. When the so-called 'Ambassador' Ludwig C. A. K. Martens first made his appearance in the United States and there were vague rumors about the possibility of trading with Russia, many concerns wrote or called on the Russian division personally for information on the subject. Many inquiries were received for advice on trade with Russia at the time the lifting of the blockade with Soviet Russia by the Supreme Economic Council in Paris was announced, indicating to American business men that the possibility of resuming trade was near.

"The United States is probably less familiar with Russia than any of its competitors, and it conducted very little direct trade with that country prior to the war. The goods that were exported from the United States were sent through intermediary countries, such as Germany, and Finland. It is felt that America must now discontinue that practice and endeavor to promote direct commercial intercourse with Russia. One of the aims of the Russian division is to try, so far as possible, to further this object."

PETER KROPOTKIN

The recent death of the famous anarchist theorist furnishes the occasion for a thorough exposition of his social philosophy, from the pen of Mr. Max Strypynsky.

See page 177. True translation filed with the Postmaster, New York, on Feb. 16, 1921, as required by the Act of October 6, 1917.



. Concessions to Foreign Enterprise

(Latest Data on Regions and Organizations Concerned in the Concessions.)

The Natural Resources Involved in the Concessions

IN CONNECTION with the proposals that concessions be granted to foreigners, the National Publishing House of the Soviet Government has issued a book containing a detailed description of all concession areas. In addition, the Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, Milyutin, recently handed to foreign journalists very interesting data concerning these points: We reprint below a number of figures taken from both these sources. The entire material in the above named book has been divided into four general heads according to the areas to be exploited.

1. First come the extensive rich forest areas situated around the rivers Obi, Irtish and Taz, containing more than 70,000,000 dessiatins (one dessiatin equals 1.092 hectares), suitable for lumbering. Assuming that only those districts should be exploited that are situated within a zone of 30 versts to each side of the rivers above named, the concessions would cover about 15,500,000 dessiatins. Another region for which concessions are also proposed includes the tributaries of the river Taz, which flows into the Arctic Sea by way of the Obi Gulf. Here also we may count on at least 1,000,000 dessiatins of forests. The forests in the above named tracts consist of fir and pine, with patches of cedar and larch. On the average we may reckon each dessiatin will yield at least 25 or 40 trunks of selected lumber, and at least 8 cubic fathoms (one Russian fathom, *sazhen* equals 2.143 meters), excellently adapted for use as mining props and struts. We may therefore assume that in a zone extending 30 versts to each side of the rivers, about 200,000,000 such trunks and about 140,000,000 cubic fathoms of struts could thus be obtained.

Milyutin points out in the above exposition that it is entirely probable that such an unheard of quantity cannot be exported as raw material and that the holders of the concessions will therefore have to establish a great number of factories for manufacturing articles of wood, for preparing cellulose, as well as other enterprises of enormous dimensions. At the same place there are tremendously rich deposits of coal, ore, etc., which can also be transferred to the concessionaires for purposes of exploitation.

Of course the fur industry could easily be developed in this region and should be sold to the concessionaires under special contracts.

2. In the northern part of European Russia, 18,500,000 dessiatins of forests (the total area of all the forests in Northern Russia is calculated to be about 65,000,000 dessiatins) are to be assigned to exploitation by concessionaires. These forests extend to the shores of the Arctic Sea. In the west they consist of pine areas, in the other districts predominantly of spruce and fir. Rights may also be

here granted not only for working the forests, but also for digging mineral resources (naphtha, etc.), in the Uhtinsk, and in the Sub-Ural section near the Pechora; railroads will have to be built and rivers adapted as canals, etc.

In the case of some of these concessions the first drafts of the negotiations have been already elaborated.

3. The following districts are open in Siberia for mining concessions: In the Kuznietsk region the concessionaires are to be offered immensely rich deposits of anthracite, amounting in all to 250,000,000,000 tons, exceeding England's supply of coal by fifty per cent. In quality the anthracite of the Kuznietsk region is superior to that which is mined in the Donets region.

Eighty versts south of the Kuznietsk lies the region in which the Tolbest iron ores are found. By uniting the latter places with the Kuznietsk mines by a railway line, it will be possible to instal an iron industry with an annual production of 40,000,000 to 50,000,000 poods (one pood equals 1.1638 kilograms, 36.07 pounds). The combined ore resources of this district amount to over 1,500,000 poods, with an average iron content of 63 per cent.

One hundred versts from Irtish lie the coal deposits of Ekibastuz, with a total anthracite supply of 35,000,000,000 poods. Not far from the above mentioned place lie the zinc deposits of Riderov. The amount of zinc ore is calculated at 150,000,000 poods. In addition each hundred poods of zinc ore contains 29.8 grams of gold, over 250 grams of silver, besides 8 per cent of lead and 1 per cent of copper.

In the lower course of the Yenessei lie the iron deposits of Irbinsk and Abarkamsk, with a total supply of about 100,000,000 tons of magnetic iron ore, containing 65 per cent of iron.

Immense resources of ore and coal may be offered to the foreigners also in other places in Siberia. Thus, in the Ezychansk district alone, on the river Abakan, anthracite deposits totalling 3,000,000,000 poods are to be reserved for exploitation in concessions.

4. On the subject of concessions of foodstuffs, Milyutin said:

"There are immense, extremely rich and fruitful areas that are now not being exploited because of the devastations that they suffered during the civil war. Over 3,000,000 dessiatins of such area is to be found in the Government of Samara, the Ural region, and the Government of Tsaritsin, in the Donets region, as well as in the Governments of Kuban, Chernomorsk, and Stavropol. These are exceptionally rich black earth regions, in which a harvest under favorable circumstances cannot yield less than 100 poods of grain per dessiatin. Our foremost condition in the granting of concessions is that the technique of agriculture shall be

improved and elevated. Another indispensable condition that we have set up is that the soil shall be worked with tractors, and with the application of the best perfected threshing machines, seeding machines, mowing machines, harvesters, etc.

"The Soviet Government in other forest concessions makes the same conditions as above, namely, that the foreign concessionaires shall apply the most modern means of production and place Russia's forestry methods on as high a technical plane as possible."

Finally Milyutin in his conversation with the foreign journalists touched upon the question of the advantage accruing to the Russians from the granting of these concessions: "The advantage to us is in the fact of the awakening of our forces to life; they will import into Russia a certain number of machines, and in addition will build factories and works which we ourselves could not introduce; further, they will teach our workers and specialists the best approved technical methods. We hope that through these concessions we shall make a tremendous progress in our work, and Western Europe, which needs our raw materials, and which seems not to be able to extricate itself from the difficulties and obstacles it meets in the reconstruction of its industrial life after the devastation of war, will obtain from us the aid and assistance it needs in lightening the burdens of its population."

Names of Concessionaires

Moscow, January 6.—The Vice-President of the Supreme Council of National Economy, Lomov, has made the following interesting communications to the foreign press:

As yet the concessions are not fully completed. Everything has been done on our part to make them a reality, and we are convinced that the other parties also will no longer experience any obstacles to arriving at an agreement with us. For the present the following concessions are being drafted:

1. A concession to the American citizen, Gold-

stone, in Ust-Kamenogorsk, southwestern Siberia, permitting him to establish tanneries.

2. The second concession is made to the Swedish Asea firm (General Electric Company). This concession covers the manufacture of steam turbines after the Ljungstrom system, as well as other products by this firm.

3. The third concession, which has already been much discussed, belongs to the German dye stuff industry corporation, *Interessengemeinschaft für die Manufaktur von Farbstoffen und Pharmazeutischen Erzeugnissen*.

4. The fourth concession is allotted to the leather factories of the firm of Steinberg Brothers. This firm is to obtain the right to manufacture leather from Russian raw materials.

As for the concessions in raw materials, they involve chiefly forest areas. An approximate estimate indicates that we can for the present dispose of 140,000,000 dessiatins of forests in Siberia and northern Russia. These forests must be exploited in accordance with the best technical principles. At the present time negotiations are in progress with England, involving 18,000,000 dessiatins, of which 5,000,000 have practically been covered by almost concluded agreements. The term of the concession is to be for from 60 to 70 years.

The great concessions in Eastern Siberia which are to be held by the American citizen Vanderlip have been worked out in detail and are to be valid for a period of 60 years. As for the situation of the workers in this enterprise, Lomov declares that the laws of the Soviet Republic on workers' insurance, protection of labor, wage-scale, etc., are to apply in spite of the right of the concessionaires to import from 50 to 70 per cent of their workers from foreign countries. These workers shall receive the same food rations as Russian workers. The concessionaires must also provide for a certain number of Russian Socialists in their factories, who are to study the methods of production and the conditions of labor.

The Fishing Industry of Kamchatka

[The following report on the fishing industry of the Kamchatka Peninsula, prepared by the Russian Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce at Washington, was published in the U. S. Commerce Reports, May 1, 1920. This article is of special interest at this time in view of the fact that fishing rights on the Kamchatka Peninsula are included in the concession granted by the Soviet Government to the American syndicate represented by Mr. Washington B. Vanderlip.]

THE principal port and city in the Kamchatka Peninsula is Petropavlovsk, which had about 1,500 inhabitants in 1913. Other settlements in the peninsula are: Okhotsk, Aian, Iamsk, Gizhiga, Bolsheretsk (on the western coast), Verkhne Kamchatskoie, Nizhne Kamchatskoie, and Markovo and Novo Mariinsk in the Anadyr region. The navigation season is from April to October, but sometimes it extends from March to the end of December. In general, navigation is difficult, because

there are no good ports, and storms and fogs are rather frequent.

Kamchatka offers for export fish, caviar, and furs (especially sable and bear furs). The reindeer industry is important; in 1913, the peninsula had 700,000 reindeer. Foodstuffs, particularly flour, salt, tea, and sugar, are greatly needed in Kamchatka, as are also dry goods, powder, etc. The peninsula imports a large quantity of alcohol.

Fishing is the most important industry in Kam-

chatka. It is carried on to a greater extent on the western coast than on the eastern coast. Most of the following information regarding the fishing industry is taken from a report on "Fishing in the Priamur District of Siberia," by John K. Caldwell, American consul at Vladivostok, Siberia, published by the Bureau of Fisheries in 1917.

Fishing in Western Kamchatka

The West Kamchatka district follows the coast line from the Sopochnaya River down to the southern Osernov shore-fishing stations, a distance of about 335 miles. Kamchatka is very interesting between the middle of July and the last of August, the season for the red and pink salmon. On the west coast, the Osernaya River is the only stream that the red salmon inhabit in any quantities. All

Stations	King salmon Number	Chum salmon Number
Coast stations:		
Russian (8)	95	191,873
Japanese (140)	5,216	3,902,646
River stations: Russian (13)	4,196	373,812
Total	9,507	4,468,331

The output at the coast stations in 1913 amounted to 37,604 tons of fish, of which 1,030 tons, chiefly sockeyes, were canned and the balance was Japanese dry-salted. There were prepared 1,134 tons of caviar, 102 tons according to the Japanese method and the remainder by the Russian method.

The catch of the river stations amounted to 4,010 tons, from which there was prepared 215 tons of caviar by the Russian method.

In 1913 the canneries on the coast produced 41,186 cases of canned salmon, and 4,208 cases were packed at river stations.

The catch in the West Kamchatka district amounted to 12,300,000 fish in 1910, 14,400,000 in 1911, 23,000,000 in 1912, 33,500,000 in 1913, and

Items	King Number
1911, 38 stations.....	8,000
1912, 54 stations.....	29,000
1913, 61 stations.....	30,167

In 1912, at 10 coast fishing stations, 700,000 sockeyes and 250,000 cohos were caught, while in 1913, at 9 stations, only 393,000 sockeyes and 95,000 cohos were taken. The output of fish amounted to 11,399 tons in 1911, 11,467 tons in 1912, and 21,192 tons in 1913. Of the 1913 product, 250 tons were salted according to the Russian method; 19,076 tons were dry-salted by the Japanese method; 1,030 tons were canned; and 700 tons of caviar were prepared for the Russian market and 136 tons for the Japanese market. Twenty-five cases of crabs were also canned.

At the river stations, 28 in number, of which 26 were operated in 1913, the catch in that year was 1,315 king salmon, 1,055,045 chum salmon, 647,595 humpback salmon, 460,494 sockeye salmon, 54,780

Years	Sockeye Cases
1913	33,000
1914	41,203
1915	36,763

fishing is done with a device called "kaku-ami", which consists of a main net and a fence net. The main net is 70 fathoms long and the fence net is 120 fathoms long. The fence net extends outward so as to guide the fish toward the main net. This device is set near the seashore in 10 fathoms of water, where the salmon run. When the fish are caught, the main net is hauled up by a boat and the fish are transferred to a bagnet called "waku-ami", used for landing the fish.

In 1913 there were 152 fishing stations in this district, of which only 9 were leased by Russians and 143 by Japanese. In 1912 there were 133 such stations. One hundred and forty-eight stations were operated in 1913, and four were idle.

The catch of fish in 1913 was as follows:

Hump back salmon Number	Sockeye salmon Number	Coho salmon Number	Dolly Varden trout Number
1,340,685	25,447	1,198	....
24,160,762	1,269,176	67,076	....
1,842,090	226,653	33,195	99,690
27,343,537	1,521,276	101,469	99,690

61,800,000 fish in 1914. In 1914 the catch of fish was 4,211,000 poods (68,000 long tons), of which 90 per cent was exported into Japan and 10 per cent shipped to Russia.

Fishing Industry in Eastern Kamchatka

The East Kamchatka district covers the coast line of the eastern Kamchatka and Anadyr Peninsulas, about 1,843 miles. The majority of the fishing stations are concentrated around Karaguinsky (Count Litka) Bay, in the straits from the Malo-Voyam River to Kichigin River, about 135 miles long, and in the region of the Kamchatka River.

The catch of salmon at the coast stations for the years 1911 to 1913 was as follows:

Chum Number	Humpback Number	Sockeye Number	Coho Number
3,085,000	1,627,000	750,000	218,000
3,414,000	497,000	745,000	249,000
6,464,224	2,623,997	399,207	98,043

coho salmon, 18,671 Dolly Varden trout, and 88,740 herring. Products prepared amounted to 1,405 tons of fish, Russian-salted, 611 tons canned, 2,261 tons Japanese dry-salted, and 198 tons of Russian caviar, a total of 4,475 tons.

The grand total of the catch of fish in this district amounted to 4,800,000 in 1912, 8,300,000 in 1913, and 8,200,000 in 1914. The catch in 1914 came to 1,161,000 poods (19,000 long tons), of which 76 per cent was exported to Japan and 24 per cent shipped to Russia.

All canning factories in this district are located in the neighborhood of the Kamchatka River. During 1913, 1914, and 1915 the Russian firm Denbigh & Co. packed salmon as follows:

Chum Cases	Humpback Cases	Ring Cases	Total Cases
10,000	18,000	61,000
11,253	19,103	71,559
26,176	39,426	1,441	103,826



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Statistics of the Trade Union Movement

Below we print statistical data of the membership of the Russian Trade Unions for three years. These data are incomplete owing to the fact that some provinces have been cut off from Soviet Russia for a long time.

	1st half 1917		2nd half 1917		1st half 1918		2nd half 1918		1st half 1919		2nd half 1919		1st half 1920	
	Unions	Members	Unions	Members	Unions	Members	Unions	Members	Unions	Members	Unions	Members	Unions	Members
Archangel	—	—	—	—	6	13,449	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	8,648
Astrakhan	—	—	—	1,830	4	12,816	9	46,148	16	51,283	—	—	32	112,743
Briansk	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	45	29,477
Cbelabinsk	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	135	46,479
Cherepovets	—	—	1	191	2	5,191	2	5,214	2	5,564	—	—	29	14,367
Chernigov	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	131	22,630
Don	—	—	7	43,617	—	—	10	53,708	27	81,521	—	—	34	102,880
Donets	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	78	81,795
Esthonian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
German District	—	—	—	—	18	50,608	2	227	4	872	—	—	7	14,869
Gomel	—	—	1	60	3	241	4	477	22	9,064	—	—	152	137,799
Irkutsk	—	—	—	—	20	7,150	20	7,150	—	—	—	—	120	6,287
Ivanovo-Voznessensk	1	207	10	37,110	23	88,413	49	168,000	51	155,234	—	—	94	115,672
Kazan	9	25,903	10	27,792	11	30,642	12	43,308	13	56,099	—	—	108	150,022
Kaluga	—	—	—	—	11	3,870	14	13,932	33	23,693	—	—	118	39,715
Kiev	27	61,738	28	63,012	30	65,277	30	64,229	41	81,816	—	—	—	221,063
Kharkov	3	5,150	9	27,148	14	52,713	15	49,359	28	54,593	—	—	132	74,950
Kherson	6	3,397	10	4,684	11	8,484	11	8,484	26	49,012	—	—	—	92,715
Kostroma	16	16,488	18	20,202	26	27,012	29	28,645	32	27,313	—	—	133	43,154
Kuban-Black Sea	1	833	2	1,823	2	1,823	3	2,133	4	8,123	—	—	—	—
Kursk	1	323	7	2,416	29	14,800	35	18,073	45	21,097	—	—	—	1,621
Minsk	2	1,944	2	1,944	2	1,944	4	3,138	8	5,866	—	—	—	—
Moscow	38	131,954	56	410,823	55	413,510	77	503,363	106	636,357	—	—	121	824,256
Nizhni Novgorod	26	54,999	30	65,108	33	74,555	38	130,700	40	158,882	—	—	—	153,342
Novgorod	7	1,649	9	5,330	9	5,429	11	5,850	15	7,234	—	—	—	47,788
N. Dvinsk	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	27,396
Olonets	1	128	2	253	2	227	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	6,537
Omsk	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	118,541
Orenburg	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	26,525
Orel	18	18,514	23	21,313	32	21,313	48	31,684	76	57,596	—	—	120	47,275
Pensa	1	15	4	10,623	22	10,636	37	21,281	60	33,580	—	—	127	48,394
Perm	8	52,258	8	56,038	9	56,038	19	57,014	14	62,894	—	—	103	157,607
Petrograd	4	43,300	47	447,772	49	447,772	28	403,347	36	465,538	—	—	133	432,296
Podolsk	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Poltava	2	861	2	861	2	2,365	3	2,441	33	17,534	—	—	49	18,980
Pskov	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	80	20,457
Riazan	8	1,150	15	18,264	25	20,643	41	23,280	50	36,993	—	—	77	51,252
Samara	7	34,147	8	34,173	9	29,810	10	34,012	39	54,219	—	—	113	98,502
Saratov	24	52,749	36	62,856	50	69,794	112	89,879	136	141,669	—	—	261	137,640
Semipalatinsk	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	8,881
Simbirsk	20	5,844	28	10,226	46	13,450	63	16,845	66	29,253	—	—	130	94,865
Smolensk	15	7,189	21	7,873	39	10,759	56	19,081	67	24,750	—	—	123	53,635
Taurida	—	—	—	1,645	4	1,645	4	1,645	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tambov	26	18,825	28	21,386	52	31,796	74	36,450	195	78,506	—	—	266	79,992
Tomsk	—	—	1	1,680	1	1,680	1	1,680	25	7,495	—	—	—	34,651
Tsaritsin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18	11,722
Tula	3	650	5	2,875	9	4,846	38	26,428	48	39,686	—	—	130	98,557
Tumen	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	52	18,413
Turkestan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	142,166
Tver	11	21,002	20	36,448	43	39,337	72	60,563	84	77,742	—	—	118	91,698
Ufa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	69	68,725
Ural	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	33,012
Vitebsk	3	5,126	4	5,195	4	5,280	6	6,899	41	22,869	—	—	64	95,746
Viatka	11	13,308	15	13,635	21	18,303	23	27,100	35	28,775	—	—	191	86,180
Vladimir	4	5,066	14	22,610	42	121,904	53	136,819	59	143,209	—	—	166	113,713
Volinsk	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	5,247
Vologda	3	527	4	697	6	784	28	7,600	47	16,562	—	—	143	114,027
Voronezh	7	549	13	5,961	23	15,348	35	27,166	103	49,888	—	—	—	117,909
Yaroslav	31	37,222	36	42,312	50	69,525	65	79,360	68	91,686	—	—	125	115,291
Yekaterinburg	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	73	188,437
Yekaterinoslav	6	22,145	15	7,093	17	72,378	18	86,950	44	120,671	—	—	61	120,257
Yenisey	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	635
	350	645,060	555	1,587,062	866	1,943,575	1,204	2,353,951	1,884	3,066,767	—	—	4,483	5,222,066

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OLD LIES IN A NEW FORM

Moscow, January 12.—While Russia enters the year 1921 prepared for peace and peaceful labor, the European capitalist press indulges in even more absolutely ridiculous orgies of accusations and lies about Soviet Russia. Deliberate falsifications are circulated, which the capitalist newspapers themselves know to be untrue, and communications are even sent out through official channels, ascribing to Soviet Russia all manner of ill-intentioned plans toward the neighboring states, with whom Russia is maintaining and developing the most friendly relations.

The Chairman of the Polish Delegation at Riga called the attention of the Chairman of the Russian Delegation to a rumor of unknown source to the effect that the Russian Delegation at Riga intended to arrest the Polish Delegation. The German wireless stations ascribe to Lenin a speech in which he is said to have called for a war in favor of world revolution. No such speech was delivered. Forged issues of *Pravda*, specially prepared for the purpose, have been distributed in foreign countries, ascribing to Trotsky and other Soviet leaders—articles of an openly provocative character, threatening new war from the side of Soviet Russia, speeches which were never delivered by Trotsky or by the others to whom they are assigned. The governments of the neighboring states of Russia have repeatedly called the attention of the Soviet Government to communications from obscure sources concerning alleged concentrations of Red troops near the boundaries.

The intention of this vile campaign of lies is fairly clear. The conscienceless enemies of Soviet Russia, who have lost all hope of a successful military intervention, are now attempting to prevent the energetic peace work of the nation and the incipient economic reconstruction. The reports should have opened the eyes of even the most childish and credulous. From beginning to end the Congress was devoted to questions of economic and administrative reconstruction. Neither from the speaker's rostrum nor from the seats of the delegates did a single word come that might be interpreted as indicating warlike intentions of any kind whatsoever. The campaign of lies and calumnies now beginning to be uttered by Russia's enemies shows only to what depths the irreconcilable enemies of the country have degenerated.

GERMAN WORKERS FOR RUSSIA

BERLIN, January 12.—German newspapers contain reports of the participation of German workers in the economic and industrial reconstruction of Russia. *Freiheit* speaks of the approaching departure of 5,000 skilled workers for Russia. Of these 4,000 are to be assigned to the metal industries and the remaining thousand are to be divided among the Commissariats for Agriculture, Commerce, and Public Health.

EXHIBITION OF VRUBEL'S PAINTINGS

An exhibition has been opened in the Tretyakov Gallery, at Moscow (perhaps the most famous collection of nineteenth century paintings in Europe), of the paintings of the great Russian artist, M. A. Vrubel, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of his death. The exhibition includes about one hundred and fifty pictures, collected from various museums and galleries in Moscow. *Izvestia* reports that the management of the Tretyakov Gallery proposes an entire series of exhibitions in celebration of the memory of deceased artists.

RUSSIAN SHIPS GIVEN TO FRANCE

Moscow, January 12.—In the city of Poti (on the eastern shore of the Black Sea) the French authorities aided in carrying off the Russian vessels that were threatened with delivery to Soviet Russia. The steamship *Princip* was sent from the Crimea to Constantinople. The French cruiser has arrived at Batum and its officers have confiscated all vessels about to be handed over to Soviet Russia.

Additional Note: *Volya Rossii*, appearing at Prague, says that the French have declared that they intend to place an embargo on the entire White Russian fleet, numbering 120 vessels, as a compensation for aid given by the French Government to the White Russians. *Volya Rossii* is extremely displeased with this French measure and says that "the future Russia" (the peculiar adjective is intended to indicate the Russia of Kerensky) will not recognize the validity of the treaties or agreements of economic or other nature which White generals are concluding with foreign powers, either voluntarily or under compulsion.

PROGRESS OF ELECTRIFICATION

Moscow, January 15.—Aerial postal communication has been established by the Red aerial fleet on the Khabarov-Kiev-Yekaterinoslav-Sebastopol line. Postal aeroplanes made their first journey on January 13.

The Makhonin electric train has made its first journey from Petrograd to Luban.

The Putilov electric stations have been restarted. The work of electrification in the Crimea is proceeding energetically. A large electric station is to be erected for the purpose of utilizing the power obtainable from the mountain rivers. Special attention is also being paid to the electrification of the Crimean hospitals and the establishment of Röntgen rays, electric baths, and electric massage.

GEORGIA PROSECUTES COMMUNISTS

Moscow, January 11.—Mass arrests of Bolsheviks are taking place in Georgia. Many Communist organizations have been dissolved and the activity of the Communist Party made impossible. The Kutais jail now holds 200 Communists.

BULGARIA AND SOVIET RUSSIA

The Minister for the Interior and Provisional Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dimitriev, submitted to the Chamber an exposition of Bulgaria's foreign policy and simultaneously answered an interpellation from the Communist Party regarding the resumption of diplomatic and economic relations with Soviet Russia. The Minister communicated to the Chamber Bulgaria's answer to Chicherin's note and thereupon declared that Bulgaria would take a position of watchful waiting toward Russia, as the situation had not yet been consolidated and as the Great Powers had not yet begun their diplomatic and economic relations with Russia. As to the arms which Bulgaria had furnished to Russian counter-revolutionists, the Minister could not assume any responsibility, since Bulgaria, according to the treaty of peace, was obliged to deliver up these arms without having any influence whatever over the use to which they would be put.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND GEORGIA

The Soviet Russian representative in Georgia on December 17 handed a note of the following contents to the Georgian Government: The Georgian Government is herewith informed of the Soviet Government's consent to abolish the neutral zone in the Sukhum district, in the region around the rivers Psou and Mekhadir, so that troops from both countries may have thoroughfare to occupy the boundaries in accordance with the treaty of May 27, as provided in Section 4, article 3, of that treaty.

SOLDIERS SENT HOME

Moscow, January 11.—Danilov reported at the Non-Partisan Meeting in the Moscow Government that the annual classes preceding 1885 had already been demobilized. In a few days demobilization is to be effected for the annual classes of 1885, 1887, 1888. He said also that an opportunity would be found to demobilize other annual classes also. The classes 1889 to 1891 are to be sent home on furlough at once if no new danger should materialize, and it is the intention similarly to furlough all annual classes up to 1894. The soldiers are sent home for an indefinite period, but may be recalled to the colors at need.

SOCIALIST THEATER SOCIETIES

The Moscow Theater Society is at present occupied with a solution of the question of organizing a new institution—the Socialist Theater. The society is to trace each step in the evolution of the Socialist Theater, to gather all material touching upon this matter, to sift it by a scientific-ideologic investigation, and to make known the acquired results in the widest circles. The object of the theater is to create a mental tool for solidifying the new work that has been undertaken by the Theater Society. For this purpose all theaters (also all halls in which theatrical questions are discussed) have been distributed among the members of the institution. At the head of the society stands P. S. Kogan, and among his nearest associates are: A. Rodionov, V. Mass, Meyerholdt, Gan, Kerzhentsev, and Bebutov. (See *Kerzhentsev's Biography next week.*)

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Peter Kropotkin

(Born December 9, 1842—Died February 8, 1921)

By MAX STRYPYANSKY

[The recent death of the famous author of "Mutual Aid", "The French Revolution", and other important works, and long the principal figure among intellectual anarchists, renders timely a careful analysis of the foundation of his thought. This study reveals Kropotkin as in reality a reformist of the "democratic" type.]

WHEN in November, 1917, the Bolsheviki overthrew the government of Kerensky, they found themselves opposed and denounced not only by the *beati possidentes* of all the world. Among the enemies were also the other revolutionary parties of their country, including some of the most famous, most venerable names of Russian revolutionary history. The whole bourgeois and "socialist" press of two worlds did not tire of exploiting this fact. They steadily pointed to such men as Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism, to Burtsev, the indefatigable unmasker of Tsarist police spies, to Chaikovsky, the Nestor of the Russian revolutionists of the seventies, to Katherine Breshkovskaya, the "Grandmother" of the Revolution, and especially to Prince Peter Kropotkin, the great geologist, naturalist and historian.

Peter Kropotkin was especially suited to be a capital witness against the Russian proletarian revolution, as he, at least, could not be accused of any moderate leanings, of any "rose-water Socialism". For he was the founder and main theorist of that ultra-revolutionary creed called "Communist Anarchism", whose adherents used from time to time to startle the world with their terroristic deeds.

Kropotkin was a lonely star in the Russian revolutionary firmament. The place he occupied as the founder of a school was somewhat akin to that of Leo Tolstoy. Generally venerated for his purely scientific achievements—as the sage of Yasnaya Polyana was for his literary work—he was just as generally disregarded as far as his political ideas were concerned. Although surrounded with a glamor

that had almost no equal in the long list of Russian revolutionary heroes—his princely origin—his imprisonment in the fortress of Peter and Paul—his sensational flight in 1876—his imprisonment in France as an anarchist "conspirator"—his long exile in England—he was not to be a prophet in his own country.

His anarchist teachings were far better known and had more adherents in all other countries than in Russia. But even in the Latin countries of Western Europe, where for a certain time his ideas were in vogue, his prestige began to wane with the beginning of the twentieth century. The sterile utopianism of his gospel which expects the masses to rise in revolt for the beautiful ideal of "anarchy" (i.e., a communist society without any government) had condemned the anarchist movement to an existence as a sect of naive enthusiasts and talkative cranks, its more intelligent or more revolutionary elements usually joining the rising syndicalist movement, in which they saw a more effective protest against both bourgeois society and reformist Socialism.

He was almost forgotten to the labor movement of all countries, when the beginning of the world war brought him again into the foreground of public attention. At that time he came out with his public manifesto to his French comrades, exhorting them to enlist in the army, to defend French freedom and civilization against German militarism and absolutism . . . And shortly before that time he had conjured his comrades—he the anarchist and anti-militarist—in the face of the impending

German danger, not to protest against the efforts of the French Government to extend the time of obligatory military service.

To many of his adherents this attitude of their beloved teacher came as a painful surprise. Russian as well as French anarchists tried to explain it as a sudden relapse into patriotic and democratic illusions. But they were wrong. For those who had followed Kropotkin's theoretical career, this attitude was not an act of treason—it was the consequence of his whole theoretical system, it was the logical outcome of the whole mental and psychological make-up of a man who thought himself to be the most radical enemy of bourgeois society, the most irreconcilable of all revolutionists, and who in reality was a fervent democrat and "progressive."

Anarchist or Democrat?

The basis of his theory was his conception of the state. Not burdened by any Marxian views as to the class character of historical phenomena, he envisages the state not as a machine for the oppression of one class by another—he perceives this only where it appears in the form of a strongly centralized apparatus, covering a vast territory. "The state," says Kropotkin in his *Anarchy—Its Philosophy, Its Ideal*—"represents . . . a form of social life that in our European societies was established only a very short time ago. Man had already existed for thousands of years, before the first states were formed; Greece and Rome had been flourishing for many centuries before the appearance of the Macedonian and Roman empires; and for us present-day Europeans, the state has been in existence, properly speaking, only since the sixteenth century. At that time there was created that society of mutual protection between the military and judicial power, the landowners and capitalists that is called the state."

We see, Kropotkin's historical investigations have led him to a very amazing discovery. The city republics of Rome and Athens in the ancient world, the cities of the Middle Ages, such as Florence, Bremen, Novgorod, etc., were not yet states, were not organizations for the oppression of one class by another—they were "free communes", stateless organisms, and only became states at a very late epoch, that of Alexander the Great of Macedonia, and of the Emperors, in Rome, and in Europe, with the relatively recent rise of centralistic absolutism. And this is Kropotkin's view, despite the fact that for many centuries before the formation of these great empires the majority of the population of the communities mentioned consisted of slaves; despite the fact that there were class struggles and class oppression in the cities of the Middle Ages.

The above quotation furnishes the key for the explanation of the tragic misunderstanding that is the essence of Kropotkin's anarchist theory.

Brought up in the atmosphere of idealistically minded intellectuals and "repentant noblemen"* he

* Thus were sometimes called those members of the nobility who, feeling a sense of responsibility for the misery and ignorance of the people, in the middle of the past century advocated the abolition of serfdom and the spread of education among the people. They were predecessors of that later generation of the seventies that decided to "go into the people".

deeply resented the way his great country was kept in a state of Oriental subjection and barbarity by a corrupt and ignorant governmental clique that, with its innumerable ramifications, octopus-like, from one central point, was oppressing, devouring, and devastating a vast empire. This idea must have specially impressed his mind during the extensive journeys which he undertook for scientific purposes when, a liberally-minded officer, he served with the Amur Cossacks in Eastern Siberia. Thus a deep hostility against absolutism and centralism became, under the influence of the teachings of Proudhon and Bakunin, the basis for his "total negation of the state."

But subconsciously, there always remained in him the Russian intellectual's admiration for the bourgeois-democratic form of the states of Western Europe, where the management is more intelligent, less wasteful, where there is local autonomy—in one word, where there is more "democracy" and federalism, as in the "free" cities of antiquity and the Middle Ages—as against the centralist absolutism of Alexander the Great, Caesar, Louis XIV, and the Romanovs. It did not occur to him that for the great mass of the workers, the slaves of manual labor, the benefits of democracy and autonomy did not exist; that they were excluded from any participation in the democratic management of the state, and that there was just as much starvation and bloody repression of the rebellious workers under democratic liberty as under autocratic tyranny. For after all, despite all his generosity and the idealism with which he sacrificed his personal and class interests, he always remained a bourgeois intellectual who was unable to look at things from the workingman's angle.

True, there was a moment in his life when he almost approached the really proletarian point of view. It was during his trial at Lyons, France, in 1883, when he was indicted for being a member of a secret anarchist organization, the "International Workingmen's Association." At that time he said: "History teaches us that all governments are similar to each other and that one is worth as much as another. The best are the worst. Some of them display more cynicism—others again more hypocrisy . . ." And thirty years later he appealed to his followers to give their life in defense of the ones that displayed more hypocrisy, when they were attacked by the one that displayed more cynicism . . .

His Views on Revolutionary Prospects in Europe

But it did not take him thirty years to change his views so radically. Already in 1892, in his main work *La Conquête du Pain*, speaking of the prospects of the coming European revolution, he expressed views for which he could have been congratulated by the most moderate Mensheviks (if they had existed at that time), nay, even by simple "Progressives". He says in this book that in France the people may ask "free if not communist communes" (i.e., a federalistic republic as against the present centralism); that "Germany will go a little

farther than France went in 1848" (i.e., that it would become a republic like the United States) and that "the ideas which will govern the Russian Revolution will be the ideas of the year 1789, modified to a certain point by the intellectual currents of our century" (i.e., the ideas of Milyukov, Kerensky and their little group of lovers of freedom).*

This opinion of his that Russia was not "ripe" for a social revolution, Kropotkin voiced also during the first Russian Revolution of 1905-1907. In the French *Almanach de la Revolution*, of 1907, he wrote at that time about the Russian Revolution: "This will not yet be the social revolution—the honor of inaugurating it will belong to the Latin nations—but it will be a step towards this revolution . . ." True, almost at the same time he wrote in the Russian Anarchist paper *Listki Khleb i Volya*, No. 18: "The land to the people, the factories, the shops and the railways to the workers; everywhere the free, revolutionary Commune, taking into its hands the management of the national economy . . .—this should be the watch-word of the second, now impending period of the Russian Revolution." But this direct contradiction to the passage quoted from the French *Almanach* can only be explained if we assume that by the word "period" he must have understood not a short term of years, but some cosmic epoch as is employed in geology, his favorite science . . .

Anarchist Ideal and Democratic Reality

The aim of Kropotkin's anarchism is the abolition of the state and the establishment of a free communism—a society in which there is no established authority, no organized body, able and entitled to enforce the will of the community, no compulsion to work, and where "everybody works according to his abilities and receives according to his needs." A rather ideally beautiful condition of affairs, which has only one little drawback—it is too beautiful. So beautiful, that even its most ardent adherents hardly believe in the possibility of establishing it immediately by a violent revolution. A long period of preliminary education, preparation, development of the sentiments of solidarity and mutual help, is, according to their theorists, necessary—some of them, like Jean Grave or Cornelissen, extending this period even into centuries—before humanity would be able to adopt this ideal system.

And there you are. This ultra-revolutionary gospel, this reddest of all red systems, in spite of occasional acts of violence committed by some of its more temperamental adepts, is hardly more than an educational, an "uplift" movement, chiefly concerned with the "revolutionizing of intellects." And at any historical moment, when a really revolution-

ary situation presents itself, as in Russia in 1917 or in Germany in 1918, its adherents are doomed to remain helpless and perplexed, as they cannot help being perfectly aware that the hour for their ideal revolution has not yet struck.

There is no doubt that there must have arrived in Kropotkin's life a moment when he became aware of this situation and drew the necessary conclusions from it. If a long period of preliminary intellectual preparation is necessary—then that form of a government is preferable that gives you more chances for propaganda, viz., a democratic republican government such as, e.g., France, which in a much higher degree respects freedom of speech and freedom of the press than semi-absolutist Germany. So, here again, he looked at the matter from the standpoint of the intellectual, of the teacher of the people, and not from the standpoint of the worker, for whom this "freedom" means only the freedom to read or to listen to inspiring phrases at a time when this does not harm his masters; for all these "liberties" are abrogated the moment he becomes unruly and the "free word" might really become a danger to the privileged classes.

Moreover, Kropotkin had devised a rather curious idea of destroying the state—by instalments. According to him the state was strongest under an absolute regime and was weaker the more democratic its form. In his preface to Michael Bakunin's *Paris Commune*, he says: "The Anarchists are striving . . . not to strengthen the power of the state, but to weaken it, to split it up, territorially as well as functionally, and finally, to abolish it altogether." And in his little pamphlet *The Russian Revolution*, issued in 1905, he says that the democratic republic has the advantage of having cut somewhat the fangs of the state power. It is hardly necessary to emphasize how naive this whole idea is—for everybody knows now that the more "democratic" a state, the stronger will be its foundations and the harder the tasks of its slaves in shaking off the chains which, though invisible (or rather, *because* they are invisible), are stronger than in a monarchist tyranny that has no "liberal" ornaments.

The ideal of anarchy has thus become for Kropotkin a guiding star for a continuous demand for more national independence, for provincial and municipal autonomy, in one word, for more democracy! The anarchist ideal had reconciled him to democratic reality.

Defender of France

His first skirmish as defender of French democracy he had—strangely enough—to fight out with nobody else but Gustave Hervé, the great master of the editorial, the greatest weathercock of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, at present the staunch supporter of Wrangel, Pilsudski, Clemenceau, Millerand and all the cut-throats of European imperialism. At that time, in 1905, Hervé, parading as an "extreme Lefter", invents a new "stunt"—*pour épater le bourgeois*. He formulates his theory of "Antipatriotism", based mainly on Marx's fam-

* On this point, one of Kropotkin's critics, the Polish-Russian revolutionist, A. Wolski (W. Machajski), once very cleverly remarked that "while the cause of the workers is identical all over the world, the inductive-deductive method of Kropotkin puts the finger first on the line that goes along the Rhine and later along the line that goes through Alexandrovo, Verzhbolovo and Radzivilovo (Russian-German border-points), and teaches that these are not simply border-lines, frames within which the ruling classes of the different states are dividing among each other the riches of the earth and the products of the exploitation of the workers, but natural limits of quite different social organisms."

ous sentence in the *Communist Manifesto* ("The Worker Has No Country"). All Syndicalists and Anarchists acclaim him. But what happens? Who takes the field against him, to the plaudits of the whole bourgeois press? Why, the "father of anarchy" himself, Peter Kropotkin. "No" was the essential tendency of his argument, "if France is attacked, we cannot fold our arms and let her be defeated by a reactionary, monarchist power. But we are not going to defend the present form of French government either. We will make the social revolution, raise the red flag on the City Hall, and then defend our country." Very nice. But if that was what he meant, why did the *Temps*, the main organ of French plutocracy, applaud so enthusiastically and ask the Government to withdraw the order of expulsion which, twenty years before, the authorities had issued against that brave friend of France? Was the capitalist *Temps* so foolish as to ask for the rehabilitation of a man who advocated the raising of the red flag on the City Hall? Or did the paper perfectly well understand that he was waving the red flag only as a sop for his flock, so that they might the more easily swallow his patriotic pill? How right the *Temps* was, appeared eight years later (1914), when France was attacked by Germany, and Kropotkin, in his patriotic appeal to the French comrades, did not even mention a word about making a revolution or "raising the red flag."

It is interesting that when Kropotkin took his well-known stand at the beginning of the war, the *New York Times* of August 27, 1914, in an editorial entitled "Peter Kropotkin's Hopes", called him the "veteran Russian agitator and democrat (!)" (For once the editorial writer, no doubt congratulating himself on the accomplishment of a useful falsehood, was unintentionally telling the truth.) But even for the *Times* his enthusiastic hope for a "strengthening of the liberalizing forces in Russia," whatever the issue, seemed a little exaggerated. "It would be interesting to know the specific grounds of his optimism" the paper asked. His specific grounds were the hopes that "democratic" France and England would probably exert on the Tsar a pressure in this direction. You see, a great geologist may be just as wise as a great novelist, for H. G. Wells at the same time expressed exactly the same view. Only Wells was ultimately disillusioned in his belief in the generous intentions of the Allies, while Kropotkin never showed signs of any such weakening.

Kropotkin and the November Revolution

When the Revolution broke out in March, 1917, Kropotkin saw the immediate cause of this event in the fact that the Russian people had noticed "that our autocracy, with the whole clique of its civil and ecclesiastical henchmen would be on the side of the German conquerors." The obvious reason, namely, that hunger and war-weariness had driven the people as well as the soldiers to revolt, had completely escaped his attention. And the main task of Russia at that moment was to "drive out the Germans from the occupied territories."

When he came back to Russia—the reception he got was very cool. The stand he took was not dissimilar to that of the great Marxian protagonist Plekhanov, and oh, irony of fate!—these two bitter theoretical antagonists, together with the Social-Revolutionists Burtsev and Savinkov, were so to speak the only out-and-out bitter-enders in a world of more or less pacifistic Mensheviks, Social-Revolutionists and Bolsheviks. Even his own disciples, the Anarchists, had deserted him almost entirely.

The November Revolution met with his double disapproval. For in the first place it interfered with the main task of the Revolution, which according to him was "to drive out the Germans". And secondly, it was centralistic, dictatorial, "Jacobinic"; three words that were anathema to him since early youth. He did not believe that the Soviet Revolution would succeed. Not only because of the intervention of the Germans and the Allies; but mainly because by their "centralistic methods" they were "paralyzing the constructive work of the people." Brailsford and even Bertrand Russell have shown that without those "centralistic methods" the "constructive work of the people", i.e., the egoism and greed of the capitalistically-minded peasant, would simply starve out the cities and finally destroy what little was left after the imperialistic and civil war. This utopian delusion as to the "constructive work of the people" made him also bewail the "destruction of local cooperative societies by changing them into party bureaucratic organs": this at a time when the "free" cooperatives were developing more and more into bourgeois counter-revolutionary organizations whose heads in very many cases were conspiring with Kolchak and Denikin; at a time, when only the most ruthless application of dictatorially organized force could save the Revolution from total destruction by the White and imperialist armies and by internal sabotage and disintegration.

But to his credit it must be said that in spite of all his doctrinaire opposition he did not countenance the Russian and international counter-revolutionary activities against the Soviet regime. And twice, once in a letter to his old friend Georg Brandes, the great Danish critic (April 28, 1919), and again in a letter to the English workers (June, 1920) he protested against the blockade and intervention. But although he thus dissociated himself from his former intimates, the Russian Social-Revolutionists, who had become open helpers of world imperialism and capitalism against the rising working class, he never struck, in his protest against the strangling of *proletarian* Soviet Russia such ardent tones as at the time when *bourgeois*, but democratic, France was menaced by *monarchist* Germany. While in 1914 he called his followers to fight sword in hand against the brutal invaders of *la belle France*—at a time when the great cause of the emancipation of the whole working class was at stake, he contented himself with tearful appeals to the Allies, in whom he still believed, and could not let even this opportunity go by for voicing his indignation towards the "criminal" attitude of the Bolsheviks.

during the war. The passage against intervention in his letter to Brandes, reads as follows: "They speak in the West of restoring order in Russia by an armed intervention of the Allies. Ah, well, dear friend, you know how criminal towards all social progress in Europe was, in my opinion, the attitude of those who worked to disorganize the Russian power of resistance—which prolonged the war by a year, gave us a German invasion under the cover of a treaty and cost seas of blood—to prevent conquering Germany from crushing Europe under its imperial boot. You know well my feelings with regard to this. And nevertheless I protest with all my strength against any kind of armed intervention of the Allies in Russian affairs. That intervention would result in an increase of Russian chauvinism. It would restore over us a chauvinist monarchy, and note it well, it produces in the masses of the Russian people a hostile attitude towards Western Europe—an attitude which will have the saddest consequences . . . Those of the Allies who see clearly into events ought to repudiate all armed intervention. Moreover, if they really wish to come to the aid of Russia, they will find a tremendous amount to do in another direction . . ."

This shows that on the very eve of the Versailles treaty, when even the most gullible admirers of Western "democracy" had already seen through its hypocritical pretensions, he still believed in the good intentions of the Allies and thought them different from the German imperialist cut-throats. He persisted in his democratic illusions to the very end.

But for all that—he was a man whose memory the Russia of the future will always honor. For although not free from the bourgeois democratic prejudices of the old generation of Russian revolutionists, although unable to understand the meaning of the greatest upheaval in the history of mankind, and although this revolution was in strict contradiction to all his historical and political conceptions,—he kept his revolutionary honor untarnished—while most of his contemporaries of the seventies and the eighties, the Burtsevs, the Chaikovskys, the Breshkovskayas, the Morozovs, after a glorious past of heroic struggle for bourgeois revolution in Russia—became conscious or unconscious tools of world imperialism and capitalist counter-revolution and set themselves down in Russian history as the worst enemies of working-class emancipation.

The Magnetic Corps

By SAMUEL RAFELOVICH

[In the absence of our weekly Military Review by our regular military critic, Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek, who is now in Russia, we are printing below an interesting account of the First Cavalry Army, written on the occasion of its first anniversary, in November, 1920.]

"Proletarians to Horse!"
—Leon Trotsky.

All the way from Uzman-Sobakhina and Voronezh to Mykop against Denikin, from Tytnev in a remarkably swift ride to Zhitomir and Berdichev, up to the gates of Lemberg against the Poles, and now the new blow against the moribund baron (Wrangel)—is this not a brilliant, an astonishing progress on the part of the first Cavalry Army, all in one year?

Whatever may be the future lot of this army of horsemen, there is no doubt that the victorious, creative activity of the Red Army has found in the activity of this cavalry body a brilliant expression of the military strength which arose like a phoenix from its ashes, hurling thunderbolts and menacing . . .

Something has happened that must really seem remarkable in the eyes of the certificated generals.

The sergeant of the Nizhni-Novgorod Dragoon Regiment, Budenny, has not read Sakharov's *History of the Cavalry*, nor has he studied the tactics of cavalry according to Dragomirov; he has not buried himself in the deeds of Seidlitz or Stuart, and has surely not gone back to the days of Alexander of Macedonia or Hannibal, who was the most famous cavalry leader in the history of warfare—and yet in his operations he carries out in the most brilliant manner the best technical rules of cavalry warfare.

The technical resources of our cavalry are, particularly in the matter of intelligence service, very modest, at present even very deficient, and yet there is no doubt that Budenny fully controls his army. The enemy had artillery of long range, tanks, airplanes, and in our cavalry army there are a number of regiments which at the time of the suppression of the counter-revolution in the south did not even have rifles. The rifles were superfluous.

In full order of march, with sabres drawn, our fighters threw themselves upon the armored trains, and lord knows how they did it—conquered them. They dismounted, crept up to the invulnerable tanks and blew them up with hand grenades.

Budenny knew very well the power of his sabres, twirled his mustache and pursued his opponent, simultaneously cutting off his retreat.

I should like to report to the reader a meeting I had with Budenny.

It was exactly a year ago, November 17, after the notable battle for the conquest of the extremely important railroad center at the station of Kastornaya, where Mamontov, Shkurov, and Postavsky, were completely destroyed. I set out to meet Budenny at the village of Nizhni Olshanka.

My nerves were somewhat strained by the unusual conditions of the cavalry campaign. In my ears there still rang an artillery cannonade, and I still heard the rattle of the machine guns with im-

udent persistence. I had made 45 versts on horse that day in spite of the slippery ice and the severe frost. I handed Budenny the green flag of the notorious Shkurov "Wolf Division", which had just been cut down by our young cavalry division, arriving from the north in its occupation of Kastornaya. Budenny smiled and turned to his assistant:

"Syemchko! Take this rag and show it to the comrades on the staff."

Not another word. As if the occupation of such a strongly fortified point,—and besides the little Olyn River had first to be forced, which was defended by several thousand infantry, and by picked officer regiments—had been a mere bagatelle.

Later I understood that it was impossible to astonish Budenny and his men, with whom heroic deeds had become every day matters.

It is late at night . . . The command for the cavalry corps is being worked out; all those standing around except the men on guard, are sleeping the deepest sleep. You can sleep thus only at the front when you are obliged to refresh your exhausted organism thirsting for relaxation, in the short period of two or three hours. Especially your brain needs this. None of them could have been awakened by any noise however great. It seemed as if sound had ceased for them, and only a peculiar

force of habit makes them wake up at the proper time in order to ride on until a fortunate accident may permit them, three or four days later, again to go to sleep for a few hours, tightly wrapped in their cloaks, with their caps on their heads . . . Comrade Pograbyev, head of the Corps Staff enters the room and reports directly:

"General Olagai's corps has been thrown against the cavalry from the Tsaritsin front." Our conversation is interrupted. Budenny listens calmly, again twirls his mustache, as is his habit and observes:

"Well, we shall be able to dispose of him. But do you know who this Olagai is? He was the Commandant of my train troop—the time I was in the Nizhni-Novgorod Dragoon Regiment."

Going to sleep I still observed him walking off stealthily in order not to awaken anyone, to his Staff in order to work there. Next morning he again set out for the line of battle.

The Red Cavalry Army has passed through a campaign unparalleled in history in the course of this single year; if you include all the skirmishes, marches, regroupings, shiftings of front, it will make a distance of 6,000 versts. Honor and praise to the Cavalry Army; honor and praise to its leader, Comrade Budenny!

Medical Relief for Soviet Russia

[An Address Delivered at the Metropolitan Opera House, Philadelphia, Pa., on January 18, 1921.]

By J. L. MAGNES

ANTI-RUSSIAN propaganda has been carried on by departments of government, by the press, by preachers, lawyers, and teachers.

A large part of the responsibility for the hostility or indifference of the American people to suffering in Soviet Russia is, I am sorry to say, to be borne by the two greatest of American relief organizations, the American Red Cross and the American Relief Administration. I realize, of course, that these two organizations have a quasi-governmental character, and that they are, in large measure, dependent upon the weird, blundering policy of our State Department in relation to Soviet Russia; that these two institutions simply hardened their hearts towards the innocent and suffering millions of the great Communist Republic. They are recorded as having brought aid and comfort to every enemy of Soviet Russia from first to last, from Kolchak all the way through Wrangel. They were all ready with their barges of food and clothing and medicines to bring the message of brotherhood and compassion from America to the population of Russia, provided—provided the adventurer Yudenich, with his hangman Balakhovich, and the mercenaries of a dozen nationalities should capture Petrograd on the scheduled day. The valor of Red Petrograd disturbed the Entente schedule, and the message of humanity and compassion from America

is still undelivered. Instead of bringing supplies to assuage the misery of suffering Russia, there is an authentic record, made by a member of the Kerensky Cabinet and of the Wrangel Cabinet, of which I hold a copy, that large portions of the food supplies of an American relief organization were sold speculatively by the Yudenich authorities at six times the legal Esthonian rate, and that the proceeds from these sales of American relief supplies were used not for relief, but for the political and military benefit of the bankrupt Yudenich Northwestern Government.

In preparing for this meeting, I took the liberty of communicating with the State Department, the American Relief Administration, or European Relief Council, of which Mr. Hoover is chairman, and the Soviet envoy to the United States, Mr. L. C. A. K. Martens. What I saw is based upon statements contained in these written communications. I repeat, therefore that, with the exception of the American Friends Service Committee and the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, no sincere attempt has been made to find a way of bringing relief to Soviet Russia.

This statement may appear strange to you in view of a statement published on January 14, just four days ago, from Mr. Norman H. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, on American policy towards

Soviet Russia. Despite its many contradictions, this statement was, on the whole, the most hopeful we have yet had of the opening up of communications between this country and Soviet Russia.

In this statement, Mr. Davis declared that large-scale relief work in Soviet Russia had not been undertaken by American organizations because of difficulties raised, not by the Government of the United States, but by the Soviets. "Representatives of the large relief organizations, with the knowledge and approval of the Department of State," he continued, "have visited the central Soviet authorities in Moscow in the hope of establishing a *modus vivendi* for such work, but with two exceptions have been met by rebuffs." The two exceptions he specifies later in his letter, as the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers). Other relief organizations, however—meaning the American Red Cross and the American Relief Administration—have experienced only rebuffs from the Soviets, so he declares; and he concludes, therefore, that "the official obstruction to the feeding of sick Russian children by Americans has come not from this Government, but from the Soviets." In other words, Mr. Davis bases the hostile policy of the State Department towards relief in Soviet Russia upon alleged rebuffs to the American Relief Administration.

As to the experiences of the American Relief Administration, I can assert the following: First, the American Relief Administration has never sought assurances from the Soviet Government, and has never sought to find out the terms under which relief work in Soviet Russia might have been carried on. Second, two representatives of the American Relief Administration, whose names are a matter of common knowledge, and who happened to cross the lines into Soviet Russia last spring, have presented the most favorable reports and recommendations for relief work in Russia to the American Relief Administration. In view of this, how can the Acting Secretary of State speak of Soviet rebuffs to this American organization?

But whereas, on the one hand, the State Department bases its policy upon the alleged experiences of the American Relief Administration, which that organization never had, the American Relief Administration, in its turn, places full responsibility for failure to do relief work in Russia upon the State Department. The American Relief Administration declared but a few days ago that

"It is not so much a question of assurances between the Soviet Government and the American Relief Administration as it is the necessity of having our own State Department satisfied that such assurances as we might be able to secure would be satisfactory, and they would be satisfied that we would be protected in using contributions from American citizens in undertaking this work. We would suggest that, as we look to the State Department for approval of any plans for entering any comprehensive arrangement for child feeding in Soviet Russia, you secure their opinion for use in your address in Philadelphia."

We thus see that the American Relief Administration shifts the responsibility to the State De-

partment, and the State Department shifts it to the American Relief Administration. It is the familiar and delightful indoor sport of "passing the buck." Between the two, hundreds of thousands of innocent children in Soviet Russia are deprived of the assistance which the generosity of the American public might bring them.

It may be interesting to add that before the American Relief Administration was ready to admit on January 12, that it was not a question of assurances from the Soviet Government, but that it was all "up to" the State Department, they declared on January 8 that

"As to Soviet Russia, we have refrained from entering into this field until we could secure satisfactory assurances which would protect our workers and our supplies, and give us the necessary freedom in distributing to the children, without discriminating as to politics, race, or religion. Such assurances have not been forthcoming."

On January 8 it was a question of Soviet assurances; and on January 12, it was not. In the middle of November, the Associate Editor of the Newspaper Enterprise Association of Cleveland, Ohio, was informed by an official of the American Relief Administration that

"We have not been allowed by the Soviet Government to go into Soviet Russia."

Would not a more exact statement have been:

"We have not asked the Soviet Government to be allowed to go into Soviet Russia?"

And in view of all of this, the "Literary Digest", which has devoted itself high-mindedly and wholeheartedly to the cause of European relief, as the publicity organ of the American Relief Administration, declared to a correspondent at the end of December, that

"It is a mistake to say that the children of Russia are 'excluded' from the benefits of the American Relief Administration and the European Relief Council. . . . The Quakers are in Soviet Russia carrying organized relief to Russian children and receive their financial support from Mr. Hoover's organization."

Upon inquiry, I find that the American Friends Service Committee (the Quakers) receive no financial support whatever for Soviet Russia from Mr. Hoover's organization.

We find, therefore, that the policy of the State Department of our government in relation to relief to Soviet Russia is based upon alleged rebuffs to an organization which that organization never met with. Some of the representatives of that organization declare that they are doing work in Soviet Russia through the Quakers, although this is not so. Others declare that they have not been allowed by the Soviet Government to go into Soviet Russia, although we do not know that they have ever asked for permission. Still other representatives complain that assurances have not been forthcoming from the Soviet Government for the proper distribution of their supplies, although such assurances were never sought; and when this is pointed out, the admission is finally made that it is not these assurances, which they have never sought, that mat-

ter, but that the State Department is to be held responsible.

In a communication of January 14, Mr. Hoover asserts that he will not ask for American help for Soviet Russia until the distribution of American supplies can be supervised there "upon the same terms as everywhere else in the world"; and furthermore, that his organization "will not jeopardize Americans by establishing them in Russia as long as Americans are held prisoners there without cause." Mr. Hoover has therefore now been asked to state the terms upon which his organization would be willing to engage upon relief work in Soviet Russia; and, should he do so, it would be the first time, so far as I am aware, that these terms will have been made known. If these terms are reasonable and are not an interference with the sovereignty of the Soviet Government, we have the assurance of Mr. Martens, who said on November 18:

"If the American Relief Administration desires to use the funds which it is now collecting, or the stocks which it has on hand, for the relief of starving children in Soviet Russia, it may easily do so. There is nothing to prevent the Relief Administration from shipping supplies directly to Soviet Russia. These supplies will be gladly received and fairly distributed by the Soviet Government. If the American Relief Administration desires to inspect the manner of distribution of these supplies, or to cooperate in their distribution, I am sure this could be arranged."

This statement by Mr. Martens is based not only upon what he knows of the spirit and intentions of the Soviet Government, but also upon the past experiences of American relief organizations which, so far from meeting rebuffs, have always enjoyed the utmost cooperation of the Soviet authorities.

I would refer, first, to the experiences of the American Red Cross Mission to Russia in the distribution of 400,000 cans of condensed milk in the city of Petrograd during the months of February, March, and April, 1918. The Distributing Committee which was then organized jointly by the American Red Cross Mission on the one hand, and by the District Soviets of Petrograd, the Central Petrograd Soviet, and the Commissariat of Social Welfare, functioned in accordance with approved American social service methods, and gave complete satisfaction not only to the population of Petrograd and the Soviet authorities, but also to the American Red Cross. All of this is recorded in reports submitted to the American Red Cross by Col. Raymond Robbins, who was at the head of the Red Cross Mission, and by Major Allen Wardwell, who was at its head after Col. Robbins' departure. Mr. R. R. Stevens, the Manager of the National City Bank in Petrograd, was in charge of this work during Major Wardwell's absence from Petrograd.

The Americans who had this work in hand have declared that none of the milk was misapplied or used for any purpose other than that of giving nourishment and sustenance to the helpless and the weak.

I refer next to the experiences of the two representatives of the American Relief Administration

who happened to cross into Soviet Russia last Spring. As I have already said, they did not meet with rebuffs. On the contrary, they portrayed the situation in such colors as might satisfy all the scruples of the American Relief Administration.

I refer also to the experiences of the American Friends Service Committee, with its headquarters in Philadelphia. As the Acting Secretary of State points out, this organization "has been operating almost continuously in Russia on a small scale under British management." Inquiry of the American Friends Service Committee will show that their relief supplies, now their third shipment, have reached Russia safely and have been distributed satisfactorily, and that the Friends have met with no rebuffs, but have had the utmost cooperation from the Soviet authorities. Their workers have been given every opportunity to visit institutions and homes, to direct that supplies be shipped to these particular homes, and to visit these homes afterwards.

I refer finally to the experiences of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. This Committee has not met with rebuffs, but has been able to effect an arrangement with the Soviet authorities whereby a relief committee was formed in Moscow of all elements of the Jewish population, including the bourgeois, for the purpose of bringing relief to the tens of thousands of victims of barbarous pogroms perpetrated under the banners of those counter-revolutionary armies which the American Red Cross and the American Relief Administration have not scrupled to support.

What, in view of these experiences, becomes of the charge, upon which the State Department policy is based, that American relief organizations have experienced rebuffs at the hands of Soviet Russia? On the contrary, we see that if there be but the will, there is the way; and this, in face of the statement by the Acting Secretary of State, that the Soviets' theory of Communism will not permit the exercise of private philanthropy. Yes, if the blockade were lifted in fact as well as in name, Russia would need no private philanthropy. Russia has enough gold and materials and human power to pay for the satisfaction of all her needs. But as long as the human *cordon sanitaire* is stretched around Russia by America and the Entente Powers, it becomes the duty and the privilege of every American to do whatever he can to bring the aid of private philanthropy to the innocents without food, without clothes, without medical and surgical help.

Further encouragement for keeping up our work is to be found in a very recent statement by Mr. Hoover—something that was entirely new to me and which I have endeavored to have confirmed at the State Department, thus far without result—that the State Department has established the fact

"that so far as the United States is concerned, nothing prevents the Bolshevik Government from devoting their gold to the purchase of American milk for their children."

In the sincere hope of being contradicted tomorrow, I would nevertheless hazard the guess that even

for so humane a purpose as buying milk for rickety children, Bolsheviki gold is still taboo for the present Administration in Washington. They have ordered the Assay Office of the United States Mint to refuse to assay any gold having even remotely a Russian Soviet origin. American smelters have been threatened, so I am informed, with a withdrawal of their usual assay privileges, should they ever be caught offering for assay this terrible Soviet gold. Banking institutions have refrained from paying out Russian gold under threats from the Federal Reserve Board which, because of present business depression, can exercise its terror at will. Producers and merchants of all kinds, large and small, who have been desirous of exporting goods and supplies to Russia, have been given conflicting opinions and advice at Washington, ranging all the way from a complete shifting of responsibility to definite threats and warnings. This is all on the theory that Soviet gold is dirty and may not be handled, and the rest of the gold of the world is clean and may not only be handled, but grabbed after. The gold found in Russia by the Soviet Revolution is stolen property and not to be touched, but the gold being expended by the so-called Russian Ambassador at Washington through the so-called embassy of a non-existent Russian Government is vouched for by our State Department. This virtual maintenance of the blockade of Russia, despite all pious phrases to the contrary, through the prohibition of the conversion of Russian gold into usable American currency, is, I am afraid, in the way of Mr. Hoover's hopeful reading of what he thinks is the State Department's permission to sell American milk for Russian children in return for Bolsheviki gold.

The enemies of Soviet Russia thought to break down her resistance by denying her people the aid of medicines and drugs and hospital supplies from abroad. Let the Soviets be destroyed even though the Russian people be ravaged by disease and plague; and they believed, in their shortsightedness, that their *cordon sanitaire*, their cordon of death, could keep behind the Russian barrier not only Russian revolutionary ideas, but disease and plague as well. But, despite the fatuous readiness of Russia's enemies to have Russia's plagues and epidemics spread over into the western world if only Russia's revolutionary ideals might be crushed, it is due to the heroic efforts of the Russian people themselves, under the guidance of the Commissariat for Public Health, that not only the Russian people, but the western world as well have been spared the infections that might just as well have come out of Russia if it had depended solely upon the barbarism of Russia's enemies.

There is in this country a copy of the official Soviet Calendar for 1920, and in this Calendar among other things is an official statement of the Commissariat for Public Health on its organization and activities up to the fall of 1919. I am hoping that the complete statement, which is but a dry recital of facts, may soon be published, in order that in this way the American public may be en-

couraged to support the vast public health work which is now going on in Russia despite the blockade, despite the lack of medicines and hospital supplies.

From of old, as many of you here know all too well, the death rate of Russia has been much in excess of that of the rest of Europe. At the outbreak of the war in 1914, the death rate of Russia was 26.7 per thousand, and in the rest of Europe 14 per thousand. There was a record at that time of over 14,500,000 cases of contagious diseases, and of over 7,000,000 cases of what are classified as parasitic diseases. In addition to these general categories, the record shows over 1,000,000 cases of syphilis and over 700,000 of tuberculosis. Altogether, the health figures of Russia at the beginning of the war present a stupendous picture of misery, filth, and disease.

It was only with the coming of the Soviet revolution in November of 1917 that energetic and intelligent steps were taken to save the Russian people from disintegration through sickness, disease, and plague. During the period of the World War from 1914 up to the time of the Bolshevik revolution, typhus and smallpox and cholera and influenza had assumed alarming proportions. For example, in 1916, although large parts of the Russian territories, particularly those inhabited by congested industrial populations, were held by the Germans, there were recorded, in the shrunken Russia alone, over 150,000 cases of typhus, over 100,000 cases of smallpox, and over 1,200 cases of cholera, this being the beginning of the cholera epidemic that broke out in the summer of 1918 just as the Commissariat for Public Health was being established.

It was combating this cholera epidemic in the summer of 1918 that gave the first proof of the efficiency of the Commissariat for Public Health and of the devotion of the thousands of health workers who were enlisted in the service of the people. During the cholera epidemic in 1908, ten years before, under the Tsarist regime, when the whole world was anxious to keep this epidemic localized and when Russia had access to all the world's sources of supplies, 200,000 cases of cholera were recorded. In the epidemic of the summer of 1918, despite the difficult circumstances under which the Commissariat had to labor, with war within and without Russia, the number of cholera cases was kept down to 35,619.

In the fall of 1918, the country was ravaged by the Spanish influenza, 700,000 cases of this sickness being recorded.

From the fall of 1918 to the spring of 1919, during eight months, the Commissariat for Public Health had to combat an additional epidemic, that of eruptive typhus; and the story of this forms in itself a great object-lesson of what intelligence and self-sacrifice and devotion to a great idea can achieve. During these eight months there was recorded the stupendous number of 1,299,262 cases of eruptive typhus. I am informed that medical records contain no parallel to this. An outline of

the steps taken to combat typhus will give an indication of the general methods of the Commissariat for Public Health:

1. 200,000,000 rubles were appropriated for educating the public as to the nature and causes of this sickness, and as to methods of prevention.
2. Thousands of beds were added to hospitals for the treatment of typhus cases alone. In the city of Moscow, 9,000 such additional beds were established.
3. Baths, laundries, and delousing plants were established throughout the whole country, and the use of them was made compulsory upon the population. All of this service was free of charge.
4. Special commissions with large powers were created, the membership of which was recruited from workmen's organizations throughout the country.
5. Special laboratories for research work on new cures were established.
6. Special commissions with great sums of money at their disposal were created for experimentation with new vaccines. Among these vaccine centers were Moscow, Petrograd, Saratov, Kharkov, Smolensk.
7. Two congresses of scientists were convened in Moscow in February and in March, 1919, to discuss the scientific material gathered in the course of combating the disease. The Commissariat also convened an All-Russian Congress of bacteriologists and specialists in epidemic diseases at the end of April, 1919. At this Congress, Prof. Predechenaki presented the chief report on the epidemic and its causes, stating at the same time that an approximate solution of the problem had been found, and that the specific typhus parasite had been definitely established. (It may also be of interest to remark that the same Prof. Predtechenski headed an expedition later to Astrakhan for the purpose of studying cholera at one of its sources.)

The net result of this vigorous and heroic campaign against typhus has been that the Russian people, though still suffering grievously, has been saved from being stricken down by this plague, and as far as the rest of the world is concerned Russia, at least, will not be the chief source of typhus infection.

As for the rest of the activities of the Commissariat for Public Health, I can but mention in passing that they have attacked with similar energy problems of sanitation and hygiene, as also social diseases such as tuberculosis and venereal infections. The Commissariat has established a central hygienic museum in Moscow. It has distributed millions of copies of popular pamphlets on questions of health, and has issued scientific works and periodicals. It has created in Moscow, in a building devoted solely to this purpose, a central medical library, and it has convened congresses and conferences not only in Moscow and other large cities, but also in smaller towns and country districts, dealing with all phases of medical and health work.

A RUMANIAN BUSINESS DELEGATION IN RUSSIA AND IN UKRAINE

BUCHAREST, February 7.—A commercial delegation of Rumanian cooperatives left Odessa for Kiev and Moscow, to negotiate with the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Governments concerning exchange of commodities.

ENGLISH NEWSPAPER LIES

On December 21 in all English newspapers, but especially in the *Times*, there appeared extracts from the English White Books dealing with the inhuman treatment of English prisoners. These reports are either wholly untrue or at least in a great measure falsified. English prisoners in Russia were treated in the same way as other prisoners, or when an exception was made it was all to the advantage of the Englishman. The English spy Keeling was better treated in Russia than he would have been in any other place in a similar situation. The fact that he was director of the theater for the prisoners proves how false are the stories about his treatment. The English Railway Mission members who were arrested in Siberia were released on parole a long time ago, although they were taken prisoner along with the troops of Kolchak, whose operations they were supporting. They were brought to Moscow and interned in a convent where they had every opportunity for social intercourse, lectures, etc. According to the reports of all witnesses the director of this prison is a kind, humane man. The prisoners received the same food as any other people in Russia. They were also allowed to receive packages from the different relief missions, as a result of which their rations were better than is usual in Russia. How the English were treated is to be seen from the Grumby case. Grumby, as the White papers report, was even employed as an official. English people who have left Soviet Russia have repeatedly thanked the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs for their good treatment. English soldiers who were taken prisoner were allowed freedom in Moscow when they had given their parole, and could also have theater tickets. If English people in Russia could not enjoy the comforts of the Piccadilly clubs that is only a result of the present situation in Russia. Even then they lived much better than the great masses of the Russian people whom the English Government tried its best to kill by hunger. The prisons used by the Soviet authorities were an improvement on those used before they came into power.

As to the charge that Russia has illegally detained and interned people, it is to be taken into account that all governments, the English Government included, have acted in the same way towards foreign subjects when they have acted in a manner hostile to the government. The time when the treatment is alleged to have been worst was the period when the workers and peasants were fighting desperately against foreign and domestic enemies. The English Government belonged to those who were the most energetic in the counter-revolution. English subjects took part in speculation which is tolerated in bourgeois states, but which in Russia is considered a crime. Russian subjects in Baku were not only taken prisoner by the English, but also executed. On the other hand the way that England allows its subjects in India and Ireland to be treated shows that the English themselves live in a glass house and cannot afford to throw stones even if the Soviet Government did maltreat prisoners, which it does not.

Platon Mikhailovich Kerzhentsev

Platon Mikhailovich Kerzhentsev, whose appointment as Soviet Russian representative in Sweden, with the consent of the Swedish Government, has just been announced, was born in Moscow in 1881. He is the son of a physician, was raised in a refined and cultured home, and pursued his studies in the Historical-Philological Faculty of the Moscow University. He began taking active part in the revolutionary movement as early as 1904 and was arrested in that year and deported, after a period of incarceration, to the Government of Vologda, where he was placed under police surveillance. In 1906 he succeeded in making his escape and lived "illegally"* in Russia for six years. In January, 1912, he was obliged to emigrate and lived successively in Paris, London, and New York. From the very beginning of his revolutionary activity, Kerzhentsev was a member of the Bolshevik section of the Russian Social Democratic Party, with which he has been associated ever since.

Kerzhentsev is chiefly prominent as a writer and author. Among his many books and pamphlets, several deal with political and social conditions in England, where he spent three and one-half years, such as "The New England", "Revolutionary Ireland", and "England and the English". His other books are also concerned with cultural questions.

Kerzhentsev is considered in Soviet Russia as one of the foremost theoreticians and creators of the new proletarian theater. His book "The Creative Theater" is particularly popular and passed through four editions in two years. Another important work of Kerzhentsev's, "Toward the New Culture", treats the foundations and methods of the Communist civilization.

Kerzhentsev, as a further indication of his pioneer work in the new Socialist culture, was one of the foremost leaders of the *Proletkult* (Organization for Proletarian Culture).

Kerzhentsev's book "The Newspaper", became a textbook for Soviet journalists all over Russia. Beginning with the spring of 1919, Kerzhentsev was at the head of the Rosta office (Russian Telegraph Agency), which established branches all over Soviet Russia during his incumbency.

He is one of the founders and the present chairman of the "Press House", at Moscow, an institute for journalists, etc.

His productivity as an author is very great and covers many varying fields. One of his plays took the first prize in a competition for plays for the Workers' Theater.

Finally, Kerzhentsev's activity as a member of the Russian Peace Delegation at Dorpat during the peace negotiations with Finland is generally known.** Kerzhentsev is a professor at the Socialist Academy, Sverdlov University, and also at the University of Moscow.

—Vienna Office of Rosta.

* To live "illegally" means to undertake to move about and take domicile without the necessary papers, or with false papers.
** An interview with Kerzhentsev on the subject of the conclusion of these negotiations was printed in *SOVIET RUSSIA* for December 18, 1920 (Volume III, page 609).

DIES FOR LENIN

A few days ago there went through the newspapers of the world a false report of Lenin's serious illness, occasionally varied by rumors of his death. These reports were based on a confusion of Lenin with another well-known person named Karpov, whose name was considered to be one of Lenin's pseudonyms, and who really did die in Moscow on January 6 after a long illness.

Soviet newspapers, particularly *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, devote very warm eulogies to Karpov, reviewing his activities, which have been very important for the welfare of Soviet Russia.

Lev Yakovlevich Karpov was a member of the presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy. He had been a member of the Russian Communist Party. After the November Revolution he became one of the organizers and leaders of the Supreme Council of National Economy and upon him lay the extraordinarily difficult task of rebuilding Soviet Russia's chemical industry. He performed great things in the way of establishing a number of new branches of this industry.

Karpov has given much pleasure to the counter-revolutionary press by affording them another opportunity to report Lenin's death. But it is not the last such opportunity, nor yet the last report of Lenin's death that will come before Lenin actually dies. When that event really does take place, much of the joy of it will already have been discounted by exaggerated preliminary instalments.

In Next Week's

Soviet Russia

G. ZINOVIEV—*The Progress of Soviet Organization.*

An account of the extent to which organization has been accomplished and an outline of problems still facing the workers. Discusses employment of bourgeois specialists, vital statistics, cooperation of trade unions, etc. (An address delivered at the Eighth Congress of Soviets in December.)

LEON TROTSKY—*The Single Economic Plan.*

Takes up the necessity for a certain type of administrative centralization.

ARTHUR J. WATTS—*Care of Children in Soviet Russia.*

Mr. Watts represents the Society of Friends in Russia. He tells an interesting story based on what he saw of the practical working out of the Soviet Government's plans for the welfare of the children.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

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This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

THE reader will find elsewhere in this issue some material of interest in connection with the progress—if progress it may be called—of the trade negotiations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. The manner in which the British Government is delaying the proceedings is well shown by the repeated announcements in the American press that new obstacles have been encountered in the negotiations. But is it not only in the American press that we read of such difficulties.

The Russian press continues its discussion on the question of the Anglo-Russian commercial agreement. In *Izvestia* of December 31, Steklov subjects the English proposal to a sharp criticism, saying, among other things:

"The English Government solicitously safeguards the interests of its citizens by attempting, in article 3, to withdraw them from the jurisdiction of the Russian national laws. But you would seek in vain in the proposed plan any guarantees for the interests of Soviet Russia, even of commercial interests, not to mention political interests.

"In exchange for the products received from England, Soviet Russia must send its goods to England, or, preferably, export gold and objects of value. If these objects, gold, or other objects of value, are not absolutely guaranteed against any attempt to seize them, all talk of trade between the two countries is illusory. The English Government promises not to take the initiative in confiscating Russian gold, valuable objects, or commodities, that may be imported into England, unless these can be proved to be the property of the British Government, and provided they are exported to England as payment for goods imported from England. All this is ambiguous, unclear, and evades giving any guarantee to Russian interests.

"Who can guarantee that gold, valuable articles, or commodities may not be confiscated under the subterfuge that such funds are not intended as payments for English goods? Who is to decide this question, the Russian or the English Government? The English Supreme Court, perhaps? Why not simply provide for a guarantee for all Soviet Russian funds that may be imported to England by the Russian Government or its agents?

"But the English Government guarantees absolutely no protection to Russian funds. To be sure it promises that it will not take the initiative in

confiscating such funds, but suppose private individuals, English or foreigners, should take this initiative in English courts? What then? Will the English Government in such a case guarantee the Russian funds? The British proposition says not a word to that effect."

On the subject of Great Britain's legal attitude toward Soviet Russia, Steklov mentions the case of a certain factory in Staraya which was nationalized quite some time ago by the Russian Government. A certain Reval firm named Luter started an action in an English court against the nationalization of this factory. The English commercial court made use of the fact that the Soviet power had not been recognized by the British Government and denied the Soviet Government the right to nationalize or requisition, and that on *Russian territory*, and on the basis of this fact declared that the firm of Luter was the proprietor of the disputed factory.*

Steklov concludes his article as follows:

"We cannot have any confidence whatever in such courts. Unless we have the guarantees we ask, a commercial agreement would be purposeless and the resumption of commercial relations a dangerous experiment."

ESTHONIA, like Latvia, is a Russian border-state whose bourgeois population is occasionally inclined to glorify the achievement of its independence. Like Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland—Esthonia, in the language of its bourgeois beneficiaries, "struggled heroically for its independence", and got it. This independence is of an interesting kind, although not at all exceptional in the world of today. The first ally of the Esthonian bourgeoisie in this heroic struggle, after the Tsar had abdicated and new alignments were necessarily the order of the day, was the German army of occupation, which was received in February 1918 with shouts of hurrah, flowers, cakes, and music, in gratitude for having "delivered" Esthonia from the Soviets and driven out the Red (Esthonian) troops. After the flight of the Kaiser and the erection of the new German Empire under President Ebert in November, 1918, as a consequence of the military collapse of Germany, the Esthonian worthies naturally sought the aid of the victor in their battle with the Esthonian proletariat. Already on December 28, of the same year, the "heroic defenders" of Esthonia requested the commander of an English cruiser in the port of Reval to arrange for an English occupation of independent Esthonia, to protect it against invasion by Red *Esthonian* troops. Like all other bourgeoisies, that of Esthonia also practices the doctrine of keeping its "eye on the main chance." But British imperialism plays a longer game than that—and perhaps on the whole it is the longest and most intelligent game of all the imperialisms—and never really accomplished an open occupation of Esthonia, for British im-

* An interesting discussion based on a similar case of denial of Soviet Russian sovereignty appeared in *SOVIET RUSSIA* for January 22, 1921, by Lincoln Colcord (page 97).

perialism sometimes considers psychological values and at this period of the world's history knows better than to occupy small nations by open use of military force, except as a last resort. But England occupied Esthonia in every other sense, paid for a "White" police, made Esthonia the base for Yudenich's later attack on Petrograd, and in every way afforded employment for counter-revolutionaries in Esthonia, in putting down the Esthonian proletariat.

While it is by no means a part of our task to seek to condone the misdeeds of the late Tsar and his retainers, we shall take the liberty to communicate a few statistical data which show that the Tsar was not always as bloodthirsty as a triumphant "heroic bourgeoisie" can be. The Tsar took, in expiation for the death of the Esthonian-German Baron Budberg, murdered in Esthonia in 1907, the lives of only half a dozen proletarians, while the Public Prosecutor of "independent" Esthonia, named Temant, found it necessary to kill not less than 250 proletarians because Baron Büxhowden and a few of the lesser Baltic nobility were killed in the insurrection on the island of Oesel in February, 1919. Even an Esthonian social-patriot, the wretched M. Martna, the author of a long book glorifying the accomplishments of the "independent" Esthonian Republic, is forced to admit, speaking in a session of the Esthonian Constituent Assembly (September 7, 1920), that the present form of government is fully as tyrannical as the Tsar's. He does not say it is more tyrannical, but he could say so without exaggeration.

One of the most striking incidents in the "restoration of law and order" in Esthonia we cannot refrain from citing, although it is only one of many, and not even the worst. On August 30, 1919, there assembled at Reval a National Congress of Trades Unions, with 412 delegates. All were for peace with Soviet Russia, and as a peace proposal from Soviet Russia was en route to Reval, it was felt by the Esthonian bourgeoisie that the Congress might achieve the dreadful step of making peace between the two countries inevitable. To prevent this terrible consummation, 102 of the more radical delegates were arrested and spirited away; 76 were later delivered near Soviet Army trenches from armored trains in a manner to suggest that they were hostile troops, thus drawing the fire of the Soviet rifles. Fortunately none were hurt and all were gladly welcomed by the Red soldiers; the remaining 26 were executed in the night between September 5 and 6 at Izborsk, near Pskov, on the southeastern border of Esthonia, and portions of their clothing, sold at the market place in Walk by Esthonian officers, for private profit (note the survival of the noble impulse to rise at the expense of one's neighbor, to pass over corpses, even in little Esthonia!), were the first indication to the outer world of the crime that had been committed.

From the opening of the German revolution (November, 1918) to the conclusion of peace between Soviet Russia and Esthonia (February, 1920), the number of victims of the White Terror in Es-

thonia was about 2,500, out of a total population of about 1,120,000. During the same period, the number of Esthonian soldiers who fell in open battle against the Esthonian Red troops, the Soviet Russian Army, and the Baltic *Landwehr*, was altogether only 1,000. Internal counter-revolution is often more bloody than petty "international" warfare.

And Esthonia is only one of the border-states. The tale in the other states would be different in no essential feature. This is a foretaste, on a small scale, of the bloodbath that would ensue in Russia if a "democratic" Constituent Assembly should come to power and the Soviet Government be overthrown.

* * *

WHEN Jean Efremoff, "Russian Minister to Switzerland", wrote to Montgomery Schuyler, Secretary of the "American Central Committee for Russian Relief", that "there can be no doubt that the government of resuscitated Russia would consider as a debt of honor any expenses made to relieve its distressed citizens", he must have meant this: any aid now given to counter-revolutionary persons or organizations will be gratefully remembered by the beneficiaries of such aid, and will be requited in kind if they should ever return to power. Even the *New York Globe*, not a Bolshevik paper, in its issue of February 17 comments on this statement as follows: "The reference here is apparently to the hope that the anti-Bolshevist Russians may some day regain control of the Russian territory." Yes, apparently that is the reference, and the "resuscitation" of such a Russian will be quite a job. Particularly pleasing is the *Globe's* comment, elsewhere in its article:

"The reference to 'Russia' and to the 'Russian Government' made in this article does not refer to the Soviet Government, at present in control of Russia. Apparently the reference is to the former Kerensky Government, representatives of which met recently in Paris."

For it is gratifying to observe even one daily newspaper waking up to the fact that it is rather ridiculous to speak of a Russian Government that died three years ago as if it were still alive.

* * *

DR. SIMONS, present German Minister for Foreign Affairs, is said in a recent Paris message to be about to propose to the London Conference a means by which European powers will be able to raise money in order to repay the great loans which they expect to obtain from the United States. The world is to be divided into zones, and each industrial power is to exploit its zone for raw materials and commercial penetration. Germany's zone would be Russia. As French sources now point out, this would make Russia a German colony. In spite of asseverations to the contrary, we are certain that if Allied imperialists do not themselves intend to exploit Russia directly, they will yet permit Germany, or any other power ready to do the work, to make the attempt to subject and enslave the Russian people.

Letters from Soviet Russia

By MAX BARTHEL

(Translated from the German for SOVIET RUSSIA.)

I

Moscow, November 30, 1920.

THE German bourgeois papers were full of reports of counter-revolutionary activity. In Smolensk all the regiments were said to have mutinied, and uprisings were reported in Moscow and Petersburg, which had been choked in blood. I was in Smolensk at the time and heard and saw nothing of the rebellious regiments. It is true that in the last days of October a counter-revolutionary conspiracy was discovered in Moscow and a number of arrests were made.

Soviet Russia is preparing for the Third Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution. Grey cities are adorning themselves with red flags, and every morning the workers and soldiers in Petersburg march in long processions singing the profound revolutionary song. In Petersburg these days there was a great exhibition of vegetables and machines. The workers of Petersburg had laid out great gardens during the summer, the fruits and products of which were now exhibited on Nevsky Prospekt. You could see potatoes and cabbages, tomatoes and beets, cucumbers, and great yellow and red melons. Instructive placards indicated the productivity of the hitherto unused soil. The exhibition of machinery included the products of Soviet machine shops. There were plows, printing presses, leather goods, chemicals, and objects of wood. The primitive exhibition rooms had been installed in the great bazaar on Nevsky Prospekt, and adorned with red cloth in the Soviet symbols. After three years of civil war and revolution, Petersburg, Soviet Russia's vanguard city, establishes an exhibition! These exhibitions, are among other things, a visible sign of the economic rejuvenation of the country. A city which, according to the accounts of the bourgeois press, is perishing of hunger, can surely not afford to pile up mountains of melons, heads of cabbage, and potatoes for purposes of exhibition.

Petersburg again took the lead in placing its street cars at the disposal of traffic without payment of fares. The cars are not more full than before, in other words, they are packed full and people hang on to the running board like grapes from a vine. Beginning with the day of the anniversary of the Revolution, electric light will also be furnished free. Gas, water, and house rent also are provided at no cost to the worker. The "naturalization" of pay for work (the transfer from payment in money to payment in kind—natural products) is the Socialistic task of the Soviet power and is about to be realized.

The third anniversary of the Revolution was more quiet and more thoughtful than before. The Russians have been fighting for three years and you cannot keep yourself in a permanent state of exaltation. The evening before the anniversary there was a session of the Petersburg Soviet in Smolny

Institute at which Zinoviev, who had just returned from Germany, delivered a magnificently outlined speech on the present situation. In the midst of the speech reference was made to the dead. All stood with heads bared when the funeral march of the Russian Revolutionists was played. On the same evening, Clara Zetkin, who was about to return to Germany, also delivered a speech. Toward midnight a troop of sailors arrived in Smolny. At their head was the Red Flag guarded by rifles. The sailors were laughing, and those still in the building hastened to gather together in the middle of the night for a meeting. There were meetings everywhere that night, and on the next day wreaths were placed on the graves of the fallen heroes of the Revolution. The Mars field was festively adorned: there were many green pyramids of fir branches and in the middle of the square, where the dead lie, a great round tower of dark green.

Next evening, about 10 o'clock there was to be a dramatic performance on Uritsky Square. A whole city had been built up of arched bridges and houses painted in impressionistic colors. It was raining, but the play was nevertheless given. Expressionism and cubism—although they are now declared in the latest publications of the Proletkult to be decadent phenomena of disintegration, continue to live a gorgeous life in many placards and in most of the Rosta posters. Now it is cool and sharp, and these gay butterflies look pathetic in the light of day. But they were very pretty when it was still summer.

Not much has changed in the theaters of Petersburg and Moscow. The old plays and pieces of the bourgeoisie are still being performed. But the audience has changed, for the tickets are distributed through the trade unions. Political plays may be seen in the Proletkult productions, and in summer in the open air theaters. In the Marinsky Theater (Petersburg)—a splendid interior of blue and silver—we saw a ballet of French importation. It was a sentimental pantomime of chivalrous romance. Cupids and unrequited love were the poor outline in which graceful dances moved. In Moscow there are more political plays. Often these are clownish performances, with the worker ever victorious and the wicked bourgeoisie ever soundly thrashed. From these plays—living posters—in the most intoxicating colors, yellow, blue, red, and full of aggressive energy, out of these primitive plays of simple triumph the great political drama will one day arise.

Vorwärts said of the Russian village that the children run around naked, and the men have no shirts, and everybody goes about in rags. I saw Russian villages in the vicinity of Smolensk and Minsk. The Russian village has many provisions, few manufactured products. There is a lack of salt and petroleum. I saw no one running around

naked, although it was still summer. In many villages linen is woven. The peasants suffer from lack of clothing. In the vicinity of Moscow a peasant last summer furnished milk every day for a whole month in exchange for a pair of trousers. Now, in autumn and winter, the clothing situation is better, for all are dressed in their sheepskins: men, women, and children. The same report in *Vorwärts* also said that all the village schools had been closed for lack of wood to burn. This is a lie. There is enough wood in the villages, at any rate the village schools around Smolensk were running. At the noble estate of Preobrasensk this winter a big school was opened in the palace for the children of the vicinity, and this school was especially adapted to the needs of fifty children from Smolensk. There were six women teachers in this palace. I also had a fleeting glimpse of a village in Ukraine, in which there seemed to be about the same conditions of life. By the way, great masses of cloth are sent to the provinces from Moscow to distribute, as well as salt, soap, petroleum, scythes, and agricultural machines from the industrial cities, in order to conquer the village in a bloodless attack.

We saw a few days ago in Moscow a troop of thirty peasant men and women exhibiting to Red Army soldiers their primitive art: songs, dances, wedding games. These games, songs, and dances are endless and melancholy, timeless and spaceless—like the great Russian plain.

Moscow the Golden, the barbarous village with its gold cupolas and Asiatic spires, its white squares, is now covered with snow. The street cars are not available for passenger traffic, as they use them to transport wood, and the Communists going to the Subbotniki on Sundays. The electric light functions very well. Even in the suburban streets arc lights are burning and in the evening almost every room can be seen brightly illuminated. The people in Moscow, as well as in Petersburg are very well dressed as compared with those in the provinces. The food condition is much improved. While only 40 to 60 per cent of the rations could be given out last summer, there is now 70 to 80 per cent, in spite of the poor crops. But the children always get 100 per cent.

II

Poltava (no date)

We arrived at eight in the evening. The railroad station is again more than filled with soldiers and workers. Music, flags, and salutations. The Chairman of the Soviet is a Galician, tall and red-headed, an old Revolutionist. Manuilsky says he is one of the best workers. In the vicinity of Poltava, Makhno is active. A few days ago the city was alarmed, for he was only eight miles away. The comrade already believed that we had been waylaid by Makhno, as our train was much delayed. Representatives of the Poltava Workers greeted us in German. The refrain of all speeches is always: "Comrades, help us."

A meeting takes place outside of the railroad station. I deliver a speech in Poltava.

"Comrades, a train arrived once before at this railroad station, and in that train were German soldiers, a captain commanding them, and they treated you with the gun stocks and hanged you from a portable gallows. They covered themselves with blood. Blood can only be expiated with blood. The German workers are washing off the shame of the war period with their blood. The best and the bravest have fallen in this struggle. The German proletarians have made unheard of sacrifices, but he who sacrifices much will gain much.

"Germany's flag is still black, red, and gold. We shall extinguish the gold with our blood. We shall fight until we are able to raise the flag that you also have raised: the flag of the Soviet Republic!"

After this meeting we drove through broad streets into the hilly green city. Cossacks on wild horses galloped along by our side. We drove to the Palace of the Children. The iron dictatorship is filled with the tenderest affection for the growing generation. The Palace of the Children is a large and beautiful house with bright rooms. These rooms are decorated with cheerful mural paintings, child-like and happy. Flowers and animals, landscapes and fairy tales. We passed through this whole house accompanied by a laughing host of children. We saw their workrooms, their charming little pictures and paper toys. We saw the labor school and the natural history collection, the library and the zoological museum, the gymnasium and the great room for games. In this house there are several hundred children of Poltava workers. We heard Ukrainian songs and witnessed delightful dances.

Then we went to the theater. Manuilsky, People's Commissar for Agriculture, introduced us. He delivered a great speech on Serrati, and Lefebvre, and Humbert-Droz, the Swiss-French priest, who is now on the side of the Revolution. He made his introductions as one who has precious things to disclose. One of these precious things was myself.

Another meeting was held outside of the theater in the cool starlight night. In the foreground was a cordon of soldiers, then a thick wall of human beings, limited by another cordon, this time of Cossacks.

I delivered a speech that night.

"During the war Germany was the backbone of reaction. Wherever the Germans marched, the cities burned and the earth steamed with human blood. Berlin was the great general staff of reaction, where the nets were spun for the strangling of freedom.

"The German workers are now marching, but they are marching to conquer their freedom. A new general staff has been formed, the Third International at Moscow, and this is the general staff under whose direction the German workers will succeed in placing the bourgeoisie in chains, and in crushing them." Then we drove in the cool of night through the sleeping city, which reminds you much of Toscana. Dashing Cossacks on unbroken horses, galloped as fast as your autos. The trot of horses,

steaming nostrils, cries of Cossacks, sparks, cool wind, and unspeakably beautiful stars. A sweet sensation of liberty, voluptuous and melancholy. In the railroad station the peasants and workers are lying on the bare floor, looking like gray soil themselves. We depart and roll on through the night. In my ear is still the twittering of the little children of Poltava, as well as the heaviness of sleep. Before I fall asleep I think of an inscription that I read in the Palace of the Children:

"Liberty and Education belong together like fire and heat. One cannot be without the other."

Of Poltava there still remains to be said that it is a city of 140,000 inhabitants, with 2,000 members of the Communist Party and 300 members of the Communist Youth. From seven in the morning, three thousand people waited for us at the railroad station at eight at night there were still two thousand standing there.

Our train passes through fields, with peasants

at work, plowing with four or six oxen. The land, the soil, fairly shrieks for steam plows. At every single bridge Red soldiers stand on guard. At the way station of Romadan, which looks like a jail, we meet an armored train and an international regiment going to the front. On the station building there are two pictures, to the left Shevchenko, the great Ukrainian revolutionist and poet, and to the right of him, Karl Marx. The soldiers at the station are in rags and almost all are barefoot. All have weapons, many of them have revolvers shining uncovered in their belts.

Misha is the leader of the Ukrainian Communists. A splendid Caucasian type, blue eyes, high brow, white of head and beard; he has been in the revolutionary movement for forty years. We speak of social poetry and he says that they have four or five workingmen-poets in the Caucasus and that—as is the case in Germany—the young intellectuals sympathize with Communism.

Menshevism and Counter-Revolution

By N. LENIN

[The following speech was delivered at the conclusion of the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow last December. It points out how grave is the responsibility incurred by those who aid the counter-revolution by opposing the Soviet Government.]

I HAVE been reproached for having recently advanced a new theory of a new period of wars to come. I have no need to cite history in order to show on what I have based my assertions. We have just finished Wrangel, but Wrangel's troops still exist somewhere not far away from the borders of our Republic, and are awaiting something. Whoever forgets the danger which will constantly threaten us as long as world imperialism exists, who forgets that, forgets our Labor Republic. To tell us that we are carrying on secret diplomacy, to tell us that we must not wage any war unless we are compelled to in self-defence, when the sword is still raised above our heads, when, notwithstanding the hundreds of our proposals and our liberal concessions, not one of the great powers has concluded peace with us, to say this means to repeat the old phrases of petty bourgeois pacifism which have long ago lost their sense. If, in the face of our active hostile enemies, we accepted the propositions made to us, and gave assurance that we should never resort to certain actions, which might be construed as offensive from the military-strategical point of view, then we should be not only fools but criminals as well. What are these pacifist phrases and resolutions leading us to? The consequence to be drawn from them is that they want to bind the Soviet Government hand and foot although it is surrounded by enemies, and give us up to the mercy of the imperialist robbers.

When the unity of the proletariat is mentioned and it is said that we are breaking up this unity, it is difficult to listen without a smile. We heard here of the unity of the proletariat; but we have

now learned from experience, that the unity of the proletariat in the period of the social revolution can be accomplished only by the extreme revolutionary party of Marxism, only by a merciless struggle against all other parties. (Stormy applause.)

They talk to us about arming the whole people, they repeat this old slogan of the bourgeois democracy at a time when among the people the most decisive struggle of the classes is being waged.

I had the pleasure yesterday to be present at a small private meeting of non-partisan peasant delegates of our Congress, and I learned very much from their discussions about the most acute problems of village life, about the problems of food, ruin, and need, which you all know. And the most manifest thing in these debates was the fact that they showed plainly the great difference and the struggle which is carried on between the poor and really toiling peasants, and the rich ones and idlers. The greatest significance of our Revolution lies in the fact that we have succeeded in introducing not only theoretically, but in practice, this fundamental problem of the social revolution to the lowest layers of the peasantry, to the politically most backward mass of the non-partisan peasantry. At present, in all villages of great Soviet Russia, our political and economic measures are being discussed at length, and the peasantry sees for itself in whose interests these measures are being passed. In the most remote corners, the question of the toiling peasant and the rich one is discussed and made plain. Sometimes the discussions are too hot and passionate, but at any rate, the peasants come to

understand that it is necessary to assist the toiling peasant and oppose the assaults of the rich.

The class struggle has become a reality in the village among the great mass of the peasants, and we have done and are doing everything to insure that this struggle is carried on consciously. And if after all this, the leaders of some special "International" come to us and talk about arming the people, we feel as though we were being turned into pupils of the preparatory classes in the questions of Marxism and Socialism. To forget about the class struggle, which is carried on all over the world, means to help involuntarily the imperialists of all the world against the struggling proletariat. The slogan of our enemies is the arming of the "people"; but we stand on the basis of class arming. By this we conquered, and shall conquer in the future. (Great applause.)

The representatives of the Mensheviks and of the Social-Revolutionaries have said to us here that we should not have adopted such a decision as that of concessions without a special people's council; and they have asked us why in our economic policy we do not introduce the principle of labor equality (in the resolution of the Social Revolutionaries it was called "Labor Government" (*trudovlastie*) and in the resolution of the Mensheviks, it was somewhat changed to "equality of the toiling of the city and village"). But all these phrases about labor government and equality of labor amount to an agitation for the independence of the trade unions from the proletarian class government. Together with the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, the whole Western European bourgeois press is troubling itself about this "independence".

When Martov appeared at the Congress of the Independents at Halle and had an opportunity to talk without being constrained by the disagreeable dictatorship of the Bolsheviks, what was the result? The result was, that a few days later, the speech of Martov appeared as a fine dish on the columns of the most reactionary and imperialistic press of England. This press was thankful to Citizen Martov for disclosing the "designs of the Bolsheviks". When such speeches are delivered in an atmosphere of the struggle of world imperialism against us, what else are they but a part of the politics of the Entente? Of course, one might say that this idea of toil government, etc., is simply petty bourgeois nonsense. But, as a matter of fact, it is only a part of the politics of the Entente. Tomorrow, if there is an agent of the Entente present here, your speech, Citizen Dan, will be delivered into all capitalist countries and it will be printed in millions of copies and used to deceive part of the class-unconscious European workers.

According to Citizen Dan, I have defended only the principle of compulsion in the question of labor discipline. The representative of the Social Revolutionaries was more accurate, and said that I defend compulsion on the basis of persuasion. The best answer to this is our whole policy. We do not maintain that we are carrying on the thing without making any blunders. But, please, tell us

what the blunders are; show us how else the thing could be done. We have not heard here about any other way. Neither the Mensheviks nor the Social Revolutionaries say: "Here we have to deal with need, with the poverty of the workers and peasants, and this is the way out of this poverty." No, they do not say that. They only say that what we do is compulsion based on persuasion. Yes, we can not deny that. But we ask you, Citizen Dan, do you uphold this or not? Here is the essence. Answer to the point—yes or no. Neither yes, nor no. You see, they just want to chat about labor government and our infringement of the liberty of the peasants. But who are the peasants? Why, our Soviet Constitution says, that peasants are toilers, men of labor; this kind of peasant we respect and we consider him a brother of the workers with all their rights. Without that peasantry, we would not have been able to make a single step in our Soviet policy. There is a fraternal treaty between the toiling peasantry and the workers, confirmed in our Soviet Constitution. But there is another element of the peasantry, that element which creates the speculative markets. I hope that any gathering, even of non-partisans, will comprehend this thoroughly. Do the peasants who are engaged in speculation, represent the toilers: this is the essence of the economic problem of the village. The peasants, petty householders, and workers—are distinct classes, and we shall eliminate the difference between them when we destroy the bases of petty holdings and create the new bases of the gigantic machine economy, as I have pointed out in my report. This is an economic necessity, and the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, who have spoken here, are only babbling about some labor equality of workers and peasants. These are only words which have no justification in economy and which are denied by scientific Marxism. Take our revolutions in Siberia and in Georgia, take the experience of the international revolution, and you will see for yourself that the fine talk of labor equality is mere deception.

Dan has said here that there is an order in the office of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to the effect that the October amnesty should not be applied to the Mensheviks. Dan has merely tried to play a game. It is hard to believe that the Presidium or the Operative Section of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, or any other would be giving directions and making their own explanations of a decree of the Central Executive Committee, and would construe it to mean that amnesty is not to be applied with regard to the Mensheviks. What conclusion was intended by Dan? It is quite clear: the Extraordinary Commission gives orders and governs the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. But we who are in the government, can we believe it? The 70 to 80 per cent of Communists who are sitting here know perfectly well that at the head of the Extraordinary Commission is Comrade Dzerzhinsky, a member of the Central Executive Committee and of the Central Committee of our party, and that there are six members of

the Central Committee of our party in the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. Of course, nobody could think that under such conditions there is any possibility of the Presidium of the Extraordinary Commission or of the Operative Section giving any rules or governing the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. It would make anybody laugh to hear such an assertion as that made by Dan, and, of course, there is nothing interesting in it. But I hope you will get hold, a few days from now, of some bourgeois newspaper of Western Europe or America with a circulation of half a million or a million, and you will see printed there in heavy type, that Citizen Dan has disclosed that the Extraordinary Commission gives orders to and governs the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. (Long and stormy applause.)

After Lenin's speech, Comrade Boguslavsky proposed in the name of the Communist Party the resolution introduced by the Communist fraction of the Congress, and Comrade Kalinin put to a vote both resolutions, that of Comrade Boguslavsky and the one proposed by the Mensheviks. There was not a single vote for the resolution of Dan. The resolution proposed by Boguslavsky was adopted by the Congress unanimously.

The Resolution on Lenin's Report

"Having heard and discussed the report of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, the Eighth All-Russian Congress of the Soviets indorses completely the activity of its government."

Unfriendly Georgia

(A special interview by the correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" with Litvinov.)

REVAL, January 15.

I have interviewed Mr. Litvinov on the subject of Georgia. Mr. Litvinov explicitly denies the rumored break of diplomatic relations between Georgia and Russia. "It has frequently happened," he said, "that direct communication between Tiflis and Russia has been broken, and consequently it is impossible to keep in touch with our representative in Georgia. He has merely gone to Baku for the purpose of convenient communication with the Russian Government. He is still at Baku, and will return to Tiflis when the present conflict is happily settled."

"Then there is conflict?" I said.

Mr. Litvinov replied: "Certainly. The attitude of Georgia is extremely unfriendly, and she has not kept the agreement made with us. Thus, after Wrangel's collapse, Georgia agreed to hand over the Russian ships at Batum, instead of which one ship after another mysteriously disappears. I have just heard that the large ship Prinzip has gone to Constantinople.

"The Georgians are fermenting trouble among the mountain tribes of Daghestan. Georgia has occupied the neutral zone on the Armenian frontier. The Georgians refuse transit of our goods, naphtha,

etc., to Soviet Armenia. They are continually arresting our representatives and releasing them after our protest, but the arrests continue. By the terms of our agreement with Georgia the Communist Party in Georgia is legalized and should enjoy the same rights as the other political parties. This agreement has not been kept, and thousands of workmen have been sent to jail on the suspicion of being in sympathy with Communism. Either Georgian policy towards us is a deliberate policy of pinpricks or the Georgian police are not under proper control of the Georgian Government."

"You do not think these grievances will lead to war?"

Litvinov replied: "That depends on the Georgians. We have nothing to gain by war, nor would a revolution in Georgia mean any material gain for us. Even from the point of view of propaganda we prefer to have democratic republics on our borders, confident that in time the comparison between the two forms of government will be to our advantage. We are interested in preserving the integral independence of Georgia, though in case of aggression on her part we would give unreserved support to Baku and Azerbaijan.

"It is unfortunate for everybody that Georgia pursues such a shortsighted foreign policy based on fear. We have reason to believe that she is negotiating with representatives of the Angora Government for a partition of Soviet Armenia. Here her policy is probably dictated by fear of Turkey. We, of course, do not think that such negotiations will have any result, because we are confident that the Angora Government would not accept proposals tending to destroy the excellent relations existing between the Turks and ourselves. Again, fear of Russia leads to the foolish Georgian belief that it is to her advantage that war in Russia, no matter what kind, should continue. She knows that a White victory would be her own death-knell, but thinks that continued war, by weakening Russia, strengthens her own position.

"Again, her own economic condition is so bad that perhaps the Georgian Government looks to a permanent war scare as a means of keeping the nation together, and, by holding up the bogey of Russia as an enemy, enables itself to discredit the Georgian Communists by calling them 'traitors'. We, however, have no aggressive designs. We ask for the delivery of Russian ships according to the agreement, diplomatic immunity for members of our mission, and the stoppage of intrigues with Daghestan mutineers. If, having good relations with Georgia, we can use Batum as a transit port in the same way that we use Reval, we want nothing more."

Manchester Guardian.

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Treaty between Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine

[The close relation existing between the two great Soviet Republics is strengthened by the following new treaty between them.]

The Government of the Russian Soviet Republic on the one hand, and the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic on the other hand, on the basis of the right of self-determination of nations, proclaimed by the great proletarian revolution, having recognized their respective sovereignty, in view of the necessity of uniting their forces for defence and mutual protection, and also in the interest of economic reconstruction, have determined to conclude a true treaty and have for this purpose appointed as their plenipotentiaries the following: as representatives of the Russian Soviet Republic, the President of the Council of People's Commissars, Vladimir Ilyich Ulianov, and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Georgyi Vassilyevich Chicherin; as representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, the President of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars, and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Christian Georgevich Rakovsky. These plenipotentiary representatives have reciprocally inspected one another's credentials, and finding them completely satisfactory, have come to the following agreement:

1. The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, and the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, conclude with each other a military and economic treaty;

2. Both powers consider it necessary to announce that all obligations they may in the future incur toward other states may be conditioned only by the common interests of the workers and peasants who have concluded a true treaty of alliance between the two republics, and that the fact of its formerly having belonged to the former Russian Empire, does not involve any obligation for the Ukrainian Soviet Republic toward any other state;

3. To facilitate the execution of the desiderata indicated in Par. 1, the two governments declare that the following Commissariats are hereby united: (a) Army and Navy, (b) Supreme Council of National Economy, (c) Foreign Trade, (d) Finance, (e) Labor, (f) Communications, (g) Post and Telegraph;

4. The united People's Commissariats of the two republics become members of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Republic and have their plenipotentiary representatives in the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, which is appointed and controlled by the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Soviet Congress;

5. The regulation and the form of internal administration shall be determined by individual agreements between the two governments;

6. The conduct and control of the combined Commissariats shall be in the hands of an All-Russian Soviet Congress of delegates of workers,

peasants, and Red Army soldiers, but also of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, to which the Ukrainian Soviet Republic shall send its representatives, on the basis of the decisions of the All-Russian Soviet Congress.

7. This treaty is subject to ratification by the corresponding supreme legislative bodies of the two republics. The original is drawn up and signed in two copies, in the Russian and Ukrainian languages, at Moscow, December 28, 1920.

UNITY OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS

In a leading article appearing in a recent number of *Pravda*, it is stated that the Eighth Congress has had a greater importance for Soviet Russia than any of the preceding congresses. We quote from the article the following paragraph:

"This Congress met at a crisis in our Revolution, when we had terminated our armed struggle against our external and internal enemies, and we were preparing ourselves to take up the work of reconstructing our economic life. Therefore this Congress devoted but slight attention to questions of foreign policy or to military affairs, in other words, to the subjects on which the Soviet power had hitherto concentrated the greater part of its attention. The Congress devoted all its forces and all its attention to immediately remedying economic evils, and the construction of a technical basis on which the Communist social structure might truly be erected."

After pointing out the concrete measures that had been taken in the matter of this economic work, *Pravda* continues: "The enemies of the Soviet power have declared that the latter is strong and united only so long as it must struggle against its enemies arms in hand. They have predicted that the end of this struggle would necessarily bring about a division and disunion within the ranks of the Communist Party and deprive it of the support of the great non-partisan masses. The Congress proved the contrary to be the case. Never have we been so united as at the present hour. Formerly there was always an opposition at the congresses against the predominant tendency. At the Eighth Congress there was no such opposition. The elections went off with uncommon unanimity and what is more, never before did the non-partisan working masses support the Communists as they do now."

OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS

of the

Russian Soviet Government

during the months of July to December, 1920, were sent to England, Hungary, Austria, Poland, France, Rumania, Italy, Bulgaria, Finland, Turkey, and Persia.

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Russia and Great Britain

By G. STEKLOV

[The following editorial appearing in "Izvestia", Moscow, on December 30, 1920, from the pen of the editor of the official organ, is of interest as a reflection of the attitude of the Soviet Government toward the negotiations with Great Britain, of which the two documents following it are also an expression.]

FROM the very first day of the November Revolution the Soviet Government never stopped proposing peace to England. In the course of three years the English Government either did not pay any attention at all to the proposals of the Soviet Government, or by every means postponed its answer, at the same time continuing its hostile operations against Soviet Russia. After a long series of procrastinations and postponements, there was some hope, in the course of last summer, that the question concerning the conclusion of an agreement between these two nations was finally to become a matter of actuality. In its note of July 7 the Soviet Government declared its readiness to accept the principles put forward by the British Government on June 30 as a basis for an agreement between the two countries. Moreover, our Government, at that time as well as later, emphasized the fact that it considered the plan suggested by the British Government as a kind of an armistice between Russia and Great Britain which ought to prepare for the conclusion of a final peace. The terms of the latter were to be the subject of special negotiations between both governments. Besides, the Russian Government had always taken the stand that negotiations concerning the commercial agreement should be accompanied by negotiations of a political character, or that the negotiations concerning a political agreement should begin immediately after the conclusion of the commercial agreement.

For almost half a year the British Government has in every way been protracting negotiations, and now at last it has submitted to us a draft of a commercial agreement which is hardly of such a character as to be considered by the Soviet Government as being in the interest of both parties. First of all, most striking in this project is the absence of the basic characteristic of similar international agreements, namely, reciprocity. The English draft imposes upon the Soviet Government a great number of one-sided obligations, and even in those points in which the draft gives the obligation a reciprocal character, it consistently emphasizes the special and double contract obligation and responsibility of the Russian Government in contrast to the British. Moreover, in violation of the spirit and the letter of the foregoing negotiations, the English draft bears a kind of final character and remains silent as to the peace conference which, according to the Russian proposals, was to follow the trade agreement and settle all questions at issue between the two governments. We get the impression that the English Government does not want this peace conference, but that it has not decided to say so openly.

As if it foresaw that all its foregoing policy towards Soviet Russia would place it in an unenviable position in a peace conference, it decided to elude this difficult question by converting the trade agreement into a political one, and at the same time giving it an entirely one-sided character. For, indeed, does this document constitute at all a purely commercial agreement? It is sufficient to glance only at its preamble to come immediately to the conclusion that we have before us a draft of a political agreement which moreover is drawn up in an extremely one-sided spirit. Taking upon itself hardly any obligations, and rather unequivocally emphasizing its refusal legally to recognize its contracting party on whom, however, a great number of very serious obligations are imposed, the British Government has so much been carried away by its role of the party that dictates the agreement, that among its demands upon the other party it includes also the obligation to refrain from any hostile activities against British interests, not only in Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan, and India, which England considers her colonies and possessions, but even in the Caucasus, an important part of which belongs to Russia and as far as we know no part of which belongs to England. This is, of course, only a detail and the British Government seems to be inclined not to anticipate events, and for the time being does not include the Caucasus in the number of its colonies, but this detail is very characteristic of the whole spirit of the English draft.

Every clause of this draft contains some reservation, and the meaning of all these reservations tends to the one purpose of giving the English Government a free hand should it in the future intend to proceed against Russian citizens and the Soviet Government. Whether it is a question of the kind of goods the importation or exportation of which is permitted, or whether it is a question of merchant ships, their captains and crews, of future representatives of the contracting governments and of their rights, or of the citizens of both countries to whom it will be permitted to settle down in the countries of the contracting parties,—immediately after the general statement there inevitably follows some reservation, the aim of which is explained by the entire contents of the document in question and its general character of extreme onesidedness.

Only a victorious country could impose such one-sided obligations on a conquered country. But Soviet Russia does not at all consider herself a conquered country, and much as she desires a speedy conclusion of peace, she feels no inclination at all to accept humbly the ultimatums that are dictated to her. For three years England has been fighting Soviet Russia, for three years she has been

arming our enemies, killing our citizens in the North, in the East, and in the South, and nevertheless she has not been victorious in this conflict. On the contrary, since all her agents have been crushed, since her undertakings against the Soviet Republic have been failures, and since the Soviet Government after a three-years' war having recovered almost all Russian territory, has concluded peace with almost all of her former enemies and is now much stronger than she ever was—it should be admitted that the beaten party was the English Government. From this fact Soviet Russia by no means draws the conclusion that she is entitled to impose upon anyone one-sided obligations for the benefit of her own specific interests, but at the same time she is unflinchingly determined to reject any attempts to impose upon her a foreign will that is contrary to her interests.

Humanity needs peace. It is also necessary to Soviet Russia in order to enable her to begin peaceful reconstruction. To obtain this peace the Soviet Government repeatedly has shown its readiness to make concessions. But at the same time it always emphasized that its yielding has certain limits and that it will never permit anybody to treat Russia as a conquered country.

The Recall of Krassin

(A Statement by the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs)

A certain time ago there was published the note of Lord Curzon of June 30, in which there were indicated those four principles on whose acceptance, as a basis for an agreement, the English Government was prepared to enter into commercial relations with Russia.

One of these principles was the reciprocal obligation to abstain from hostile activity and direct or indirect official propaganda against the political and social structure of the other party. Literally: "More particularly, the Soviet Government will abstain from any attempt to cooperate with the peoples of Asia by military actions and propaganda in any form of hostile activity against British interests and the British Empire."

The second principle is the repatriation of the prisoners of war. The third principle is the recognition of the obligation to pay compensations to private individuals who are citizens of the other country for commodities and personal services rendered, for which they have not been paid. The ultimate settlement of the question concerning the debts was to take place on the occasion of the peace negotiations, but the above declaration of principle had to be made immediately.

The fourth principle is the acceptance of conditions for the conducting of business. The British Government, immediately after the acceptance of these principles, was to consider these questions with the representatives and experts designated by the Soviet Government.

In the note of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of July 7 it was declared that the Russian

Government accepted the principles of the English note of June 30, as a basis of an agreement between Russia and England, which has to be a subject of negotiations between them, to begin without any delay.

Of the above mentioned principles there has been settled in the mean time the question of the repatriation of the prisoners, and the details of the commercial agreement proper have been elaborated and are still being elaborated in the negotiations between Comrade Krassin and the English Government. The settlement of the debt question shall take place at the future peace conference. As for the political negotiations concerning the reciprocal cessation of hostile activities and propaganda—they have not taken place, but not through the fault of the Russian Government.

The English Government, which not long ago was standing by the principles of the July agreement, has now radically altered its position. In its draft trade agreement there are no longer any indications as to the impending political negotiations, and the passage concerning the reciprocal cessation of hostile activities and propaganda has the character of a final decision, while, according to the agreement of July, this point should enter into force only after its provisions had been agreed upon at an English-Russian conference which was to take place later.

This point, moreover, substantially enlarged, contains an enumeration of those countries to whose peoples the Soviet Government must take care not to give any assistance in any activity whatsoever that may be harmful to British interests. All these obligations are also extended to Russian private individuals.

When, on December 22, Krassin met Lloyd George, Bonar Law, and the Minister of Commerce Sir Horne, the English Prime Minister declared that he insisted upon mentioning Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan, and India in the agreement, and that he was ready to accept the omission of the Caucasus only. The English Government has also refused to submit this question to a future conference, as was requested by the July agreement. As a concession, it would assent that also those countries should be enumerated in which England should refrain from hostile activities against Soviet Russia. It agreed also to omit mention of the extension of this obligation to private individuals and to replace this with a reciprocal obligation not to countenance any hostile propaganda against the other party outside its frontiers and to give corresponding instructions to its officials.

In view of the fact that England openly declines the obligation which it accepted in the July agreement, the Soviet Government has decided to recall Comrade Krassin to Moscow for further consultation.

—*Petrograd Pravda*, December 30, 1920.

AGENTS WANTED

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Chicherin to the British Government on the Trade Negotiations

The following is the text of the reply of the Soviet Government to the draft proposals submitted by the British Government, as it appeared in the *Petrograd Pravda*, December 30, 1920, addressed to Curzon:

The Russian Government, having through Mr. Krassin received the draft trade agreement of the British Government, wishes to point out that the fundamental political principles dealt with in the above draft have already been agreed upon by both parties as laid down in the British memorandum of June 30 and in the Russian note of July 7. This refers both to the question of mutual abstinence from hostile action and official propaganda, and that of the compensation to private citizens who had supplied goods or services to Soviet Russia. It was further agreed that the acceptance of these principles as a basis of all subsequent political agreement, all further details, and the elaboration of the political agreement should be referred to the pending conference of delegates and experts properly nominated by both governments. The British Government in its memorandum described the condition that would be created between the two governments by the adoption of these principles as an armistice preceding the conclusion of peace. In its answer of July 7 the Russian Government emphasized with no less clearness that it was adopting the proposed principles as the basis of an agreement which would be the object of negotiations subsequently to be conducted between the two governments. The Russian Government on its part sent for this purpose a plenipotentiary delegation to London, but unfortunately the British Government, by forcibly eliminating one member of the delegation after another, has been deliberately avoiding for five months any discussion, and thus postponing the carrying into effect of the agreement concluded. The Russian Government is therefore not a little surprised to find in the draft now presented to it the principles agreed upon altered and particularized in such a way as to suggest a considerable amplification and extension of the engagements of one part, namely of Russia. It can be well understood that the British Government had been temporizing in coming to a final agreement with the Russian Government, in the hope that the war with Poland and the mutiny of Wrangel might go against Soviet Russia and thus make the latter amenable to harsher terms than those accepted by it in July when the fortunes of war seemed to the misinformed outside world to be in the balance. But now that the conflict with Poland is obviously nearing a peaceful solution and the last organized forces of the counter-revolution have been utterly crushed, now that peace with Finland has been concluded and ratified and the popularity of Soviet Russia is growing from day to day both in the west and more particularly in the east, one fails to see on what expectations the British Government bases its attempts to impose upon the Russian Republic new obligations as to which no discussion has taken place and no consent has been obtained from it. Although in spite of its repeated friendly and peaceful assurances the British Government, during the interval in the negotiations, has on many occasions been a party to acts injurious and detrimental to the interests of Russia, as for instance in the case of Bessarabia and of Danzig, the Russian Government, true to its peaceful intentions, declares its readiness to abide by the basis of the agreement of June-July, but much as it would like to see trade with Great Britain renewed, it is not prepared to go beyond that agreement or to alter therein a single point without properly conducted political negotiations at which both parties can formulate their understanding of the main principles and meet each other's desires by way of mutual concessions as laid down once more by the Russian Government in its note of November 9. In that note the Russian Government expressed once more the view that the trade agreement between Great Britain and Russia would have to be accompanied or followed by negotiations of a political nature, namely in London or some neutral city selected by mutual consent. As to mutual abstention from hostile

action and propaganda, and recognition of claims of British citizens for goods delivered and services rendered to Soviet Russia, it is quite ready to mention in the trade agreement the simultaneous adoption of the principles as worded in the exchange of notes of June 30 and July 7 as of the basis of a subsequent elaborate agreement which must be the object of a political conference between Russia and Great Britain. The engagements which Russia will enter upon towards Great Britain in every particular political question referred to in this respect, will be discussed and negotiated at this conference parallel with engagements which Great Britain will enter upon towards Russia. Such has always been the basis on which the Russian Government was ready to bind itself as to its action in different parts of the world, particularly in Asia in its relations towards Great Britain, and it does not see any reason why it should adopt a new attitude in this respect. The preamble of the proposed draft and article eight must therefore be removed and replaced by a simultaneously adopted repetition of the principles laid down in the June and July notes as of the basis of the pending conference. As to the other articles of the draft strictly referring to trade, their final formulation will have to be discussed between the British Government and Mr. Krassin to whom the necessary instructions are forthcoming. The final draft will then have to be forwarded to the Russian Government for examination and adoption. Parallel with the negotiations as to the trade agreement or immediately after this has been signed, and independently from such signing, the political conference provided for in the June and July notes will have to be convened in order to settle on the basis of the principles agreed upon all outstanding political questions between Great Britain and Russia. The Russian Government hopes that the British Government will agree with it as to the expediency of a speedy reply and of a prompt solution of all pending questions and that it will meet the sincere desire of the Russian Government for establishing peaceful and friendly relations to the mutual advantage of both parties.

CHICHERIN.

RUSSIA WILL NOT BETRAY EASTERN RACES

MOSCOW, January 15.—In a letter written for *Izvestia*, Steklov, the editor, again treats the Anglo-Russian peace negotiations, and remarks that the English Government, which had at first refused to enter into any other than a commercial agreement with Russia, is now asking that the agreement be made to depend on political questions, and that it requests an extension of the July understanding. The English Government's demand is this: Russia is to declare that it is entirely disinterested in the fate of the Eastern countries. Steklov states that while Russia is ready to undertake not to interfere in the internal affairs of England, it cannot on the other hand undertake to deliver up the Eastern races bound hand and foot to the British imperialists. If Soviet Russia should do this to the countries who live under the iron rule of British imperialism, and who are considered by Russia as its natural allies against British imperialism, such a step would completely discredit Soviet Russia in the eyes of the peoples of the East. The English imperialists cannot expect that Soviet Russia will be so simple as to enter this trap. England is not ready to make any concessions, in spite of the fact that diplomacy operates by means of a certain degree of mutual consideration. The Soviet Government has gone as far as it could in its readiness to meet the English demands half way, but has not met with a similar attitude on the part of England.

Wireless and Other News

THE DAILY SLANDER

Moscow, January 12, 1921.—In the *Izvestia* of yesterday, Steklov has a leading article: According to the latest newspapers and wireless despatches from foreign countries, Soviet Russia is preparing to attack Esthonia, Lettland, Georgia, Rumania, and even the whole of Middle Europe. Imaginary speeches of Soviet leaders are published which call for the setting up of revolutionary governments by the force of our arms. The work of fiction is completed by accounts of our plans to murder the leading statesmen of foreign countries. Our neighbors will, however, remain unmoved by these slanders, but it is of great interest both to them and to us to learn in whose interests they are being launched. It is not a mere repetition of the attacks of our counter-revolutionaries, although they have a finger in the pie. We hear of the plans of the German General Hoffmann. We learn that the British General Malcolm confers with the representatives of Semionov in Berlin. But the cause of all is to be found among the French agents. France reorganizes the remnants of the Wrangel bands. Pilsudski has gone to Paris to talk with his bread-givers.

MISREPRESENTATIONS DENIED

HELSINGFORS, January 13, 1921.—The Finnish Peace Delegation which has just returned from Moscow reports that the situation is good. The general impression is that stable conditions prevail. By a visit to the Kremlin they ascertained that the art treasures were undamaged and well taken care of.

DEMobilIZATION IN RUSSIA

Moscow, January 12, 1921.—In Mohilev the demobilization of the Red Soldiers was the occasion of great celebrations. Before leaving, the Red soldiers took a vow to work just as hard on the working front as they had fought on the military front and upon the first call to hurry back to the colors.

LATEST NOTE TO HUNGARY

The Hungarian Government, which maintains its rule by murder, slaughter, tortures and banditism, as well as those representatives of this caste, who at present are in Russia, are responsible with their lives for the acts which the Hungarian Government will commit toward the Commissars of the People and the Russian prisoners of war. They have to blame for this not us, but their own government, because the latter forces us to resort to the only means that is in our possession to save those of its victims whose rescue is our plain duty.

We suggest to you to start negotiations in Reval with our diplomatic representative Litvinov, who for this purpose will provide himself with all the necessary powers and who together with your representative, will arrange the form of the impending negotiations.

The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

TELEGRAPH COMMUNICATIONS WITH RUSSIA?

COPENHAGEN, January 4 (NCP).—*Nationaltidende* prints a rumor which the newspaper found confirmed when it applied to the Great Northern Telegraph Company, that this company had recently been negotiating with Sweden and Soviet Russia for the purpose of resuming telegraph communications with Russia. According to the report, no definite agreement has as yet been arrived at, but at the offices of the Great Northern hopes were expressed that the matter might soon be regulated.

RUSSIAN AGRICULTURE

Moscow, January 12, 1921.—According to one of the resolutions of the Eighth Soviet Congress the preparation of an agricultural program for the whole land was approved. Not a foot of land must remain unworked, and it is the duty of the peasants to fulfill their responsibilities to the Communist State.

Moscow, January 12, 1921.—At the present moment all the efforts of the Commissariat of Agriculture are being directed to the erection of repair shops for agricultural machinery. Specialists are being sent where required. It is hoped to work out a plan by which there will be a repair shop in each province, and that one-fifth of the ploughs and one-third of the seeding machines will be attended to.

SOVIETS IN THE CRIMEA

Moscow, January 12, 1921.—In the Crimea, where only a short time ago all the horrors of war were to be seen, the people are now working feverishly to make good the waste of war. The city of Sebastopol now has an electric light service. The surplus power is being used for the neighboring villages.

Moscow, January 12, 1921.—Engineers, technicians, and other specialists who were unemployed in Yalta, have been sent to other parts of the Crimea where they will work in the factories.

Moscow, January 12, 1921.—The soldiers of the Red Army have set several chemical factories in operation. In the district of Baydar the development of the mineral resources has been undertaken. In Kerch the development of the naphtha resources is being feverishly undertaken in order to increase the output. On the railways great activity also exists.

CHINA DISARMS WHITE GUARDS

Izvestia reports: The governor of Chinese Turkestan has reported to Peking that 2,000 Russian White Guards who had crossed the frontier have been disarmed.

THE CULMINATING ATROCITY

Moscow, January 7.—The Commissariat of Labor in Sebastopol has sentenced four thousand speculators to compulsory labor.

PUNISHED FOR AIDING SOVIET RUSSIA

Three German workmen were recently tried by jury at Stuttgart (Württemberg), for a breach of law of which they were accused in connection with operations to prevent the delivery of supplies to the enemies of Soviet Russia. The charge was that in August, 1920, they destroyed three gun-carriages belonging to the firm of Daimler, on which occasion they were said to have been the ringleaders of a mob of at least one thousand persons. The workers at the Daimler factory were under the impression that these gun-carriages were intended for Poland in its struggle against Russia, and had demanded that the carriages remain under the supervision of the workers in the Daimler works. The management categorically refused to discuss the subject. The angered workers thereupon proceeded to break up the bodies of the carriages by the application of oxy-hydrogen flames. The prosecuting attorney characterized the attitude of the workers and of those "behind" them as hostile to the state. After a two-day's trial, the jury rendered a verdict of guilty. Comrade Rösch was sentenced to one year in prison, Comrade Merk to four months in prison, and Erich Gentsch, shop steward, was acquitted.

JAPAN MAKES TROUBLE IN MONGOLIA

Izvestia reports: According to reports from Urga the Chinese Government had proofs of the part that Japan is playing in the Mongolian troubles. A Japanese major has been captured who was the leader of the undertaking against Urga. From him it was learned that 44 Japanese officers were serving in the Russian White Guards.

NEW FACTORY IN NOVOROSSISK

Izvestia reports that the Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Economic Soviets has received a telegram from the trade union center of metal workers at Novorossisk, stating that the Yussov factory at Novorossisk has begun operating a blast furnace. This new victory on the labor front was gained through the energetic work of the workers and the administrative and technical personnel, thus greatly raising the hopes of the workers, who have promised to devote all their energies in the struggle against the economic decline.

IMPROVED CONDITIONS FOR WORKERS

Moscow, January 12, 1921.—*Pravda* writes that it would be quite possible greatly to improve the lot of the Russian workers by relieving them of the small household duties, such as washing, repairing, etc. It is absolutely necessary to establish laundries, shoe repair shops, etc. Workers must be given small articles of household necessity, such as dishes, etc., and even toys for the children. It demands that the local authorities shall at once undertake some measures, however small, in order to make an improvement.

SHIP FOR POLAND HELD UP

Berlin, February 14.—Communists yesterday prevented the departure from Kiel of the former German steamer *Franz Zahl*, now sailing under the English flag. The Communists had been informed by the English crew of the steamer that the ship was carrying arms and munitions destined for Danzig and assumed that these were meant for Poland.

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The Single Economic Plan

By LEON TROTSKY

[The Commissar of War, as is well-known, is in favor of a rigid centralization in all government activities. The following is the first instalment of his latest statement on unification in the economic field.. We expect soon to receive an even more important expression from Trotsky on this question.]

1. *The Various Industrial Commissariats should be United*

CAPITALISM runs the industries of a country without a plan. But society cannot exist without a certain unity in production. This unity, continuously broken and reestablished is maintained under capitalism by the law of supply and demand, by the rise and fall of prices, by the ebbs and flows of the "free" market.

The Socialist organization of industry begins with the liquidation of the market and, in consequence, suppresses the "free" play of the law of supply and demand, which is the regulator of the market. The result aimed at, to carry on production in accordance with the needs of society, must be achieved by the singleness of the economic plan, in principle embracing all branches of industry.

One of the first acts of the Soviet Government was the creation of the Supreme Council of National Economy. The original ideal was to concentrate in this council the entire economic life of the country including production as well as distribution. The Commissariats of Supply, Agriculture, Ways and Communications, Finance, and Foreign Trade, were to be sections of this council. The organization of this Supreme Council was planned and partly carried out in accordance with these all-embracing problems. However, the object aimed at has not been achieved owing to economic as well as formal organizational reasons.

Had we taken over the capitalist mechanism in working order, our problems in matters of organization and technique would have been incomparably

easier. We should have had a relative equilibrium between the main branches of industry. Production, which is the main lever of economic progress, would have passed into our hands in the process of its "normal" development. The growing predominance of industry in the economic life of the country would have found its natural expression in the organization of the Supreme Council of National Economy. Taking the interdependence of the various branches of industry bequeathed by capitalism as a foundation, the Supreme Council could have elaborated the single economic plan, the chief part of which would be the energetic and uninterrupted development of industry. But the sheer march of events, the class war, and the needs of the proletarian revolution, placed this hypothetical eventuality out of the question. We took over the capitalist heritage after the war in a state of great disorder. The war industry had disturbed the relative and unstable proportion established by capitalism between the various branches of industry through the interplay of the free market. The proletarian revolution, having assumed the form of civil war, has withdrawn the workers from industry at the most critical period, and in its turn, contributed further to the demolition of the old industrial relations and ties and even of technical bases, such as whole industrial centers, various workers with their equipment, etc.

We were thus denied the possibility of building our economic plan as a continuation of the economic process (introducing corrections, more exactness and unification) which, with all its capi-

talist anarchy, nevertheless managed to maintain some unity. We could not base our practical measures on the calculations of private capitalist business and the industrial statistics of the capitalist state because the economic heritage received by us did not correspond to the situation as reflected in the old statistics.

Thus the material as well as the organizational conditions needed for the elaboration of a single plan embracing all the branches of economic life, were lacking. Therefore the original plan of the one center embracing the whole of the economic life of the country was doomed to failure. Moreover, there was the danger that, in the absence of an economic plan and of the conditions necessary for the same, such a single center might bring about a soulless bureaucratic centralization.

The elaboration of the single economic plan progressed much more slowly, more deviously, and in greater zigzags than it was previously imagined. Before the supremacy of industry could be established over the other branches of economic activity, it was necessary to create some more or less efficient and centralized organization of food supply. The same applied to agriculture, finance, railway, water transport, and foreign trade. Finally, and this is the most important, industry itself, before it could subordinate the departments of transport, food supply, etc., to its needs, had to get together its disjointed parts first of all and have them registered, i.e., it had to create its own machinery of centralized administration.

It was impossible to speak seriously, during this period, of the single economic plan, and still less of the leading role of the Supreme Council of National Economy in respect to food, agriculture, transport, finance, and foreign trade. The Commissariats for Food, Ways and Communications, Agriculture, Finance, and Foreign Trade have built up their organizations and elaborated their methods of management quite independently of the Supreme Council of National Economy. And now, when the work of centralized construction has been completed in rough outline, we are faced by the fact that the Supreme Council of National Economy has actually become the Commissariat for Industry, (existing side by side with the Commissariat for Food, Ways and Communications, etc.). True, in the composition of the Supreme Council of National Economy there still remain some "Centers" (Centro-Textile, Centro-Leather, etc.), and institutions which protrude from this Commissariat for Industry, like so many broken pieces of the original and incompleting plan, and which look like casual out-houses or . . . a sort of ruins. It would be radically wrong to assume that the transition from the period of "Centrocracy" (i.e., the rule of "Centers" centralized on vertical lines, badly coordinated in all their work, and not fully linked up organizationally), to Socialist centralization, i.e., to an economic system based on a single plan, will bring us back to the original idea of the Supreme Council of National Economy. The problem appears now in a radically different aspect. It must be stated first

of all that the centralization of the different branches of industry, in production as well as in distribution, has already found expression in the separate Commissariats. Within the Supreme Council of National Economy, which is the Commissariat of Industry, certain branches, such as textile, metal, fuel, etc., have developed into independent centralized centers, the coordination of whose work is as yet to a large degree a problem of the future.

The machinery of management of industry (the Supreme Council of National Economy) must be simplified and all the cumbersome growths and additions removed from its body.

Unity of management must be assured in respect to all the Economic Commissariats.

II. *The Positive and Negative Sides of "Centrocracy"*

The spread of "Centrocracy" was a necessary stage in the development of the Socialist industrial order. Much is being said about Soviet bureaucracy, its vices, and the necessity of combating it; "Centrocracy" has undoubtedly developed many vicious features of bureaucracy; a soulless formalism, procrastination, etc. But it must not be forgotten, and this is the essence of the matter, that the Commissariats and the Centers which we have created and are creating, however clumsy they may be in many respects, are not something casual and harmful, but something necessary. I mean the administrative Soviet bureaucracy without which no state, so long as it continues to be a state, can exist, i.e., during the transition stage to Communism. Bureaucracy has not only negative but also positive features: as for instance, a closer acquaintance with particular branches of management and industry, a clearly defined grade of interrelations, definite methods of work acquired by long practice, etc. This apparatus of Soviet bureaucracy (party or non-party) has taken the place of home-made methods, and of primitive chaos, and therefore represents a necessary stage in the development of our state.

This is not understood by many of our comrades, particularly by those who, out of hatred for "bureaucracy", are against general organizational contact between, and complete amalgamation in, particular branches of the administration of the water transport and that of the Commissariat of Ways and Communication. Some of these comrades say that by such means the machinery of the Centro-Water-Transport is being bureaucratized. This reproach, when used in the sense indicated, ceases to be a reproach. The centralized organization of the railway transport remains so far a model which has not been attained in water transport even during its capitalist period, when it was utterly disconnected and disjointed. The problem of creating and evolving a good bureaucratic apparatus (proper building up of departments, sections, etc., accuracy and promptitude on the part of the staff, good connections, proper bookkeeping, and office work), has not yet been solved. The reproach we hear so often that the Soviet institutions have become "infected" by the vices of the old bureaucrats,

(formalism, delay, etc.), does not touch the root of the matter. So far, we suffer not so much because we have acquired the bad points of bureaucracy, but because we have not acquired its good points.

Procrastination, captious formalism, and organizational helplessness are not the outcome of the bad habits acquired by the Soviet institutions, but have their root much deeper, in the temporary structure, in the transition stage of our industries and their administration. "Centrocrcacy" is a necessary stage of development, but it creates desperate situations and exceptional difficulties in matters of organization which only outwardly assume the form of departmental procrastination, but in reality are the result of the lack of coordination not only between the various centers and departments, but also within each of them. We steer our course towards the single economic plan, but this single plan is not here yet. Moreover, we have not even the machinery for the elaboration or for the carrying out of such a single plan.

We have centralized (so far very incompletely) various individual branches of industry, but none of these can live and develop without the others. Their interdependence, locally and at the center, is inseparable, and any break in this connection creates the greatest difficulties. The more or less well thought out, regular, uniform organs needed to secure the smooth cogwheel working of the services, the various branches of industry mutually feeding one another, are almost lacking. However imperfect our Economic Commissariats are at the center, nevertheless everyone of them covers its ground and keeps a register of the component elements of its industry, a register which, however slow, is constantly improving. The most acute organizational difficulty, with consequent procrastination, begins as soon as there is a question of coordinating the work of various economic departments and securing the necessary contact between them.

Here we have not passed yet from the experimental stage of creating auxiliary, temporary, and extraordinary organs, collegiate as well as individual.

For the purposes of securing the necessary labor power for the economic organs, a new interdepartmental organ has been created—the Centro-Labor, which is immediately subordinated to the Labor and Defence Council; this in its turn represents a combination of the military and administrative departments formed with the object of removing the more acute differences arising in their current work. For the purposes of providing the Red Army with ammunition and clothing, it was found necessary to create a new extraordinary organ, incorporating it with the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. A similar organ has been created for the Food Supply of the Army, called the Centro-Army Supply. To coordinate the claims of various departments upon our transport, an interdepartmental Supreme Council for Freight and Carriage was established under the Commissariat of Ways and Communications. The Principal Transport Com-

mittee was established for the purpose of fully coordinating the work of the railway workshops, etc., under the authority of the Supreme Council of National Economy, with those of the Commissariat of Ways and Communications. This Principal Transport Committee subsequently formed auxiliary organs. A number of interdepartmental committees, with a varying degree of authority, were formed under the Supreme Council of National Economy. There is a permanent committee for supply to workers at the Commissariat for Food. These auxiliary organs (of contact, coordination and regulation), which make the current daily work at all possible, provide the necessary link between the isolated Centers and the Commissariats.

The Commissariats and the Centers were obliged to take stock, however roughly, of their property, and put matters in order in every branch. Thus work was accomplished without which one could not speak seriously of Soviet economy. The interdepartmental institutions and the temporary organs of coordination have proved very valuable material for the elaboration of more regular and permanent methods of coordinating the work of the various departments and consequently for the elaboration and carrying into effect of the Single Economic Plan.

Now at last we have the possibility of coming into close grips with this problem.

(To be continued)

TROTSKY SUMMONS A CONFERENCE

RICA, January 29.—At the Conference on the scientific organization of labor, which gathered at the suggestion of Trotsky, papers were read by the well-known academician Bekhterev, on the national exploitation of human labor power, by Yermanaki on the question of *guardianship*, and by Dubelions on the scientific organization of production. After hearing a lecture on the advantages and disadvantages of the Taylor System, the Conference proceeded to the deliberations of its various sections. The Section on Labor Psychology was addressed by the well-known Russian psychologist Professor Chalpanov, on the following subject: "The tasks of the psychology of labor." The section for railway transportation concluded its work on the 28th of January.

WHAT RUSSIA HAS DONE

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Theses on the Work of the Soviet

By G. ZINOVIEV

ZINOVIEV was intrusted with the report on paragraph 6 of the order of the day of the Eighth All-Russian Soviet Congress, "On Regulation of the Activity of Soviet Organs of the Center and in the Country, and on the Fight Against Bureaucracy". The presidency of the Central Executive Committee makes public the following theses of Zinoviev on this question:

Danger of Bureaucracy

1. One of the most important tasks which the Soviet power had already set for itself in the first period of its existence, was the creation of a government machine which would stand as closely as possible to the masses, and be the least bureaucratic and simplest possible, a machine in which each worker, male or female, could find his place intelligently. Bureaucracy means literally: the domination of the government office, neglect of the real nature of a thing together with a more or less punctual execution of its form,—thus may the present bureaucracy be characterized, although it may not by any means be entirely confused with excessive punctuality in carrying out formalities, which are really indispensable in the colossal work of a state. The danger of bureaucracy was already visible in the first period of the proletarian revolution. As early as two and a half years ago the Soviet Government first sounded the alarm and gave warning of this danger. A significant place was granted to the question of the fight with firmly established bureaucracy in the party program of the Eighth and Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party. But under the influence of external conditions the bureaucratic disease was ever assuming a more severe and chronic form. Experience has shown that a long period of time is necessary for transforming present Soviet Russia into a real organism (Commune). The growth of bureaucracy in the first three years of the existence of the Soviet power was above all conditioned on the following principal factors:

Economic Ruin and Poverty. The Soviet power took possession of the country at a moment when the powers of production and the old machinery were almost destroyed. The growth of bureaucracy was effected, for example, through such factors, as the breakdown of the means of transportation. If the organs of traffic are able to despatch only the most limited number of passengers and goods, there results as a consequence, involuntarily, a complicated system of filtration of those desirous of travel, through a large number of administrative offices, through the system of travel licenses, etc., etc. If the scanty supply of materials for shoes, which the Soviet power provides, must be apportioned under unfavorable conditions among a very large number of needy people, a no less complicated system likewise arises, which increases the acute shortage of paper. And if the country is unable to provide any

fuel, there naturally result many misuses in wood rationing; so, for example, in large cities, as a defensive measure against theft and smuggling even the scantiest wood transports are provided with protection licenses which again give occasion to new bureaucratic outgrowths. These examples can be multiplied without end.

Even in the early days of the proletarian revolution, in consequence of the attack of world imperialism on the workers' and peasants' republic, the Soviet power was compelled to create an ever larger Red Army. The success of the Soviet power in the matter of the organization of a Red Army proved the life power of our great Revolution, for only that revolution is worthy of being called won, which knows how to defend its gains with an armed hand. But on the other hand, the necessity of maintaining an army for a long period of time, must exercise its unfavorable influence on the Soviet structure.

Bourgeois Specialists

2. Bureaucracy consists not only in writing too much. The conditions of an arduous civil war, which consumed almost the entire work of the worker-and-peasant state (to the extent of almost nine-tenths) in an outright struggle for existence on the part of the directly threatened Soviet power—these conditions did not permit Soviet Russia to approach systematically and quietly the erection of a vigorous and simple administrative apparatus. All interests were subordinated to the tasks of war. The front could not bear even the slightest delay. New offices and commissions were created in the greatest hurry. As a result, the apparatus did not become simplified, but complicated. All the best forces and means of organization had to serve the Red front. Disputes over jurisdiction, especially in the provinces, made this service impossible. Even the central organs of the Soviet power suffered the same fate. The best responsible administrative powers proceeded to the front. The role of the bureaucratic elements and their influence grew in a similar relation.

The cultural level of the masses of the people and the inheritance of Tsarism—illiteracy—must on the other hand unavoidably check the process of attracting larger masses of workers and peasants for administrative work, particularly in the first years of Soviet construction. The successes won in this field are significant in and for themselves, but they are only a drop in the bucket when compared with what is yet to be accomplished here.

The bringing in of bourgeois specialists for the economic and administrative structure was absolutely necessary and unavoidable. But the less reliable portion of the specialists, who completed their work without spirit and without energy, brought the worst traditions of the bourgeois bureaucracy into our economic and administrative organs. In view of these malpractices by the worse elements of the bourgeois members of the intelligentsia, that part of the work-

ers and peasants which has been won for direct administrative work is particularly angry with the specialists. For that reason there exists an ill feeling towards intellectual workers which is so often unjust. But the inconsiderate contempt for "specialists" who have been branded as bureaucrats, although in some cases nothing can be said against them, has nothing to do with the real struggle against bureaucracy. The whole complex of these conditions furnishes that difficult environment with which the assembling Eighth Congress will have to reckon,—a Congress which will be convened at a moment when we have already completed the first part of the war. The period of the civil war is approaching its end. For that reason, the Eighth Congress, which raises the question of the fight against bureaucracy, must not point to the fact that this conflict consists in the restriction of the amount of red-tape in the Soviet offices, but above all it must root out the previously mentioned causes for the increasing power of the bureaucracy. To fight against bureaucracy means to fight against economic ruin, to fight against poverty, to raise the cultural level of the people, to win back the best administrators of the Red Army for Soviet work, to admit more proletarian elements into the cultural offices, to simplify the system of our economic and administrative organs and to put life into the activities of the rural Soviets.

Reconstruction Work

3. This work must be begun in the provincial Soviets and its organs. In three years of proletarian revolution, the Soviets have made considerable progress. In the first period, immediately after November 7, the Soviets were, above all, organs of revolt and of seizure of power. In the second period, approximately until the victory over Wrangel, the Soviets were, above all, organs of the universal mobilization of the masses for the war. At present, at the time of the convening of the Eighth Congress, the third period begins.

The Soviets must become, above all, the organs of mobilization of the masses for the reconstruction of domestic administration. In view of this new administrative perspective, one must recollect what was said in 1917 regarding the meaning and the role of the Soviets: the Soviets are organs in which there is found the provision of the freest and most organized course for the masses, the Soviets as organs into which there is always assured the infusion of fresh strength from the "lower strata"; the Soviets as organs in which the masses learn at the same time both law-making and the execution of their own laws. It is absolutely necessary to adhere to the holding of regular new elections in the Soviets. Provision must be made not only for the regular convening of plenary sessions of the Soviets and their executives, but also for this—that in these sessions, not only shall questions of agitation be discussed, but also the most important administrative economic questions. That particular executive committee which has held no meeting during the period of one month without an adequate excuse,

must be dismissed. The sessions of the executive committee must be public and accessible to all workers and peasants. In large cities and in important industrial centers the executive sessions must be held alternately in different working districts, in factories, and in barracks. The same applies to the district Soviets, where such exist. Important questions of Soviet life have to be considered at mass-meetings with the cooperation of Soviet members at the right time and before the decisions go into effect.

Soviets and Trade Unions

4. Now, when the economic front has become the main front, a great task will be allotted to the trade unions. The role of the trade unions in production will continually acquire a greater importance. In a certain measure, the burden of work falls on the trade unions. The first task of the Soviets in the provinces is a systematic stimulation of the trade unions in the achievement of their tasks of production. The provincial Soviets should under no circumstances set for themselves as a task the supplanting in any way of the trade unions in the building up of production. On the contrary, by the coordination of their work with the trade union committees, they are to promote the activity of the latter and mutually to approach the goal of our struggles of today—the building up and increase of production. The entire complex of these measures is the best means of fighting bureaucracy.

Provincial Soviets

5. A step forward must be taken in comparison with the decisions of the Seventh All-Russian Congress, in granting to the provincial Soviets not only the right of control of the activity of different representations of the central organs in the provinces, but in granting the right of immediate participation in the activity of such organs. That concession would contribute at the same time to the simplifications of the activity of the central offices above all the economic offices.

The Central Executive Committee had instructions to work out during the period of one month, means for the transfer of function of certain plenipotentiary commissions of the central offices in the country to the provincial Soviets, that is, directly to the local proletariat. Wherever the corresponding decisions of the Seventh Soviet Congress had not yet been carried out through the fault of the local Soviet or of the central offices, this had to take place within a period of two months under the personal responsibility of the leader of the corresponding organs.

Skilled Workers

6. The recall from the Red Army of at least a preliminary number of skilled workers and of responsible Soviet employees must be promptly placed on the order of the day of the provincial Soviets. Experiments made in this field have proven to be very successful.

Central Executive Committee

7. Similarly, it is necessary to put life into the activity of the Central Executive Committee. The

Central Executive Committee must be called into session at least once in two months, as is provided in the decisions of the Seventh Congress. Based on the experience of three years, the Eighth Congress must present a series of general lawmaking questions to the jurisdiction of the Central Executive Committee. The laws, decrees, and orders considered here, must be made public by the Central Executive Committee quite some time before they go into effect, and before they are proposed for the deliberation of the country Soviets. The control of the Central Executive Committee over the activity of different Soviet organs in the country must be made more regular than has been the case heretofore.

Collegiums of the People's Commissariats

8. The Central Executive Committee in its new make-up, and the Council of People's Commissars receive from the Eighth Congress the urgent task of scrutinizing the composition of the collegiums of the People's Commissariats and of the collective important central organs. Into all these organs, fresh energy is to be infused, particularly proletarian elements, workers and peasants who have done active work in successful organizing.

Questions of Jurisdiction

9. Disputes about questions of jurisdiction which are multiplying rapidly, and in fact are occurring in all acuteness between different divisions of one office, are doing a great deal of injury to the upbuilding of the Soviet state, and in any case they are promoting bureaucracy.

For that reason, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, are instructed by the Eighth Congress, systematically to set boundaries between each other's activities so that above all, the paving of energy, the bare possibility of execution of work and the avoiding of duplication—would have to be taken into consideration.

Publication of Decrees

10. In all cases not of pressing importance, the Council of People's Commissars also makes public its decrees before putting them into effect in order to be able to take into consideration opinions and experiences of the Soviets, and in order to make corresponding changes. The first experiment should be made with the Agrarian Law.

Workers' and Peasants' Inspection

11. The institution of workers' and peasants' inspections must be extended, and must immediately effect an introduction of broader proletarian strata into administrative work as required by the decree of the Central Executive Committee of February 17, 1920. The Workers' and Peasants' Inspection Committee received exact, fixed, more extensive authority, that is, the bringing in of thousands of workers for the revision of the common kitchens in Petersburg, of the proletarian council of elders, of proletarian home administration, etc.

Simplifications

12. In their fight against bureaucracy, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, must critically examine the execution of the simplest state functions, for example,

the apportioning of provisions, the assignment of dwellings, forcible measures for the abolition of smuggling, registration of births and deaths, etc. In all these fields, the greatest possible simplification should be gradually introduced.

Utilization of Surplus Employees for Industrial Activity

13. With the cooperation of the trade unions, the wage scale and the number of officials of different offices in the central cities and in the country must be checked up, and the working standard of the employees of the Soviets, their quantitative relations, their working efficiency, etc., must be definitely determined. The mobilization of superfluous employees into productive work—e.g., for the war with illiteracy—must be strictly carried out. In doing this, care must be taken that these shifts of labor power should be considered not in the way of a punishment but rather as a more suitable utilization of their working energies. The superfluous employees could also be transferred, in accordance with their abilities, to useful work in the industries.

Raising the Efficiency of Production

14. The ending of the first period of the civil war renders possible a slacking of military activities, but at the same time it confronts the Soviet power with new and enormous difficulties. The psychology of our transition period is determined among other things by this: that exhausted masses of workers and peasants who suffer unheard of privations, are ever making more demands of the Soviet power, since they justify these by the settlement of the war. Here too some of our comrades committed gross blunders. Instead of pointing out to the workers and peasants that we cannot conquer poverty without raising the efficiency of production up to the maximum, instead of directing the attention of the masses to matters of production, instead of educating the type of worker-manager who can lead in production, instead of all this, we are often content merely with reviling the bureaucracy. The Eighth All-Russian Soviet Congress demands of all adherents of the worker and peasant power, to abandon this procedure as false and to fight the principal causes of bureaucratic disease in order to destroy them effectually.

In the three years of the existence of the Soviet power, there has grown up in the government, in the districts, and in the circuits, a new generation of active State workers which has gone through a good school of class struggle. The Eighth All-Russian Soviet Congress is convinced that just this new proletarian generation will be able to take up the fight against bureaucracy and to build up again the worker and peasant democracy in the Soviet. The fight against bureaucracy should in no case involve a weakening of our administrative forces and of discipline. On the contrary, all the facts of the moment demand of us a military punctuality in our construction work, that work, with all its self sacrifice, to which the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party has summoned all of our Soviets, party organizations, and trade unions.—*Petrograd, December 11, 1920.*

The Care of Children in Soviet Russia

By ARTHUR J. WATTS
(First Instalment)

[The following survey of the work of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the care of children is published by permission of the American Friends Service Committee. Mr. Watts forwarded this report from Moscow, where he has been for several months distributing relief supplies for the English and American Friends. Information regarding the relief work of the Friends in Soviet Russia may be obtained from the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.]

THIS report does not pretend to be a complete account of all that is being done by the Socialist State for the care and education of children. It is simply a general outline drawn from personal observation during a period of four months' work in connection with the distribution of children's clothing and food donated by the Friends Emergency and War Victims Relief Committee (England). There may be gaps, as I can only write of what I have observed or learned in the course of my work.

The People's Commissariat for Social Maintenance.

This Commissariat is responsible for the maintenance of the children of soldiers and sailors and of the disabled (by work or war). This is done by pensions to their mothers or in cooperation with other Commissariats.

The People's Commissariat for Supplies.

This Commissariat is responsible for the feeding and clothing of every child. This Commissariat supplies food and clothes to all the institutions of other Commissariats. It has special children's kitchens of its own and supplies food to children on the family ration cards.

Departments and institutions obtain their supplies of food and clothing from the Commissariat for Supplies and are not allowed to purchase their own. By this means competition in buying between departments is avoided.

Departments and institutions may receive gifts. These donated supplies often reach large amounts, as, for example, when the Red Armies captured large stores of condensed milk from Kolchak and in Archangel they gave them to the Commissariat for Health for use in children's houses and hospitals. The Navy recently sent several car-loads from Odessa to the Commissariat for Public Instruction. Institutions may also receive supplies from abroad and have received gifts from time to time from the Danish Red Cross, the Norwegian Famine Committee, and the English Society of Friends.

In addition some departments and institutions have established farms and workshops of their own to augment the supplies received from the People's Commissariat for Supplies.

Department for Protection of Motherhood and Infants.

This is a department of the Commissariat for Public Health and is responsible for the health of mothers and infants to the age of three years.

Maternity Exhibitions.

Very excellent exhibitions on motherhood and the care of infants have been arranged by this department in Moscow and Petrograd and smaller ones in the provinces. These exhibitions are divided into two sections, viz., pre-birth and after-birth. By means of charts, pictures, diagrams and models which the simplest peasant woman can understand, valuable instruction is given on all points connected with the care of the mother and child. Pictures illustrating the results of hereditary disease and of the need of greater care before birth form a prominent part of these exhibitions. Models showing the amount and strength of milk to be given at various ages and very descriptive pictures and diagrams indicate the advantages which a breast child has over one fed artificially. The proper clothing of infants is also very well illustrated by a series of models and I am told that this has had a very beneficial effect in causing mothers to abandon the Russian practice of wrapping their babies so tight that they could scarcely move.

Rest Homes for Mothers.

Every mother who performs manual work is entitled to eight weeks rest on pay before the birth of her child and a similar period following. In the case of sedentary workers the period of rest is for six weeks before and after the birth of the child. Special rest homes have therefore been established for expectant mothers, and for mothers with their children, where extra food is given and every care is taken of the mothers and infants.

Maternity Hospitals.

Unfortunately, owing to the lack of suitable buildings and equipment, there are not sufficient Maternity Hospitals in Moscow, and mothers have to leave them from six to nine days after the birth of their child; but a new combined Rest Home and Hospital is now being prepared which will enable mothers to remain for a longer period in the same home.

Special assistance is also given to mothers who remain at their own homes, and they are entitled to draw extra rations either from the ordinary kitchens or from the special kitchens attached to some of the Consultation Depots.

There is now a proposal under consideration for considerably extending the period of rest, for increasing the mothers' food ration still more, and allowing her fuel for an extra room in her own home with a view to encouraging her to have a

room for herself and child separate from the rest of the family.

Consultation Depots.

Before the revolution there was one Consultation Depot in Petrograd and another in Moscow; these have now been increased to 25 and 17 respectively.

Mothers attend these depots for advice every 14 days unless there is some special reason for more frequent visits. In all these depots there are pictures, models and charts similar to the most important ones in the Maternity Exhibitions.

Attached to many of the Consultation Depots are milk distributing depots and in some instances kitchens, where special warm meals are served to mothers.

Every mother attending a consultation receives clothes for her child and such other material help as may be required, such as feeding bottles, nipples, etc. At some of these depots lectures are given to mothers and special training courses are arranged for nurses.

Milk Depots.

Special Milk Depots have been established or extended for the supply of milk to infants, who receive prescriptions from doctors at Consultation Depots where no milk distribution is made. Here the milk is sterilized, diluted or merely added, according to prescription, and put up in bottles with a slip attached indicating the number of feeds in each bottle.

Infants' Homes.

These are divided into two classes, one for infants up to the age of one year and the other for infants between the ages of one and three. There are also special wards attached to some of the Mothers' Rest Homes where motherless babies are cared for up to the age of two months. The infants are very well cared for in these homes. The standard (or model) homes are well-equipped and have very efficient staffs. These standard homes are also used as training centers for girls who are preparing to become nurses in similar homes or in day nurseries and creches.

Careful records are kept of the weight and development of each child together with the amount and kind of food it receives. A new home is now being opened for 15 infants who will be cared for according to a scheme drawn up by a Russian doctor as the result of a study of the books of leading American and European experts.

Creches and Day Nurseries.

There has been a very large development of these since the revolution and many factories employing women have their own creches. The demand at the moment is greater than can be met, with the present personnel and equipment. The Maternity Department takes the view that to open a poor creche is worse than to have no creche at all.

The People's Commissariat for Public Instruction.

The responsibility for the care and education of

normal healthy children after they attain the age of three rests with the Commissariat for Public Instruction, though education is not compulsory before the age of eight.

*Children's Gardens.**

There has been a great development of children's gardens since the revolution and there are now over a quarter of a million children registered in these gardens all over Russia. A children's garden is a delightful picture on a warm summer day with little boys and girls at play dressed in single tunics of varied colors, as full of life as one could wish. In winter, when the little ones have to be kept indoors because there are not sufficient boots or clothes, the picture is not so gay.

The children spend the whole day here returning at night to their homes. Dinner and supper are provided for all the children in these gardens, but unfortunately the food shortage does not allow the full norm to be supplied.

Children's Houses (or Communes).

These are similar to boarding schools in England, though a greater number of scholars spend their whole days in these houses than is the case in England. This is due to several reasons. First, children go at a much younger age and then, as there are no orphanages as distinct from commune houses, there are a large number of boarders who have no homes to go to in vacation.

Usually speaking there are separate houses for children between the ages of three and eight. From 8 to 17 the commune house is also a school, or the children attend a school in the locality.

The principle of coeducation exists throughout and the children are taught on the principle of learning some handicraft at the same time as they learn from books and lectures. The children have their own committees for arranging entertainments amongst themselves. Here, of course, the children receive all their meals and here again the food shortage is manifest particularly in the scarcity of fats. Clothes and boots are also lacking for the winter months.

Children's Colonies.

Children's colonies are of two kinds: children's houses where children live all the year round, and summer colonies in the country for the children of the town to live in during the warm months. The largest settlement of children is at Dyetskoye Selo (Children's Village) about 40 miles from Petrograd. This used to be the "Tsar's Village" (Tsarskoye Selo), where the late Tsar had two palaces. The houses of many of the courtiers have now been turned into children's colonies, a group of three or four houses forming a colony. There are usually 25 boys and girls in each house, with a manager in charge. One house in each group is used as a center for meals and household administration. The colonies are all run on coeducational lines, grouped according to pre-school age (three to eight) and school age (8 to 16).

* Kindergartens.

The communal spirit is very great in these colonies, both among the children and between the staffs and the children.

The children perform a large part of the household duties and in the colonies for older children have their own committees for electing orderlies and so forth. As far as one can judge from visiting about a dozen of these colonies the results of coeducation are good, boys and girls seem to be growing up in a natural and healthy companionship with a very great sense of equality and communal responsibility.

In Moscow the colonies are more scattered than is the case at "Dyetskoye Selo", where there are over 2,000 children in 32 colonies, with a special colony run on George Junior Republic lines for defective boys and girls, a sanatorium and a children's hospital. The Children's Village was occupied by Yudenich at the time of his attempt on Petrograd and several of the houses were destroyed, but now the colonies have resumed their normal life again. As is the case in Children's Houses, the parents are allowed to visit their children very frequently.

Day Schools.

First and second grade schools are run on the coeducational principle for children between the ages of 8 and 16. Manual training both for boys and girls fills a very important place in their program and many schools have very excellent carpentry, bookbinding, and engineering shops and needlework and other handicraft workrooms. There are also special schools for art and music, some of which are children's houses (boarding schools).

The teachers are greatly handicapped by the shortage of books and writing materials and as a consequence most of the exercises and tests have to be done orally.

Discipline is maintained without punishment in the ordinary sense of the word, but natural consequences follow from a breach of rules, e.g., a child does not receive any dinner till its hands are clean but it is not punished otherwise. For anti-social acts a child may be isolated for a period. Corporal punishment is quite forbidden.

Every scholar and student is entitled to an extra food ration and the education authorities endeavor to give every scholar a warm luncheon consisting of

Bread	100 grams*
Meal	20 "
Fats	13 "
Sugar	17 "
Meat or fish.....	27 "
Egg	4/5 of an egg

Unfortunately the food supplies are not sufficient to allow of this ration being supplied at all adequately.

Trade Schools.

There are special Trade Schools for boys and girls, apart from the Technical Schools and Universities for older students.

Children's Theaters.

There are special theatrical performances and concerts arranged for school children, in many of which the children take part. The theme of orchestral music is explained before the performance and everything possible is done to develop their appreciation of the artistic.

Special performances are also arranged in Moscow for the children who are found loitering in streets and markets, but it is hoped that before long all these children will be in the schools, as is the case in Petrograd.

(To be concluded)

Foreign Relief Work in Soviet Russia

THE attitude of the Soviet Government towards foreign relief organizations was clearly stated in the letter written on November 18, 1920, by the Representative of the Soviet Republic in reply to an inquiry on this subject.

"Knowing the desire of the Soviet Government to use every practical means for relieving the acute needs of the population," wrote Mr. Martens, "I cannot believe that a bona fide offer . . . to send relief to Soviet Russia would meet with anything but a cordial and sympathetic reception by the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government has already manifested its willingness to cooperate with foreign relief organizations, as in the case of the Joint Distribution Committee, and in the case of the American and English Friends Societies. . . ."

"While the Soviet Government would gladly receive relief for its suffering population from any disinterested foreign agency, it does not ask for charity in this respect. We ask rather to be allowed to purchase in foreign markets those essential supplies of medicine, soap and other necessities, for lack of which men, women and children in Soviet Russia are now suffering. Relief would be welcome; but the suffering would be removed and relief would be unnecessary, if the foreign governments would remove their ruthless blockade against the resumption of normal commerce."

The cooperation extended to the relief workers of the Society of Friends (Quakers) and the freedom of operation allowed to them in Soviet Russia was described in a letter of January 29, 1921, from the Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee: "At the present time our workers have supervision of the supplies that are shipped in, fullest opportunity to investigate homes and institutions, and opportunity to order their own supplies shipped to these particular places."

We are now able to publish the official correspondence between the agents of the Society of Friends and the Soviet authorities regarding warehouse and transport facilities. These letters show the cordial cooperation extended by the Soviet Government to any bona fide organization sincerely desiring to aid the Russian people.

In transmitting this correspondence, the representatives of the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia write from Moscow, Janu-

* 100 grams=3/4 oz.

ary 8, 1921: "We enclose herewith copies and translations of correspondence between ourselves and the People's Commissariat for Supplies which constitute our agreement with them concerning warehouse and transport. The letters refer to a part of a warehouse, but in reality it is a self-contained storeroom in a very large warehouse. Our office and storeroom will be entered through a separate door, the key of which will be in our keeping." The correspondence follows:

FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Moscow, December 28, 1920.

To the Management for Preparation of the Centrosoyuz (Cooperatives):

The representatives of the Society of Friends (Quakers) hereby submit to you the request to grant them warehouse No. 5 on Instrumental Street, House No. 7, for the storage of goods which are arriving from abroad.

(Signed) A. J. HAINES,
ARTHUR WATTS,
Representatives of the Society.

CENTROSOYUZ

Moscow, December 28, 1920.

To the Representatives of the Society of Friends:

In answer to your letter of this date, the Management of Preparation of the Centrosoyuz states that it is ready to provide for your occupation a part of warehouse No. 5 on Instrumental Street, House No. 7, for the storage of goods.

(Signed) *Manager in Chief.*
Manager of the Sub-Department of Warehouses.

FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

126 Hotel Savoy

Moscow, December 13, 1920.

To the People's Commissariat of Supplies:

Dear Sirs:

The religious Society of Friends in England and America wishes in a spirit of love and universal brotherhood to do its best to help the people of Russia with gifts of food and clothing.

As our resources are small compared with the great population of Soviet Russia, we consider it advisable in the first instance to limit what help we have to offer to the children of Moscow and particularly to the sick and undernourished.

During the past six months we have distributed our supplies through many departments of various commissariats. This has resulted in the wastage of much time and transport. We therefore desire now to have all supplies donated by the Friends International Service stored in one warehouse under our supervision.

We therefore suggest the following plan for your consideration:

Warehouse and Transport

1. That the People's Commissariat for Supplies (Narkomprod) through the Central Cooperative Association (Centrosoyuz) provides a warehouse, together with the necessary lighting and heating. Such warehouse to be used exclusively for the sup-

plies donated by the Friends International Service or supplies entrusted to their care.

2. That the Centrosoyuz supplies and maintains the necessary personnel for the handling and controlling of all such supplies. (In our opinion this should include, to begin with, the full time service of a person capable of checking all stores in and out of the warehouse and of making the necessary arrangements for transport, and a clerk capable of typewriting in both English and Russian.)

3. We ask that the Centrosoyuz provides the necessary transport. We hope, however, to import one or two motor vehicles and shall be glad to know whether you would provide the necessary garage, gasoline and drivers.

Control of Supplies

1. We propose that all supplies and Bills of Lading should be handed over by our agent in Reval to the Representative of the R.S.F.S.R. Commissariat for Foreign Trade, on his giving a receipt agreeing to forwarding the supplies to the Friends International Service, care of Centrosoyuz, Moscow.

2. We suggest that on arrival at Moscow all supplies should be checked by a representative of the Centrosoyuz and ourselves and that a receipt signed by both should be sufficient. It being understood that the Workers and Peasants Inspection and the Extraordinary Commission may send representatives if they so desire.

3. That in making the distribution to institutions we should do so in accordance with a scheme to be agreed upon by a representative of the Department of Children's Health or such other Departments as may seem desirable, and ourselves.

4. Lists of all supplies received and distributed to be sent to the Centrosoyuz and to the Commissariats responsible for the institutions to which such supplies are sent. Lists with detailed enumeration of the institutions, their addresses and the amount of supplies given, must be sent by us to the People's Commissariat for Supplies.

5. All orders for goods to leave the warehouse to be signed by a representative of the Friends International Service.

6. All supplies to be distributed as gifts from the Friends International Service and without payment.

The above proposals form the basis on which we, the undersigned, feel that we can satisfactorily carry out the distribution of supplies by the Friends International Service. Such proposals to be subject to alteration by mutual agreement.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) ANNA J. HAINES,
ARTHUR WATTS,

Representing the Friends International Service.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR SUPPLIES

Moscow, December 30, 1920.

No. 1088.

To the Representatives of the Society of Friends (Quakers):

We acknowledge your letter of December 13, in

which you have stated all the conditions under which you will be able to make a satisfactory distribution of your goods.

The Foreign Department of the People's Commissariat for Supplies has the honor of informing you that the People's Commissariat for Supplies accepts your terms as satisfactory and promises to give you every assistance in your useful work.

We are sending a copy of your proposals to the Centroysoyuz.

(Signed) *Members of the Collegium.*

(Signed) *Manager of the Foreign Department.*
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

126 Hotel Savoy

Moscow, December 31, 1920.

To the Department for Imports,
The People's Commissariat for Supplies,
Moscow.

Dear Sirs:

We are in receipt of yours of December 30, No. 1088.

We are pleased to note that you agree to the proposals contained in our letter of December 13, and we intend to proceed with our distribution accordingly.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) ANNA J. HAINES,
ARTHUR WATTS,

Representing the Friends International Service.

The "Dneprovets" Commune

(A Letter by Alexander Kostenko, a Member of the Commune)

In the district of Starodubsk, province of Gomel, there is an agricultural commune called "Dneprovets". This commune was organized after the Germans left the province of Gomel. Its members were recruited, for the most part, from the middle peasants. The land occupied by the commune had formerly belonged to a big landholder—about 300 dessiatins* of arable land and 50 dessiatins of pasture land, but the livestock and implements, as well as the buildings had been completely looted and destroyed.

After two years of activity, the members of the commune have almost completely restored the estate to its previous condition. They lack only cattle for breeding. The commune has reintroduced the nine-field system. It acquired a steam threshing machine and a locomobile. The crops are gathered with the help of harvesting machines.

The sowing of the grain is being done exclusively by regular sowing machines. This year a dessiatin of rye yielded 100 poods** (about 3,600 pounds) of pure grain. There was an unusually rich buckwheat crop. This year the commune collected 3,000 poods (108,000 pounds) of rye from an area of 33 dessiatins. Planting of corn has been introduced.

Altogether 117 persons of both sexes and different ages live in the commune. Besides, about 40

men from this commune are in the Red Army, some of them occupying commanding positions.

The commune is giving special attention to the education of the children. It has established a creche and a kindergarten, and the children of school age are taught in the district school of the commune.

Moreover, the council of the commune this year set aside two dessiatins, on which, under the supervision of the older members, various sorts of grain have been planted.

The children work eagerly and successfully in their field. The potatoes gathered on the children's field were, before leaving for school, collected to serve as family fund for the following spring.

In the "Dneprovets" Commune everything is decidedly socialized. Absolute solidarity prevails among the members of the commune and they show a high degree of consciousness. For the next year the commune has sown 66 dessiatins with rye. The rye crop is extraordinary. The buildings that were destroyed are now rebuilt. Very soon the members of the commune will start erecting new communal buildings. The plans have already been drafted.

The organizer of the commune is Comrade Mikhaildyka. In my opinion it will be necessary in the spring to provide the "Dneprovets" with a tractor or a motor plow. Then the economy of the commune will be really organized on a technical basis. After that, half of the members of the commune may be detached and assigned to other property where, owing to their training and consciousness, they will be able to organize successfully another commune similar to the "Dneprovets".

Owing to its exceptional management, its economy, and its organization the commune is famous all over the province of Gomel. Members of other communes visit it, sometimes as many as twenty peasants a day, in order to learn how it works.

The Next Issue of ***Soviet Russia***

will be a special electrical and industrial number.

The great plan of electrification of agriculture and industry will be described in several interesting articles:

1. Speech of Nicolai Lenin at Eighth Congress of Soviets in December.
2. The plan itself described by Kryzhanovsky in a comprehensive address also delivered at the Eighth Congress of Soviets and accompanied by his own map showing the proposed new system of power houses.
3. Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt, a German Communist, whose work SOVIET RUSSIA readers know, tells in his own picturesque style of the possibilities of the new electrical arrangement in Russia.
4. Numerous news items showing the progress of electrification activities in Russia (from official sources).

INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION—Latest data on industrial and labor conditions in Soviet Russia.

* 1 dessiatin=2.7 acres.
** 1 pood=36 lbs.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street

New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

THERE is a generally prevailing opinion that the English have no sense of humor. A short telegraphic item from London published in the daily press on February 24 and 25 proves that this is nothing but a prejudice dictated by American playfulness. It refers to the recent incidents in Persia, where it appears that the "Persian Cossacks under General Reza Khan have occupied Teheran . . . because of the Government's apathy toward the spread of Bolshevism and because of the Bolshevist tendencies among the ruling classes in Persia." The "Bolshevist tendencies among the ruling classes" mean of course that, just as is the case in Asia Minor, in Persia also nearly the whole population has taken a friendly attitude toward Soviet Russia, in order to avoid for themselves the fate of India and Egypt. The "Persian Cossacks"—by the way, a creation of the Tsarist and British imperialists—according to newspaper reports, had come from the Western border, where the *British* troops are stationed. And the same reports add: "The opinion generally expressed in diplomatic quarters here today was that England would not interfere, since the affair was *purely internal*." It is for the same reason probably that England does not interfere with the activities of the "Black and Tans", since this is a purely internal affair of Ireland and interference would probably mean a violation of the principle of "self-determination."

This bit of news is quite in keeping with that powerful specimen of dry English humor that was displayed by the Right Hon. Winston Churchill in his article against Wells, in which he accuses the radicals of preaching "better a world of equally hungry slaves than a world of unequally prosperous freemen." To convert the Persians definitely into such Churchillian "freemen"—after the fashion of the population of India, Egypt, and Ireland—was the aim of this "purely internal affair."

* * *

AFTER the misfortunes that had befallen Kolchak, Yudenich, and Wrangel, after the elimination of the Finnish, Esthonian, Latvian, Polish, and other border-lands from the list of the ever-ready champions of "Western democracy and civilization" as against "Eastern autocracy and barbarism", after the rulers of freedom-loving France

had begun to run short of cannon-fodder willing to die for the interests of financial sharks and corrupt politicians, after England had finally realized the ever-increasing dangers of her Irish, Indian, Mesopotamian, and, last but not least, her own domestic labor problems—the whole respectable world of enemies of the Russian Workers' Republic has been cheered again by the Parisian conference of the Russian "Constituent Assembly" at which Bakhmetiev, Milyukov, Kerensky, Chernov, and other stars of Russian Liberalism and "Socialism" once more declared that they were the only legitimate representatives of Russia and that they would never desist from their struggle against the tyranny of the Bolshevist usurpers. But this struggle, they asserted, was not to be in the form of an armed intervention of foreign powers, but in the form of an internal revolution of the Russians themselves.

How complete this unity of Russian Liberals and "Socialists" is, and how sincere their repudiation of foreign intervention, may be gathered from the following statement of the Russian Menshevist Party (Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia) which was printed in the Parisian anti-Bolshevist organ *Pour la Russie* of February 5, 1921. The Menshevist statement reads as follows: "The rumor having been spread that the creation of a "National Block" between Socialists, Cadets, etc., is being contemplated, the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party has declared that such coalitions of Socialist parties with the possessing classes—whatever flag they may be flying—can in reality have only one aim, viz., to rekindle again the flames of civil war, and to provoke a new intervention, whether open or disguised, on the part of the imperialist powers, into the internal affairs of Revolutionary Russia. Therefore the Russian Central Committee of the Social Democratic Labor Party declares in the most categorical manner that the Party, in spite of its negative attitude towards the policy of the Bolshevist Government, not only will not give any support to a Socialist coalition with the parties of the possessing classes, but on the contrary will fight side by side with the Bolshevist authorities against this new form of counter-revolution and imperialist interventionism."

The Menshevists who are thus dissociating themselves from the counter-revolutionary activities of their former associates, the Social-Revolutionists of the Kerensky-Chernov type, are in the unenviable position of being between the hammer and the anvil. They loathe the Soviet Republic in which middle-of-the-road-reformers have little or nothing to say, and at the same time they are too intelligent not to see that a triumph of the anti-Bolshevist forces would be nothing else than a victory of an extremely reactionary combination of world imperialism and capitalism where no honorable place would be left to the Socialist advocates of "real democracy". Typical representatives of the intelligentsia, that class that with its interests and its sympathies dangles between the capitalist and the worker, that dislikes and envies the capitalist but just as much

fears and abhors the rule of the workers, they are—while perhaps believing themselves to be furthering the cause of Socialism,—in reality, through their mouthpieces, Martov, Abramovich and Dan, providing a grateful capitalist world with the customary intellectual poison gas that precedes and accompanies all the military attacks against Soviet Russia.

* * *

MR. John Hays Hammond is reported in *The New York Times* of February 17 as saying: "I don't think Russia will go back to Tsar rule, and I hope not." This is paraphrased by the opening paragraph of the Washington dispatch of February 16, from which we are quoting, in these words: "There is hope in the near future of a constitutional monarchy and later a democracy in Russia, John Hays Hammond declared today before the House Foreign Affairs Committee."

Just what are the hopes of Mr. Hammond and the *Times* is not clear from these quotations. Mr. Hammond's statement gives the impression that he thinks the Tsar's government was undesirable; we think so too. But as the *Times* restates his position, it would seem to be in favor of a Tsar with a constitution attached, or some other sort of monarch less offensive than the Tsar. In the latter case Mr. Hammond's position would appear to be more fastidious than that of Mr. Milyukov and the other Russian "democrats", who, shortly after the suppression of the Revolution of 1905, publicly stated, in spite of the fact that they knew how bloodily the proletariat had been put down in that revolution, that now the Russian people were no longer governed by an autocracy, but had a constitution and a Duma, and must therefore be considered as a limited monarchy.

As for us, we are quite neutral on this subject. If counter-revolution should—which it will not—come out victorious in Russia, we think it will matter little to the Russian people whether they are slaughtered off by an absolute or a limited monarch.

* * *

THE latest counter-revolutionary organization of whose birth we are informed is the "Russian National Society", of New York. It has just begun issuing a *Weekly Bulletin*, of which the first issue (February 3) has reached us. The motto printed at the head of this issue is: "*Not to fight Bolshevism is to surrender to it. Bolshevism is: a machine of destruction, a machine of corruption, a machine of oppression, a machine for promoting world revolution. Bolshevism is not a Russian danger; it is a mortal danger to Russia; it is an attempt to kill Russia. Russia is its first victim. America is its last goal.*" The *Bulletin* recommends for reading the following (and only the following) books on Russia: General Basil Gurko, *Russia, 1914-1917*; Dr. E. J. Dillon, *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference*; Andrew Kalpashnikov, *A Prisoner of Trotsky*; Boris Brasol, *Socialism vs. Civilization*. Cultural items are not lacking in the

new *Bulletin*, and they are printed in a newsy, paragraphy style; to parallel the numerous items printed in SOVIET RUSSIA on educational matters within Russia, the *Bulletin* prints, under the curious head "From Russian Quarters" (or do they mean the Russian quarters in large foreign cities?), the following: "A Russian monarchical organization has been established in Munich. Its official organ is *The Ray of Light*, published monthly." "The Russian monarchists in Bavaria are opening a school for Russian children." Russian nationalists in Paris," etc., etc. And here is one (of many) paragraphs, showing that the whole venture is not innocent of anti-Semitic (or is it pro-Semitic?) influences:

"The Association Unity of Russia of New York published a pamphlet entitled: 'Who Are the Murderers of the Russian Tsar?' Therein the fact is revealed that three Russian Emperors—Alexander II, Alexander III, and Nicholas II, were murdered by the Jews."

* * *

THE following message has been received by the SOVIET RUSSIA office, denying the reports of mutinies and uprisings alleged in the press of capitalist countries to have taken place in Soviet Russia:

Moscow, February 26.—Foreign newspapers again carry mendacious stories about alleged mutinies and uprisings in Moscow, Kronstadt, and Petrograd. This is another malicious slander by the enemies of Russia in their attempts to confuse public opinion abroad. There have been neither uprisings nor mutinies in Kronstadt, Petrograd, or Moscow.

These stories appear to have been based upon certain events in Moscow which, far from showing any widespread unrest, rather prove the determination of the Russian workers to stand behind their revolutionary achievements despite all hardships. The workers in the government printing office, who had been receiving extra rations, protested against the cutting off of a special allowance of flour which they received in addition to the pound and a half ration of bread. This curtailment was made in pursuance of the Soviet Government's general policy of equalizing rations. The workers in the printing office tried to induce other factory groups to join their demonstration, but their efforts aroused general indignation amongst most of the other workers, who regarded them as a breach of revolutionary solidarity. When the situation was explained to the demonstrators the protest movement ceased instantly. Everything is now absolutely peaceful.

This insignificant incident has been magnified by malicious agents into fantastic accounts of widespread unrest. The Soviet Government has traced these stories to the Lettish Legation in Moscow, which seemingly is abusing hospitality and diplomatic privilege for a malicious campaign against Soviet Russia.

The stories in the foreign press about alleged mutinies in Petrograd and Kronstadt, claiming that the military forces surrounding Petrograd are not allowing anyone to enter the city, are without any foundation whatsoever. Russia is passing through a serious food crisis, due to fuel shortage, but now as before the Russian workers will prove to the world that their revolutionary solidarity and their determination to stand by their achievements knows no weakness.—*Russian Telegraph Agency*.

The Soviet Power and the Public Health

By A. SEMASHKO

[The Commissar for Public Health has appeared in our columns before. He tells below of the recent accomplishments of his branch of the administration in public health service and education.]

TO FORM an idea of the profound change brought about by the November Revolution, we must look into one of our "peaceful" activities: the protection of public health.

This activity felt the influence of the March Revolution less than any other. The March Revolution was as unfruitful for the medical organization and the practice of medicine as the biblical fig-tree. The November Revolution succeeded to what had existed in January: the same selfish bureaucracy, the same "hierarchy" of medicine (the best for the rich, the "leavings" for the poor) camouflaged by middle-class, democratic slogans, such as: the best medical aid free and accessible to all. But the most important point, the organization of medical affairs, was absolutely wrong. The landowners and capitalists were not at all concerned with the health of the masses of the people; all they did was mend the health of the worker just enough to drive him back again to the sweat-shop. The result of such organization appeared in the budget as follows: 95 per cent of the whole budget (a very small one, of course) was fixed for medicaments, and only five per cent for prophylactic (the most important) medicine.

Under the old regime it could not be otherwise. As long as labor was unprotected, the health of the workers was unprotected. Regulations for the protection of labor ran up against an insurmountable wall—the interests of capitalist profit.

The bourgeoisie permitted only the discussion of mothers' and childrens' health protection, but never indulged in any serious reform. Without wholesome living quarters, good health is an impossibility; private property has secured the apartment houses for merchants' wives with their lap-dogs, while underground dwellings are allotted to workers' wives with their children. Caste (i.e., class) medicine is inevitably bound up with the capitalist system.

The Soviet Government has done away with this deplorable state of affairs. It has surmounted the difficulties brought about by private property and profits. Medical activities are no longer hampered by social obstacles. Labor protection has taken children out of the factories; it has given sick-leave to women before and after childbirth; it has accomplished many other reforms, but, most important of all, it has entrusted the workers to the trade unions by turning over entirely to the latter all questions of labor protection.

The socialization of buildings and apartments made it possible to rescue pale-faced, weak, and sickly children from their basement dwellings. Nowhere else in the world has so much been done for the children as in struggling Soviet Russia during the last three years. Hundreds of thousands are

now living in colonies housed in the former luxurious homes of the parasites of the working masses and their lap-dogs. This destitute republic, for the first time in the history of the world has introduced gratuitous feeding for children to the age of sixteen; for the first time also, it has been declared that there are no criminals under eighteen years of age, that they are only violators of law, mentally or physically sick, to be cured either under the Commissariat of Education or under that for Public Health; but not to be taken before the common law courts. For the first time, also, physical care and entertainment are being thought of. Children's establishments, such as orphan asylums, homes, etc., are increasing from day to day; for the protection of mothers and children, we have 402 establishments (of which 123 are asylums for babies and minors, 151 creches, 100 consultation depots and milk kitchens, 80 homes for mother and child, and lying-in hospitals).

In the sphere of medical science, medical aid is accessible and absolutely gratis to all. The number of sanitariums for the civilian population has, in spite of all kinds of difficulties, increased about 80 per cent over that of pre-war times. Over 100,000 beds were organized for use in epidemics last winter.

A long stride forward has been taken in regard to quality of medical service. In the sanitariums for tuberculosis (in the Russian Federal Soviet Republic alone, the other Soviet republics not included) more than 20,000 new beds and 100 new ambulatories for venereal diseases were established. Six are still to be opened (in the territory of Soviet Russia alone). New establishments of so high a grade as physical-mechanical therapeutic institutions were created (five are to be opened). Health resorts, once resorts of recreation and debauchery for the bourgeoisie, have been transformed into real health resorts for workers; according to incomplete statistical data, our health resorts (not including the Crimea) were frequented last summer by 65,000 patients, 75 per cent of whom were workers, peasants, and Red Army soldiers. All healing powers and remedies have been taken from private individuals and placed at the service of the whole nation. The private sanitariums have ceased to be a means of enrichment to their proprietors, and are now nationalized; the sale of drugs by speculators has been stopped, and all drugs are now in the hands of the government.

Special attention has been given to the Red Army. In the field of army-sanitary administration, the Soviet Government inherited only atrocities and brutalities from the Tsaristic regime. Here literally everything had to be created from nothing. We now have 397,496 beds in military hospitals and

242 completely equipped ambulances. We have improved institutions, equipping trains with bath-rooms, laundries, and provisioning trains so that they would now be the pride of any European military medical organization. And most important of all, we have a vast rigidly disciplined organ for the valuation of requirements of the Red Army.

All this had to be accomplished under very difficult conditions, known only to those engaged in this task.

Russia has never ceased to be a victim of epidemics. Suffering from cold and famine, ruined by the world war, Russia was overwhelmed by epidemics, one more virulent than another, with spotted typhus, intermittent fever, and typhoid; Spanish influenza and cholera relieved and followed each other. It is a characteristic fact that the former White Guard border provinces (Siberia and Ukraine) infected our Red Army (not inversely) and through them our civilian population. Even their larger food supplies and the aid of the Almighty Entente, could not save them from the results of their sanitary and social laws. Where work, sweating, and ignorance exist, there will always be epidemics: the best remedy is Socialism.

What gave us the power not only to fight epidemics, but to overcome other difficulties as well? How did the Soviet power overcome them? Most of all by the mobilization of the whole population:

"The health of the working class is properly the worker's affair." We not only preached but practiced this. Anti-epidemic commissions, made up of workers, peasants, and soldiers of the Red Army were organized "to fight for cleanliness" in every city, in each body of troops, and in the villages. Every important sanitary decision was first discussed with the representatives of the trade unions, the women's division, and the young people's organization, and then it was executed. The whole task was supported by an educational activity unknown before not only in Russia, but in the whole world. The Commissariat for Public Health published during two years (the National publications, the committee in memory of W. M. Bonch-Bruyevich and the local publication not included) over 8 million announcements, 395,000 placards, and 434,000 copies of popular pamphlets. Only the cooperation of the whole working population made it possible to overcome difficulties which sometimes seemed insurmountable.

Indeed, there is still much to be finished, much more to be begun, there are still defects and imperfections. But in spite of these we survived the most critical period and have come off victorious. The most difficult achievements lie behind us. The future is guaranteed by the amelioration of our position in general, the social basis on which we stand, and the experience which we have acquired.

First Hand Reports from Soviet Russia

We take the following two articles, containing the reports of eye-witnesses on Russian conditions, from the February 22 issue of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, which apparently has obtained them from some other German newspaper. The first is an account of an interview with a young German of very limited education, who had just returned to Germany. The second is a report of an Italian bourgeois observer, Guglielmo Pannunzio, who also recently visited Russia. Some of our readers will recall that in one of Dr. Goldschmidt's articles on Russia, printed by us, a rather vivid picture was painted of the repatriation of German prisoners of war who had been in Russia for a long time, and who were overjoyed, some of them, at the prospect of returning home. The young German's remarks, as quoted below, will give somewhat of an idea of the lot that awaited these returning citizens in Germany.

A Young German in Russia

"A few days ago I had occasion to speak to a twenty-two year old man on conditions in Russia. He had arrived from Moscow and said he was not a Bolshevik, but a citizen of the German empire. We met as we were walking towards the Rotebühl Barracks. He asked for the location of the "Office for Germans Abroad." As I have been intending for some time to emigrate to Russia myself, I was very eager to learn more about the country. Our

conversation soon became quite fluent and he gave me the following information: His name was Albert Berner, and his father was a native of Stuttgart who had gone to Petrograd twenty-four years ago as a young journeyman. There he (the father) had married a Swedish woman and opened a bakery, in which he had done good business. The young man himself was born in Petrograd and had learned there to speak, read and write not only Russian, but also German.

"When the war opened my parents were ordered out of the country and I was interned and taken to Siberia, for I had the right, being a native Russian, to remain within the country. In Siberia I fared moderately well. When the revolution broke out I immediately went to Petrograd in order to get news of my parents. I was told by the German Council in Moscow that my parents had gone to Stuttgart, for that was where my father came from. In the spring of 1920 an edict was issued permitting all those interned to leave the country, and go anywhere they wished. I decided to go to Germany and look for my parents. I was warned by the German Council against traveling to Germany, and informed that I should not find any work there and that I should have to starve, since conditions of life were very bad there for workers; and in addition, I should have to be prepared for bad treatment. I paid no attention to these warnings, as I

was very eager to see my parents and believed that Germany was a Republic, and that work could be had there. I arrived in Svinemünde with a consignment of prisoners, and after passing through quarantine, immediately started looking for my parents. In Svinemünde I was referred to Berlin, and there informed that I must learn in Cologne where my parents were. In Cologne I was referred to Frankfurt, and in Frankfurt to Stuttgart. Here I am now in Stuttgart, without having found my parents, but having had the "good fortune" of learning that the German Republic is a capitalist state. For this reason, and now fully understanding that the German Council in Moscow had told me the truth I immediately went over to the "Office for Germans Abroad" with the request to permit me to get to Russia, no matter how bad the stories are that are told about it, as soon as possible. This is not as simple a matter as I had thought. The first thing I got in answer to my request was the same information on Russia which had been given to me by the German Council in Moscow on Germany. It was therefore up to me to decide which of the two was right, the German Council in Moscow or the man in the 'Office for Germans Abroad.' When I told them that it was the German Council that was right they would not believe me and said I would have to prove it. And so I said about the following:

'Look at me, look at my clothing, it does not look very bad yet. When I get to Moscow they will give me a card and on that card I can get clothing, food, dwelling, and whatever else the Russian Economic Soviet is able to give its citizens. When this Soviet card says that I must work somewhere and I refuse, the same thing will happen to me that is now happening to me in Germany. I must starve. For in Russia there is only one law: he who does not work shall not eat. But if for any reason I cannot work, I receive full support in Russia. But in the German Republic that is not the case. Here in Germany people who do not work, eat the best of all, for they can get others to work for them, as was the case in Russia also before the revolution.'

'The answer these gentlemen then made was not pleasant. At any rate I shall make every attempt to get back to Russia as soon as possible, I finally said.'

Money and Prices in Russia

"The young man offered me a few thousand rubles in paper money. I had to decline them, as I had no use for them, I asked him why money was necessary at all, if you could get everything you needed on your Soviet card? He explained that with this money you could purchase luxuries and other little comforts in Moscow, things not yet being manufactured by the Government as it still is obliged to furnish foodstuffs, clothing, dwellings, as well as means of transportation. This matter of paper money, he said, was a rather funny thing, for now all paper money of the Moscow region had been called in by the government and no more is issued, which means that those who are not yet

working and who wish to live only at the expense of other people are now about to lose their last means of exploitation. There is then left for them only one choice, for they must work or leave the country and go to some country where free trade still exists. When he now gets back to Moscow he said he will not have any money and will have to earn a little first, if he wishes to supply himself with little luxuries and extra comforts. This is not difficult for a workingman. All he needs to do is to hire himself out to a peasant for a few hours in his free time, to repair something or do a little work for some former capitalists, which quickly yields ready money. In Russia work in the free time of the workers is paid very highly. He compared the prices of things under free trade and under the purchase by Soviet card. A pound of bread purchased in the open market costs thirty rubles, while it costs only three rubles with the Soviet card, for capitalists and idlers this is of course a difficult condition for money runs lightly through their fingers. They are then up against the choice of doing useful work or making themselves scarce. We spoke a little more about labor questions and conditions of life and his remarks coincided pretty well with those that have often been printed in the Communist press. I asked him also whether he believed that the Soviet system could maintain itself, whether he feared it might fall. His opinion was that all the world together could not succeed in overthrowing the Soviet system.

"After this conversation is compared with the reports of the "Anti-Bolshevist League", and if we recall that this man is taking the greatest pains to get back to Russia, much will become clear to us. Nor is it surprising that in bourgeois and "Socialist" papers so little is read of the reports of prisoners who have returned from Russia. These people, belonging to the working class and who were prisoners of war in Russia until after it became Soviet Russia, will inform you, if you converse with them, that they much regret not having remained in Russia."

A Conservative Italian on Soviet Russia

We have had many opportunities to note that honest men even of the bourgeois camp, when they visit Soviet Russia, receive the most profound impression of the tremendous work of reconstruction that is there being accomplished. One must really be a German Social Democratic official of the Dittmann type to be able to walk through Soviet Russia with one's eyes open and still be blind. The most widely known case of a man whose eyes were opened by a visit to Soviet Russia is probably that of the English Colonel Malone. Malone, now the only Communist of the English Lower House, was elected to Parliament in December, 1918, not as a Communist, but as a Liberal. He was in Soviet Russia in 1919 and there received the impressions which impelled him, after his return to England, to enter the Communist camp. Malone is at present serving a six months' sentence in prison which was imposed upon him by class justice.

Another witness for Soviet Russia, from the bourgeois camp, is Guglielmo Pannunzio, contributor to the conservative Roman newspaper *L'Epoca*, who spent several months in Soviet Russia. After his return from Russia he delivered a number of public lectures on his experiences, concerning which *L'Ordine Nuovo*, a Communist paper appearing in Turin, publishes a full report. Pannunzio says, among other things:

"Life in Soviet Russia is by no means in the sign of murder, of terror, and of violence, which is the impression spread by the bourgeois papers. On the contrary, since my return to Italy I must say that this characterization would be far more appropriate to Italian conditions. In Russia on the other hand, life is entirely normal in spite of all revolution. There is no such thing as terror, and I never felt calmer and more secure in any foreign country than I did in Russia. No one placed any limitations on my personal or journalistic freedom. I could at any time go anywhere I liked. Beginning with January 1 of this year, the workers no longer need to pay any money for commodities of any kind, provided they are obtained from the Commissariat of Provisions, and dwellings, gas for illumination, and telephones, are also furnished them without charge in exchange for their labor performance. The hunt for money, which animates men in the capitalistic state, will thus be entirely eliminated, and this fact will transform the entire mental attitude of the people. It is not true that people who are not entirely accustomed to labor are forced to carry out hard tasks in Russia, but every man and woman may seek activity in that calling or in that art which he or she has voluntarily chosen. The bourgeoisie is no longer capable of healing the wounds from which the whole world suffers. In the various countries the revolution, depending on the special conditions of each country, will be accomplished in different ways, but the revolution itself must come, and when it does come it can only be in the sense of Communism!"

We have nothing to add to the words of this Italian conservative.

DEPORTATION WARRANT AGAINST MARTENS CANCELLED

The Department of Labor has cancelled the warrants of arrest and deportation against Mr. L. C. Martens, former Representative of the Russian Soviet Government in the United States, and his secretary, Mr. Gregory Weinstein.

On January 3rd last Mr. Martens, attended by Mr. Charles Recht, his counsel, and by the secretary of his Bureau, went to Washington to deliver himself formally to the Department of Labor for deportation, pursuant to the order of the Secretary of Labor dated December 15, 1920. In so doing Mr. Martens was acting under instructions from the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, which ordered him to accept the decision of the Secretary of Labor and not to appeal to the courts against his decision.

In a conference which ensued in the office of the

Secretary of Labor, January 3, 1921, the Secretary stated that upon the receipt of information of the arrival of Mr. Martens in Russia the warrant of deportation would be cancelled. In view of the extraordinary significance of this statement, counsel for Mr. Martens asked the Secretary of Labor whether it was his desire to make public announcement of this intention prior to the actual cancellation of the warrant. The Secretary replied that he did not desire any announcement to be made. It was agreed, therefore, that no announcement should be made until the warrant had actually been cancelled. Counsel for Mr. Martens was requested by the Secretary of Labor to advise the Department of Labor immediately upon the receipt of information that Mr. Martens had arrived in Moscow. On February 21st Mr. Recht received a cable from Mr. Martens, announcing his arrival in Moscow, and immediately informed the Department of Labor. On February 24th Mr. Recht received the following telegram from the Department of Labor dated Washington, February 23rd:

"L. C. A. K. Martens and Gregory Weinstein having departed from the United States for Russia, warrants of arrest and deportation against them have been cancelled."

This action by the Department of Labor is the conclusion of the long series of hearings and investigations, of which Mr. Martens and his activities were the subject during his stay in the United States. It finally acquits Mr. Martens of all the accusations brought against him, and leaves his record clear of any charges. Mr. Martens was first investigated by the so-called Lusk Committee of New York State and also by the office of the District Attorney of New York State. Subsequently he appeared before an investigating committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate. Immediately upon the conclusion of that investigation last March, he was served with a deportation warrant by the Department of Labor. Hearings in this case proceeded during the summer and autumn, and final oral argument by counsel was held December 7th. On December 15th Secretary Wilson ordered the deportation of Mr. Martens on the ground that he was the accredited representative of the Soviet Government. The decision stated that there was "no evidence to show that Martens has personally made any direct statement of a belief in the use of force or violence to overthrow the United States, nor is there any evidence that he had ever distributed or caused to be distributed any literature containing propaganda of that character." The decision also stated that Mr. Martens was not a member of any political party or organization. The cancellation of the warrant of deportation is the last step in these proceedings, which were based not upon any activities of Mr. Martens, but upon the policy of the United States Government towards the Government of Russia. In the opinion of Counsel, Mr. Martens is now free to return to the United States, if he cares to do so, and his entry could be barred only by the institution of entirely new proceedings.

The Soviet Revolution in Armenia

[From a recent issue of "The Russian Press Review" we take the following two documents showing the friendly relations existing between Soviet Russia and Soviet Armenia. The situation in the latter country is at present not very clear, but we shall furnish concrete data concerning it as soon as we can.]

Long Live Soviet Armenia

Exhausted, long suffering Armenia, handed over by the grace of the Entente and the party of the *Dashnaks* to famine, ruin, desolation, and deceived by all its "friends", has now found release by declaring itself a Soviet Republic.

Neither the lying assurances of England, the "traditional defender" of Armenian interests, the notorious fourteen points of Wilson, nor the pompous promises of the League of Nations with its "mandates" for the administration of Armenia, were of any avail (and never could be) to save Armenia from massacre and physical extermination. Only the idea of Soviet Government brought peace and the possibility of regeneration to Armenia.

Here are a few facts which have brought about the sovietization of Armenia: the ruinous policy of the *Dashnaks*, the agents of the Entente, was reducing the country to anarchy and misery. The war with Turkey brought the difficult position of Armenia to the limits of extremity. Exhausted by famine and lawlessness, the northern provinces of Armenia rose at the end of November and set up a Revolutionary Military Committee of Armenia headed by Comrade Kassian. On November 30, a telegram was sent by the chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Armenia to Comrade Lenin with the news of the birth of Soviet Armenia, and of the occupation of Delijan by the Revolutionary Committee. On December 1, Soviet Azerbaijan voluntarily renounced its rights to the disputed provinces and handed over Zangezour, Nakhichevan, and Karabach to Soviet Armenia. On December 1, the Revolutionary Committee received congratulations from the Turkish Command. On December 2, a communication was received from Comrade Orjonikidze with the news that the *Dashnak* Government was overthrown at Erivan and that the armies of Armenia had placed themselves at the disposal of the Revolutionary Committee. Erivan, the capital of Armenia, is now in the hands of the Soviet Government of Armenia. The centuries-old hatred between Armenia and the Moslem people surrounding it has found its instant solution by the establishment of a brotherly solidarity between the working masses of Armenia, Turkey, and Azerbaijan.

Let all whom it may concern, know that the so-called Armenian "problem", over which the old wolves of imperialist diplomacy have been breaking their heads in vain, could only be solved, as it has been now, by the Soviet Government.

Long live Soviet Armenia!

STALIN.

Greetings from the Armenian Revolutionary Committee to Comrade Lenin

KARAVAN SARAY, November 30, 1920.

May it be known to the leader of the World Revolution that the peasants of the Delijan and

Karavan Saray regions, outraged by the criminal policy of the *Dashnak* Government and the growing anarchy in the country, have raised the standard of revolt. The Communist Party of Armenia has taken upon itself the leadership of this spontaneous movement, and established the Revolutionary Committee of Armenia, proclaiming Armenia a Socialist Soviet Republic. The first blow has fallen—the town of Delijan is in our hands. The enthusiastic rebels are impatiently moving forward to the final overthrow of the hated enemy, the agents of the Entente. And in obedience to their will we, having formed the Revolutionary Committee, are marching forward in the hope that the liberator of the oppressed nationalities of the East—the heroic Red Army of Great Socialist Russia, will render us material help in our difficult struggle. On behalf of all the workers and peasants of Armenia, we ask the Soviet Government to give us assistance. Long live the Russian Socialist Federative Republic!

Long live its victorious Red Army!

Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Armenia,

KASSIAN.

Members of the Armenian Revolutionary Committee,

AVIS,

BEKZADIAN,

DEVLATIAN,

MURAVIAN,

TER-GABRELIAN.

Communication by Comrade Orjonikidze

Communicate to Comrades Lenin and Stalin the following: News has just been received from Erivan to the effect that a Soviet Government has been proclaimed there, that the old government has been removed, and that temporarily, until the arrival of the Revolutionary Committee, power has been transferred to the military command, headed by Dro; Silin has been appointed Military Commissar for Armenia and the armies have been given the order to place themselves at the disposal of the Revolutionary Committee. The Revolutionary Committee is at present at Delijan, and leaves tomorrow morning for Erivan. The Revolutionary Committee has received a telegram of congratulation from Karabekir, the Commander of the Turkish front, and from the representative of Turkey, Kiazim Bey. The Revolutionary Committee is on the way to Erivan. A comrade who arrived today from Alexandropol, brings news that the attitude of the Kemalists troops is very friendly to us, they carry red emblems and consider themselves Red Army men. The transfer of Nakhichevan, Zangezour, and Karabach to Soviet Armenia was declared yesterday by Azerbaijan.

ORJONIKIDZE.

Baku, December 2, 1920.

Comrade Lenin's Reply

To Comrade Kassian, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Armenia, Erivan.

I greet in your person Soviet Armenia now liberated from the oppression of imperialism. I am confident that you will do all in your power to establish brotherly solidarity between the workers of Armenia, Turkey, and Azerbaijan.

Chairman of the Council of Commissars,
LENIN.

Moscow, December 2, 1920.

The Russo-Chinese Negotiations

In "Kuo-Bao", a newspaper appearing in China, the following editorial recently appeared:

A few days ago the French Ambassador in Peking sent a note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in which he protested against the negotiations between Yurin* and the Chinese Government concerning the renewal of business relations between Russia and China. Judging from the contents of this note which appeared in our paper, as well as in other papers, we can say without exaggeration that this note tries to found its protest on the two following reasons:

1. Chinese foreign trade is subject to a protective tariff, while French and English trade is free.
2. Everything that is connected with Soviet Russia is dangerous and harmful.

Inasmuch as the second reason for the French protest is beneath criticism, the same as any other prejudice, we will confine ourselves only to an answer to the first point.

First, does the French Ambassador or even the French Government have any right to interfere in our negotiations with Russia?

As long as any country "A" is negotiating with another country "B" about questions that do not interfere at all with the interests of a third country "C"—these negotiations are in no contradiction whatever to international law. Or else the diplomatic manners of that country "C" are so impudent that she can take a menacing attitude in a matter which does not concern her at all. We would be very thankful to the French Ambassador if he would prove to us that he does not base his protest on this ground, but on some other.

Second, it is painful for us to admit that our policy concerning Russia has to follow in the footsteps of the policy of the big powers. At a time when England has already elaborated the draft of a commercial agreement with Soviet Russia, at a time when the French Premier has already declared in the French Parliament that the French Government has lifted for its citizens the trade embargo of Russia—we have not heard that the French Government has protested against the statement of its premier. What then is the matter with the French Ambassador in Peking who has adopted a self-confident and courageous attitude? If his Government ordered him to file this protest, then how can the corresponding policy of this Government towards

Soviet Russia be brought into unison with the policy of its Ambassador? But if the French Government did not give its Ambassador in Peking any instructions in this respect, then it becomes clear that the French Ambassador by his protest intended to insult China, being well aware of her weakness. It is quite evident that we would like to know what is going on behind the scenes in regard to this note.

And finally, the argument mentioned in the note, that Chinese foreign trade is "protective", etc, is stupid and illogical. We are really sorry that owing to the different agreements which were imposed upon us by the powers, we were unable to develop our own policy. We were offering our thanks to the French Ambassador when he called our policy "protective". But if our foreign trade policy is really "protective", who could deprive us of the right to change it at any time. France has not the right to dictate to us.

Unfortunately, we must say that the French Ambassador has recently sufficiently incensed our people against himself, as well as the people of other countries, in connection with his protest against the suspension of recognition of Tsarist diplomats and rights in China, and in connection with the incident concerning the hoisting of the French flag over the Russo-Asiatic Bank.

CONDITIONS FOR CONCESSIONS

As Provided by the Council of People's Commissars

1. The concessionaire is to receive compensation in the form of a portion of his production, the quantity is to be fixed by the contract, and this he may export to foreign countries.

2. If the concessionaire applies technical methods of an exceptionally perfected character, on a large scale, he shall receive further advantages (such as granting of machines, special contracts for large deliveries).

3. In accordance with the character and the conditions of the concession, longer periods of concessions shall be granted the concessionaire in order to guarantee a full indemnification for risks and for technical apparatus invested in the concession.

4. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic guarantees that the property of the concessionaire which is invested in the enterprise shall neither be nationalized, confiscated, nor requisitioned.

5. The concessionaire shall have the right to employ workers and clerical helpers for his enterprise on the territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, for pay, observing the laws of labor as well as other special contracts guaranteeing that the workers shall have certain conditions of work that will safeguard their lives and their health.

6. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic guarantees the concessionaire that the conditions of the concession contract shall not be violated by any decrees or provisions of the Soviet Government in a one-sided manner.

* Delegate of Soviet Russia in China.

Books Reviewed

By A. C. FREEMAN

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE JEWS IN THE UKRAINE. By *Elias Heifetz*. New York: Thomas Seltzer.

RUSSIA IN THE SHADOWS. By *H. G. Wells*. New York: George H. Doran Company.

RED EUROPE. By *Frank Anstey, M.P.* Melbourne: Fraser and Jenkinson.

During the year 1919 Ukraine was devastated by a terrible wave of pogroms. One hundred and twenty thousand men, women, and children were massacred; and the whole Jewish population of southern Russia was brought literally to the verge of destruction. Scarcely any city or village escaped at least one outburst of looting and murder; and some communities were practically wiped out of existence.

Dr. Heifetz has collected a large amount of material about this pogrom epidemic, including the depositions of many eyewitnesses. But he is not content merely to repeat, with slight variations, the familiar revolting story of pillage, torture, rape, and murder. The appendix of his book contains an abundance of details about individual massacres. But, in the body of his work, he undertakes an objective and scientific study of the factors which entered into this appalling demonstration of mass savagery.

Ukrainian social and political conditions in 1919 were peculiarly favorable to an outburst of anti-Jewish excesses on a large scale. The younger peasants had come home from the war armed to the teeth with rifles, bombs, and machine-guns. Aside from religious and race bigotry, which was often artificially stimulated by the village "intellectuals", teachers, priests, etc., they were eager for an excuse to loot the cities and towns, to seize the clothing and manufactured articles of which they were in need. So they organized themselves in bandit gangs, under the leadership of guerrilla chieftains like Makhno and Grigoriev, and set out to rob and murder the Jews. The Soviet Government, which alone possessed the moral courage and humanity to repress rigorously any manifestations of anti-Semitism on the part of its troops, was compelled to withdraw a large part of its forces from the Ukraine in order to meet the more pressing menace of Kolchak. As a result the unfortunate Jews were handed over to the tender mercies of Petlura and his Ukrainian nationalists, of Denikin and his Volunteer Army led by Black Hundred officers, and of the numerous outlaw bands.

There has been a great effort, on the part of representatives of the various counter-revolutionary elements in Western Europe, to shift the responsibility for pogroms to their opponents. So that venerable revolutionary hero, Nicholas Chaikovsky, who gave up his post as advance agent and hangman of British imperialism in North Russia for the even more congenial task of acting as apologist for the Tsarist leaders, Denikin and Kolchak, in Paris, solemnly assured the correspondent of a Warsaw Jewish paper that Denikin's Cossacks "only" robbed, but did not murder, and that Denikin was eager to repress every demonstration of anti-Semitism. This lying statement was made at a time when Denikin was "purging" his army of all Jewish officers, when Shulgín, a notorious Black Hundred leader and monarchist, was given free scope for his anti-Semitic agitation in the official newspaper of the Denikin regime, *Velikaya Rossia*, when every town taken by the Volunteer Army was made the scene of a systematic, organized, and prolonged pogrom. The butchery at Fastov, so vividly described in a recent issue of *The Nation*, is only typical of the innumerable atrocities committed by the Volunteer Army in the Ukraine, with the open encouragement and approval of many high officials in the Denikin government.

Equally hypocritical and untruthful is the plea of Petlura's apologists that all the pogroms were committed by Denikin's troops or by lawless gangs. It is true that in August, 1919, after Denikin had monopolized the political advantages of anti-Semitism, Petlura put forth an order denouncing pogroms. But this order, issued for the purpose of influencing public opinion in Western Europe, is

altogether discredited by the numerous massacres perpetrated by Petlura's soldiery,—massacres which Dr. Heifetz substantiates with ample documentary evidence. Petlura was even present at one pogrom, in Zhitomir, late in March. And a certain Colonel Petrov, a notorious organizer of pogroms, was given the post of Minister of War in the Petlura government.

Very different was the attitude of the Ukrainian Soviet Government, which consistently, intelligently, and successfully combated anti-Semitism in the districts under its control. A propaganda of education was carried on; anti-Jewish excesses were summarily punished; Jewish recruits were scattered among the various regiments of the Red Army, in order to destroy, by personal contact, the ignorant prejudice of the more backward peasant soldiers. Dr. Heifetz describes the very different behavior of the same troops, when they were fighting on the side of the Soviet Government, and when they deserted to the camp of the counter-revolutionists:

"The great majority of the freebooting troops finally fell away from the Soviet power and went over to the side of their enemies amid the enactment of horrible blood baths (Grigoriev and his people). It must be openly and honestly admitted that the effect of the Soviet Government upon the troops must have been extraordinarily great, for as long as they were actually subject to the Soviet Government at Kiev, they were scarcely guilty of any excesses. We see here at any rate that two opposite political systems (the Kiev Soviet Government fighting against pogroms and the opposite party making use of them) working on the same basis, namely the anti-Jewish feeling throughout the Ukraine and on the same human material, led to entirely opposite results."

Three main conclusions may be drawn from Dr. Heifetz's thoroughgoing analysis of the situation in Ukraine during 1919.

First: the utter moral bankruptcy of the various counter-revolutionary elements. The "Socialist" Petlura, and the various independent Ukrainian leaders, who professed to be ardent revolutionaries, were just as guilty in this horrible slaughter of the defenseless Jewish population as the Tsarist General Denikin, who was clearly inspired by the ideals of the Black Hundreds.

Second: Anti-Semitism is not an ineradicable expression of racial and religious antipathy. It is rather the product of a faulty economic system combined with malicious and deceitful propaganda designed to convince the masses that the Jews, as a race, are responsible for their exploitation. It can be altogether eliminated under the Soviet system of government, which at once removes the causes of economic exploitation and emphasizes, in its educational work, the brotherhood and solidarity of the workers of all countries and races.

Third: the Soviet Government alone saved the Jews of southern Russia from utter destruction.

Having just disposed of the history of the world in two volumes, Mr. Wells doubtless felt that fifteen days was a sufficient amount of time to devote to such an insignificant fragment of the cosmic story as the Russian Revolution. However, his book, while interesting and entertaining, proves quite conclusively that it is quite impossible, even for the most well-meaning and gifted observer, to gain an adequate conception of a mighty social upheaval in a foreign country by means of a hurried trip of inspection through two large cities, and a few interviews with leading personalities. This is especially true when the observer is obviously, and almost boastfully ignorant of the economic philosophy upon which the revolution is based. Baiting Marx's beard and dogmatically insisting that Marxism has no creative or constructive ideas, Wells is somewhat inconsistently brought to the conclusion that the Bolsheviki, the one group of consistent Marxians in Russia, are the only possible agency of Russia's reconstruction. His lack of firm grasp of the situation is also

revealed by the fact that, after declaring that the Soviet Government is "as securely established as any government in Europe," he subsequently alludes to "the by no means firmly established government in Moscow." His conclusions, however, are generally sound. He sees the Russian economic collapse in proper perspective, as a result of the sins of Tsarism, Capitalism and the War. He points out that the Bolsheviki are not wreckers, but builders, who are heroically undertaking a very difficult work of salvage and reconstruction in the face of foreign war, blockade, and subsidized counter-revolution. He recommends as the only practicable solution of the Russian problem peace and trade,—the very things which Soviet Russia has long and vainly attempted to secure. The book reprints Mr. Well's article in *The New York Times*, with an additional chapter describing a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet, and a number of Russian illustrations.

Mr. Anstey is an Australian M.P., of apparently radical political tendencies. Along with a certain amount of irrelevant material his work presents a review of the chief incidents in Russian history from the March Revolution to the defeat of Denikin and Kolchak in the fall of 1919. The author has evidently made a careful study of the European and American press; and many of his quotations possess genuine historical interest and value. The book contains much evidence about the various plots launched by Allied agents against Soviet Russia in 1918.

For Trade with Soviet Russia

San Francisco, Cal., February 8, 1921.

The following resolution was adopted by the American Labor Alliance for Trade with Russia, and the secretary of that body was asked to communicate with all affiliated unions, recommending them at once to request their respective international officers to attend the A. F. of L. Conference to be held February 23, at Washington, and insist on opening trade relations with Russia.

WHEREAS, The economic blockade imposed against Soviet Russia by the late administration is hindering the Russian people from organization of their industrial life, and from remedying the intolerable condition created by more than six years of continued war; and has even led to prohibiting the various relief agencies from sending medical supplies for the sick and food for starving women and children. And further,—this inhuman policy has prevented the consummation of peace between the nations, a condition which all true Americans sincerely desire; and is also preventing reciprocal trade relations between the people of the United States and the people of Russia, thereby disturbing the economic welfare of the workers of both countries, and

WHEREAS, The rapidly growing unemployment in our country would be materially relieved, and lagging industry revived if Americans were permitted to supply Russia with clothing, tools, machinery, locomotives and numerous other commodities which Russia is ready to purchase, and

WHEREAS, Public opinion in the United States against the infamous blockade had compelled the Department of State to announce on July 7, 1920, a nominal lifting of the blockade, without however permitting the execution of commercial transactions between this country and Soviet Russia, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we demand that the Government of the United States take immediate steps to remove the obstacles to trade and commerce with Soviet Russia, to establish communication by post, cable and wireless, to restore the right to travel between the United States and Russia, and to permit the transfer of funds from Russia to be used in the purchase of American goods, to allow authorized representatives of the Soviet Russian Government to act in its behalf regarding all commercial transactions, and otherwise establish complete and unrestricted trade relations with Soviet Russia, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated organizations forward

copies of this, or similar, resolution to the State Department and to Senators and Representatives, and that copies be immediately sent by all affiliated organizations to the Secretary of the A. F. of L. and to the National Executive Officers of all unions, urging them to secure its endorsement at the coming conference of National and Executive Officials, in Washington, on February 23, 1921.

Russia's Foreign Trade

Report For the Delegates to the Eighth Congress

On December 26 Comrade Lezhava, Assistant People's Commissary of Foreign Trade made a report to the delegates to the Eighth Soviet Congress, on the subject of "Our Foreign Trade."

Comrade Lezhava in his speech that lasted two and a half hours emphasized the successes that we obtained on our new and until now unnoticed foreign trade front; he gave an exhaustive description about the imports and exports in the pre-war and present period and drafted the perspectives of the future.

The imperialist war and the civil war that was imposed upon us shortly afterwards have definitely disarranged our foreign trade. It was necessary to conduct an energetic struggle in order to break somehow the ring of the blockade that was strangling us on all sides.

For this purpose it was necessary to use all means. And the first of these means to which we had to resort at the end of 1919 was contraband trade. It was necessary for us, at any price, to get medicaments and some chemical products from abroad, as our supplies had definitely given out.

Soon afterwards we made peace with Esthonia which enabled us to start a more regular exchange of commodities.

Our need of foreign commodities at that time far from diminishing, had rather increased. At that time we did not have as yet any definite plan. It was necessary to elaborate a single importing plan that was so important in our nationalized economy. First of all there were entered in this importing plan those articles that were necessary for the reestablishment of transport and main industries. Now we have already an elaborated importing plan which has been built upon our internal production plan.

One of the shortcomings of our foreign trade is the fact that for the time being we are compelled to buy goods against gold, due to the restrictions on the immediate sale of our gold in those countries in which we are placing our orders.

Another way of paying for imported goods would be the delivery of our raw materials. We have to start immediately to obtain these raw materials—was the concluding argument of Comrade Lezhava, in order to facilitate the importation from abroad which is so necessary for the economic rebirth of our country.

FINNS DEMAND TRADE WITH RUSSIA

HELSINGFORS, January 27.—In Viborg (Finland) a congress of farmers has just taken place. The farmers demand complete free trade with Soviet Russia, without any state control.

Wireless and Other News

RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Krasnaya Gazeta reports: In the solemn annual session of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Academician, S. Oldenburg, reported that the manuscript collection of the Academy had received important new accessions. Among other precious items the famous Pskov manuscript was included, as well as the other correspondence between Tsar Peter the Great and his son Alexei, and letters from the poet Lomonossov. The Asiatic manuscripts also had been considerably increased, for more than 4,000 such manuscripts have recently passed into the hands of the Academy. Many learned works, particularly of historical and physico-mathematical nature have been prepared for printing. The scholars are assigned to foreign countries for purposes of study. Lunacharsky had formed a special commission whose job is to afford every possible facility to scholars.

THE BOOK INDUSTRY

RICA, January, 1921.—In spite of the extremely difficult economic situation of Soviet Russia, due to the long war, and the great lack of linotype machines, and accessories, the Soviet Government has nevertheless succeeded in attaining great results in the printing of books. There are now five great publishing establishments: (1) The National Publishing House (Editions de l'Etat), (2) The Third International Publishing House, (3) The Scientific-Technical Publishing House, (4) Publications of the People's Commissar for Transportation, (5) Publications of the Revolutionary War Councils of the Soviet Republic.

INSTRUMENTS OF PRECISION

January 26.—The Supreme Council of National Economy has established a new industry in Soviet Russia, the manufacture of optical, surgical, and medical instruments. Ten factories in Petrograd are engaged in producing these articles.

STEAM FLOUR MILLS

January 26. *Pravda* describes the immense accomplishments of the Petrograd steam mills. Production in the steam mills has attained the maximum of the pre-war period, 44,000 poods* per day. Steam mill Number 2 announces that it is running 50 per cent beyond its normal production. This factory in addition to its own repair shop also has a theater, a moving picture house, a club, an artists home, in which pictures from the history of the milling industry adorn the walls.

RECONSTRUCTION OF TRANSPORTATION

Moscow, January 26.—The Supreme Council of National Economy has sent a decree signed by Lenin to the railroad workers of the eastern lines calling upon them to exert all their forces in order to carry consignments of food stuffs quickly to the consuming centers. The average distance covered by these trains for each twenty-four hour period is not less than 200 versts (132 miles).

* 1 pood=36 lbs.

TRAINING TEACHERS

Pravda reports: On December 1 there were in Soviet Russia 57 higher pedagogical institutions, 171 with a three year course and 89 with a one year course. The number of persons attending these schools is about 30,000. In January, 1920, about 5,000 persons went into teaching; this year it is expected the number of new teachers will be 10,000. In addition 300 short term courses are being established for teachers already engaged in their work.

GLAZUNOV IN ESTHONIA

REVAL, January 26.—The famous composer and director of the Petrograd Conservatory, Glazunov, has arrived at Reval to give a series of concerts consisting chiefly of his own compositions.

COURSES IN REPAIRING IMPLEMENTS

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn reports: The agricultural office of the province of Viatka has organized courses of instruction for the soldiers of the Red Army in repairing agricultural implements. In these courses, which last four months, the following subjects will be taught: the technology of metals and of wood, mathematics, geometry, drawing. Practical instruction is to include: forge work, locksmithing, cabinet making, as well as their application in repairing agricultural implements. The courses were established for 120 soldiers who were assigned from the army divisions.

Already in May it transpired that the activity of the courses had to be considerably extended. A second group was organized of 170 soldiers and the length of the course in this case may be six months, in order to include new subjects of instruction, as follows: the assembling and taking apart of agricultural machines, civics, bookkeeping and commercial arithmetic, the Russian language. The directors of the courses already had soldiers serving as their assistants who had learned some of these trades previously and who were now specializing in the repair of agricultural implements while aiding in the course. In the period of three and one-half months there were produced in these school shops: 6,000 rakes, more than 3,000 hoes, a great number of blacksmith and locksmith tools, locks, harnesses, etc. In addition agricultural machines were repaired, which involved even the casting of certain parts in the school shops.

AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS

There are at present in Russia 272 agricultural schools, of which 77 were opened in 1918-1920. Of these 272 schools, 16 are universities, 18 agricultural faculties, 10 higher technical schools, 25 technical schools of the "instructor" type, 28 lower agricultural schools, 8 technical schools for workers, 44 nursery schools, and 16 dairy schools, 13 common agricultural schools. In addition there are 26 schools for forestry, 16 forestry courses, 16 surveyors' schools, and 22 surveyors' courses.

BRIQUETTE FUEL

The mining industry of Petrograd has made a new conquest in the economic field by succeeding in the organization of a factory for briquettes, the first factory of this kind in Russia. It is designed to produce six thousand poods of briquettes (one pood equals 36 pounds) per day, and will begin operating in March. Briquettes are shaped masses of compressed coal dust used for fuel as a substitute for coal.

SWEDISH TRADE WITH RUSSIA

SOVIET RUSSIA two weeks ago reported that the steamer *Kalivepog* had left Stockholm January 15 for Reval with a cargo ultimately destined for Russia. A Rosta report received from Stockholm, dated January 27, reports the departure of the same steamer on that day for Reval, with a cargo consigned to Petrograd, amounting to 110 tons of various metal articles, including dumb craft, hoisting tackle, jacks, motors, scythes, saws, and drills, valued at about 800,000 Swedish crowns.

PIANO MANUFACTURE

Almost all the factories of Russia are gradually resuming or even extending their operations. *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* reports that a national piano factory is to take up its work again after a long interruption. The factory will at first be engaged chiefly in filling the orders of the Commissariat for Education.

DEPOSIT OF SCHIST

Geological explorations in the district of Kem, Archangel, have revealed the existence of great deposits of mica-schist. It is planned to erect colonies for workers in the vicinities of these deposits, who will be supplied with the necessary provisions for the winter, as well as with all tools and materials necessary for work.

THE RICHES OF SEMIRYECHYE

The staff of the Soviet Museum of Beysk last summer conducted geological investigations in the province of Semiryechye. There have been discovered rich beds of zinc ore. In the valley of Kartal, in one of the tributary streams of the Kartal river, zinc ore was found; the layer is eight meters deep. The ore reserve may be estimated in millions of poods.*

In the district of Pshevalsk, on the southern shore of the lake Isil-Kula there are ten layers of coal, every one of which is approximately one-quarter of a sazhen** deep. Coal has been also found on the southwestern slope of Terbagatay near the settlement of Uruzharsk and also on the outpost of Argonoty. In the district of Djarkent in the Kisil Kurul mountains there are immense beds of micaceous iron ore. The available reserve of ore is estimated at 30 millions of poods. In the district of Ser-Kul there are layers of carbonic soda. There have been found many layers of copper, lead, and silver ore. Moreover there are layers of gypsum and balkashite from which it is possible to distill kerosene.

* 1 pood=36 English lbs.
** 1 sazhen=7 English feet.

THE WELFARE OF THE WORKERS

Moscow, January 26.—The Council of People's Commissars has provided that state aid for workers, in the case of temporary loss of ability to work is to be extended also to the members of their families. Thus a woman who is caring for her child has a claim to state aid until the child has reached the age of two years; in addition a mother receives, on the birth of her child, a sum of money equal to one month's pay. Mothers giving the breast to their children receive additional assistance.

THE STRUGGLE WITH TYPHUS

Moscow, January 26.—In order to take up energetically the struggle with typhus, orders have just been issued to the effect that dwelling places must above all be put in good condition and the living together of many persons must be stopped. In order to assure absolutely healthy dwellings to the Red soldiers, the engineering troops have been commissioned to subject all barracks to a thorough overhauling and to undertake the necessary reconstructions.

MAILS BETWEEN FINLAND AND RUSSIA

Moscow, January 25.—According to a report from Helsingfors the Director of the Finnish Post Office has declared that Finland is ready at any moment to resume postal communications with Soviet Russia.

NOTE OF PROTEST

RIGA, January 28.—Yoffe, Chairman of the Russian Peace Delegation, forwarded to the Chairman of the Polish Peace Delegation, Dombiski, a note of protest against the sentences passed by the Polish Military Court in the case of nine Red Army volunteers of German citizenship, who were sentenced to death and executed. The names of those shot are: Herman Wibusch, Richard Kretschmar, Albert Schulz, Konrad Meitschke, Julius Edwertz, Albert Ruppertus, Karl Redner, Robert Romeike, Marcus Roffing. The sentence was imposed on the basis of alleged maltreatment of Polish prisoners of war. Yoffe points to the provisions of the international law on prisoners of war, of the Hague Convention, under which German citizens, as in this case, must also be considered as prisoners of war, and may not be treated otherwise than as Russian prisoners of war. Yoffe refers to an earlier note, concerning Balakhovich's troops, in which these troops are threatened with severer treatment, as they are to be considered as bandits and not as members of the Polish army. Furthermore, the Russian Government has always applied the provisions of the international law on prisoners of war to members of the Polish Army, even when these soldiers were of other, for instance French, citizenship. Yoffe categorically protests against sentences of this kind and demands the strictest observance of international law even with regard to volunteers of other citizenship and other nationality than Russian.

POLISH-LITHUANIAN NEGOTIATIONS BROKEN OFF

VIENNA, January 11.—It is reported from Kovno that the Polish-Lithuanian negotiations have been broken off, as no agreement was reached on the points in dispute. The Lithuanian delegates returned to Kovno.

The Lithuanian delegates had proposed to establish a plebiscite in the disputed regions, while the Poles wanted such plebiscites only in regions already occupied by General Zeligowski. No agreement could be reached concerning Vilna, either, since Lithuania wished to retain this city, while the Poles desired to have a plebiscite held there.

BURTSEV'S DISMAY

The counter-revolutionary *La Cause Commune*, published by Burtsev in Paris, is greatly depressed by Premier Briand's declaration against intervention in Russia.

"We have oftentimes heard former French administrations declare that there is no peace and there will be no peace so long as the world is threatened by the menace of Bolshevism," says the paper editorially. . . . "The new French Cabinet puts the question differently . . . Briand's ministry declares that it, too, does not recognize the Soviet Government, with the qualification, however, that 'Bolshevism is an affair of the Russians, insofar as it does not cross its own boundaries, and, therefore, there is no occasion for us to interfere in their internal affairs.'"

TWO NEW SOVIET REPUBLICS

Moscow, January 26.—The Republics of Daghestan and Gorsk have been declared autonomous Soviet Republics. Daghestan embraces the former Daghestan region, while the Republic of Gorsk includes the regions of Chechensk, Grozhni, Vedensk, and Kislak, the latter on the right bank of the Terek, as well as Ossetia and the Vladikavkas region.

DISCUSSION BETWEEN LENIN AND TROTSKY

The newspapers of Western Europe have made a great fuss about the discussion now in progress between Lenin and Trotsky on the subject of the trade unions and has stated that a serious quarrel has arisen between them. On this subject the Stockholm office of Rosta has asked for first hand data and has received the following telegram:

RIGA, January 29.—*Pravda* has been printing, on the occasion of the impending Congress of the Communist Party, detailed discussions on the trade union problems. Chicherin telegraphs to this paper today:

"The difference of opinion between Lenin and Trotsky is not to the effect that Lenin wishes to recognize the trade unions and Trotsky does not wish to recognize them, but in the fact that Trotsky wishes to transform them into an organ of the state, while Lenin would like to see them kept independent of the state apparatus."

The discussion concerning the trade union question is now closed at Moscow. The theses of Lenin and Zinoviev were passed with an overwhelming majority.

How Soviet Russia Regulates Marriage

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Problems before the Eighth Congress

By N. LENIN

[The following speech was made by Lenin after the speech of the chairman, Kalinin, at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets which opened in Moscow on December 22. It is a report on the international and internal situation of the Soviet Republic.]

THE policy of the Entente, which is directed towards military intervention and the military suppression of the Soviet Government is continually suffering defeat. We are continually drawing into our policy of peace an ever-growing number of states that are undoubtedly hostile to the Soviet Government. The number of states that are signing peace treaties with us is growing, and it can be said with full confidence that the final peace treaty with Poland will be signed in the immediate future. Thus, another grave blow will be dealt to the alliance of capitalist countries, which has been striving to overthrow us by military means.

Wrangel's Defeat

Our temporary setbacks in the war against Poland were due to the fact that we were compelled to fight Wrangel, who was officially recognized by one of the imperialist powers, and who received incredible military supplies and all other kinds of material means. We had to crush Wrangel at all costs, and you know what unprecedented heroism our Red Army displayed in overcoming these obstacles, storming fortifications recognized by military experts to be invulnerable. The complete, decisive, rapid, and splendid victory that we gained against Wrangel forms one of the brightest pages in the history of our Red Army. The war forced upon us by the Russian White Guards is liquidated.

On the Alert

We can now set to work on economic construction with much more assurance, but we should be on the alert; under no circumstances can we consider ourselves insured against war. The capitalist pow-

ers and the remnants of Wrangel's forces are not yet exterminated. Other White Guard Russian organizations are endeavoring to organize military forces, to throw themselves upon Soviet Russia at any convenient moment. We must therefore preserve our military preparedness at all costs. Nay, we should improve the fighting quality of the Red Army. This, of course, does not hinder the freeing of a certain part of the army and its rapid demobilization. We think that the vast experience that has been acquired by the Red Army and its leaders during the period of the war will help us to improve its quality. And in diminishing our army, we will preserve a fundamental nucleus that will not be an excessive burden to the Republic, and yet will at the same time make it possible to mobilize and fit out large military forces, more easily than has been the case hitherto.

Our Relations With the Neighboring States

All the neighboring states have already learned the lesson of the past. After three years, they have all been forced to see that when we manifest the most conciliatory and peaceful spirit, we are at the same time ever ready in the military sense, and that every attempt to involve us in war will turn against our enemies and they will get worse terms than those they might have obtained without war. This is not a mere threat, but has been proved by facts. Thanks to this circumstance, our relations with the neighboring states are constantly improving.

In regard to the Latvian Government, I must say that at one time there was the danger of a

break in the relations, even going as far as the idea of suspending diplomatic relations. At the last moment, however, we learned that a change had taken place in the policy of Latvia and that many misunderstandings had been removed. There is hope that we will be in close economic relations with Latvia in the near future.

The Success of Our Policy in the East

Our policy in the East during the last year has achieved great success. The instances of Bokhara and Azerbaijan have shown that the ideas and principles of the Soviet Government are accessible to and immediately realizable not only in industrially developed countries with such a social support as the proletariat, but also among the peasantry. The idea of the peasant soviets has triumphed.

We should likewise hail the imminent signing of the treaty with Persia. Similar friendly relations are likewise assured with Afghanistan and still more with Turkey.

As regards the latter, all the plotting of the Entente has proved futile; union and friendly relations are assured in so far as the international policy of the imperialist states inevitably results in the rapprochement, the union, and friendship of all the oppressed.

The Negotiations With England

At the present time, negotiations are still going on with England. But unfortunately these negotiations are being protracted, and not by any fault of ours. We are ready to sign the commercial contracts immediately, and the fact that they have not been signed up till now is exclusively the fault of those in the British ruling circles who desire to sever the negotiations, against the will of the majority even of the bourgeoisie, let alone of the workers. The longer this kind of policy is going to continue the more acute is the financial situation in England going to become; England is only approaching nearer to a full agreement, instead of perhaps a half agreement.

Concessions

Among the number of important laws that the Soviet Government has passed for this period is the Decree on Concessions. We do not in the least hide the risk that the Soviet Republic runs in making these concessions, as it is a very weak and backward country. Here I must quote a highly characteristic statement made by a non-party peasant concerning concessions at the Arzamas County Congress of Soviets:

"Comrades", he said, "we are sending you to the National Congress and declare that we, peasants, are prepared to starve, freeze, and suffer for another three years, if we know that mother-Russia won't be sold by concessions."

We hail this expression of sentiment—which is very widespread—with delight. For us it is highly demonstrative that among the non-party masses of both workers and peasants, during these three years, there has grown that political experience which allows and induces one to appreciate above all the

emancipation from the capitalists, which induces one to regard with threefold vigilance and intense suspicion every step that may possibly carry with it new danger as far as the reestablishment of capitalism is concerned. We, undoubtedly, mark such statements with great attention, but we should explain there can be no talk about selling Russia to the capitalists. The concession contracts have nothing in common with the selling of Russia, but they do give the possibility of alleviating the position of our workers and peasants, and this is a thing that cannot be trifled with.

The Moment of Transition

The present political moment is characterized by the fact that we are living through a transition period, when we leave the war and go over to economic construction.

The dictatorship of the proletariat has survived because it was able to combine coercion with conviction. The Kolchak and Denikin experiences have convinced the peasantry that only the iron hand of proletarian leadership will save the peasants from exploitation and violence. And it is only thanks to the fact that we have succeeded in convincing the peasantry of this, that our policy, based on the firm and absolute conviction of its righteousness, has achieved such great success. Now we should remember that in going over to the front of labor, the same task is put before us under new circumstances and on a broader scale. In our war with the White Guards, our worker and peasant masses displayed an energy that was not and could not have been equalled in any other country. This was one of the basic reasons why we, after all, defeated the stronger enemy.

At the present moment, new economic problems are coming to the fore, the problem of the single economic plan, the reorganization of the very foundations of Russian economy and of small peasant farming. These problems demand that absolutely all the members of the trade unions be drawn into this work. The peasant masses and the members of the trade unions must learn to understand that Russia belongs to us, that we, the workers and peasants, by our activity and our strict labor discipline alone can rebuild the old economic conditions of existence into one great economic plan. Outside of this there is no salvation.

We must get all, absolutely all, the members of the trade unions interested in production, and see that they understand that Soviet Russia can triumph on the economic front as well, only by increasing the productivity of labor.

Development of Agricultural Production

I now pass on to the bill concerning the development of the farming industry and support of the peasant farms, which the Council of People's Commissars has submitted to the Congress for confirmation.

We have been and remain a country of small farmers, and with us the transition to Communism is infinitely harder than under any other conditions.

Our fundamental task here is to convince the peasant masses of the necessity for State levies, in the interests of all the toilers of Soviet Russia. All our forces of propaganda, all our State means and our education, all our Party forces,—should be resolutely applied to uplift our non-party peasants. Only after we have convinced the bulk of the peasantry of the necessity for intensified farming shall we be able to establish our chief mainstay, agriculture and farming. We are the peasants' debtor, we recognize that; we have taken his crops in exchange for paper-money, but we will return this debt as soon as we establish our industry. And to establish it we must have the surplus of the farming industry.

Electrification

Allow me a few words on the last question, the question of electrification, which has been put on the agenda of the Congress. This report on this most cardinal question, upon which the development of future proletarian Russia depends, should serve as the prologue to a whole series of similar special reports, which from now on should be put on the agenda of all our congresses, both in the center and in the provinces. I think that we here today are the witnesses of a very great change: the rostrum of our national congresses will be occupied not only by politicians and administrators, but also by engineers and agriculturalists. This is the beginning of that happy epoch when people will speak less and less about politics, and the whole attention of our congresses and conferences will be fixed on economic construction, and the enrichment of Soviet Russia with new creative realities. This change should encompass our Soviets and organizations from top to bottom.

From the reports of the State Commission on Electrification you can see what tremendous work has been accomplished in this sphere. A number of the best specialists of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, over one hundred men, have entirely devoted themselves to this task, and as a result we see a printed volume of their investigations. In my opinion, this book should become the second program of the Party, for we can't start on actual construction unless we have electrification. The reestablishment of our farming industry, the reestablishment of transport and other important branches of industry, is possible only through the steady carrying out of the program of electrification, of which I have spoken.

Communism is the Soviet Government plus the electrification of the whole country. Our victory will be final only after we have electrified the whole country, when our industry, agriculture, and transport will be organized on the technical basis of big industry.

I have been to the Volokolamsky country in a village during the opening of an electric station. One of the local peasants who spoke at this celebration, said:

"We peasants have been living in the dark, and now we have been given unnatural light, light that will illuminate our peasant life."

Of course, it isn't the light that is unnatural, but it is unnatural that the peasants have lived for centuries in darkness and oppression. We must make it our task that every factory and every electric station shall become a hearth of enlightenment. And when Russia is enveloped in a dense network of electric stations and powerful technical plants,—then our Communist economy will become an example for the future Socialist Europe and Asia.

Krzyzanowski's Speech

[Comrade Krzyzanowski, the first engineer to report at the Soviet Congress, was born in 1872; in 1894 he was graduated from the Technological Institute, and became organizer in the rural handicrafts Nizhni Novgorod. Then he went to work at the Alexandrov Works in Petrograd, but Union organizations which attracted the attention Ermolov, Minister for Agriculture, who de-organization of crafts which attracted the attention of Ermelov, Minister for Agriculture, who demanded that the author be found. Imagine the surprise and wrath of the Tsarist henchman when he learned that the address of the talented engineer was His Imperial Majesty's prison! Krzyzanowski was then sent to Siberia, where he lived in exile for three years. After his exile he got to Samara, where he worked both on the railway and at the center of the old Russian organization "Iskra". He was elected member of the Central Committee at the Second Congress of the Party. He served on the railroad and in the 1905 Revolution was chairman of the Strike Committee on the north-western line. After the suppression of the revolution he went to Petrograd, chose electrical engineering as his profession, and soon won for himself a reputation as one of the best electrical engineers. In 1912 he became the organizer of the Electrical Transmission Enterprise. He is the author of the Russian version of the well-known war song of the working-class "Warszawianka".]

WE ARE coming to grips with the fundamental problems of our economic life at a most difficult time. Events have proved that Russia cannot be thrown out of the circle of world economy. The problem before us is to elaborate such a plan of industry as to enable us, in a very short time, to gain a victory on the labor front

similar to that gained by us on the military front;—and we have settled in a most determined manner upon the electrification of Russia. Electricity is that new force born in the old capitalist order, which places in the hands of man a mastery over the forces of nature which cannot be bound in the limits of private property. Where it is a question

of forcing tremendous rivers into bounds of stone, and building powerful electric stations to serve and influence the life of huge territories; and where there is a question of uniting various territories into one economic unit, it is clear that not only private property in land, but also private property as an institution blocks the way and must be removed if we are to approach the resources of nature in accordance with the demands of technique and science.

In order to fortify the conquests of the Revolution it is necessary to strengthen our economic front and maintain a severe struggle with the capitalist economy of the West. Here, in spite of our energy, we may be defeated if we overestimate the elements of so-called human power at our disposal.

The regeneration of the economic life of the country in connection with the liquidation of the crisis in our food supply, transport, fuel, and labor, may be brought about in three different ways. One and the most simple is the intensification of labor. The second is the mechanization of labor, and the third is the better organization and coordination of labor on a rational basis. By establishing a comparatively small number of electric stations in the whole country, connected with one another, and forming one single network, we could unite the economy of the country into one single whole. The mere existence of such an electrical system would have as its effect a coordinated rational economy embracing the whole country. Besides this there is the possibility of utilizing as sources of energy, the refuse of industry such as coal dust and slack, shavings of wood, etc., which under present conditions are mere waste.

Electrification must therefore become the foundation on which the plan of our public economy must be based.

Fuel Difficulties

The removal of the fuel crisis will be decisive for the destinies of our industries. The Donets Basin is at the forefront of our fuel problem. According to our specialists the Donets Basin might yield, if we pull ourselves together, up to three thousand million poods* of coal. The regeneration of the Donets coal industry would require a few years, and then about forty per cent of the fuel required by our industries would be covered by the Donets coal. There are, however, two aspects which make the utilization of the Donets coal difficult. The first is the nature of the former methods of coal-mining in the Donets Basin which paid attention mainly to the best coking coal, that is coal which is urgently needed for purposes of metallurgy, whereas the anthracite region representing a tremendous wealth has hardly been touched. To destroy the best source of coal is irrational. As to the development of anthracite mining it will be necessary, not to reestablish a former industry, but to create a new one. Even if we should at the beginning continue to work the Donets Basin on the old lines, we shall come up against another difficulty of transport. To carry coal such long dis-

tances as to the Moscow and Petrograd centers of industry, is a matter of great difficulty. It is therefore necessary that the industrial centers should utilize the local sources of fuel. Our reserves of peat are tremendous. The deposits of peat increase every year to an extent representing five billion poods per annum. This is exclusive of our peat marshes in the North. Peat cannot be carried long distances. It is therefore more useful to utilize it on the spot. Local electric stations could be built where the peat would be turned into electric energy and transmitted along a radius of two hundred versts,* and with improved methods, even four hundred versts, wherever it may be required.

The Grain Problem

Apart from peat, wood waste etc., could be utilized and turned into electrical energy. The fears that the utilization of wood fuel may be harmful for our forest economy are groundless. Our forest reserves are colossal. We don't even utilize a portion of our annual growth of timber.

Our other difficult front is that of the food supply which equally requires exceptional measures. Russia produces about four billion poods of corn, the greater part of which is grown on our periphery, such as Ukraine, Northern Caucasus, Middle Volga, and Siberia. This disposition resembles the disposition of our fuel. Very little corn is produced in our industrial center and food has to be brought up across long distances, which greatly taxes our transport. The non-production of cereals in Central and North Russia is due to causes which may be overcome. Our reserves of arable land are enormous. Out of two billion dessiatins** of land we have up to now utilized not more than one hundred and three million, this is because of the limitations of peasant labor which could not physically handle such tremendous areas. The total area of arable land can be divided into two regions suffering from opposite shortcomings. The whole North is situated in a climatical sphere where the soil suffers from excess of humidity, while the North-East suffers from drought. The mechanical cultivation of the soil may be carried out in such a way as to preserve the moisture which enters the soil. The treatment of the land with tractors and electrical ploughs becomes an urgent matter.

The disposition of our main sources of supply of fuel and food creates a situation where the crisis in the transport involves a fuel and food crisis.

It is evident that, for the present, we shall be obliged to fall back, in the center and in the north, chiefly upon Donets coal and southern and southeastern grain. We are therefore faced with the problem of improving our transport and bringing it into a state of efficiency, so that it may be able to cope with the difficult tasks before it.

The waterways of Russia may be divided into two parts. In the east there is the Volga and in the west the Dnieper. Our network of railways, although considerable, is nevertheless weak, and

* 1 pood=36 lbs.

* 1 verst=.66 miles.

** 1 dessiatin=2.7 acres.

we are faced with the enormous problem of extending this network still further and also of improving the carrying capacity of the railways. The radical solution of the problem as practiced abroad is the construction of special trunk lines for purposes of freight only. In view of our present conditions such a course is impracticable and the most economical method would be to adapt some of our railways for such trunk lines by means of electrification. Such a course, which would not involve any large work of reconstruction of the existing lines, would raise the carrying capacity of the railways to one and a half or two billion poods per verst, and reduce the cost of freight by two-thirds as compared with pre-war conditions. This is tantamount to reducing distances three times, if not more. Thus, for instance, the 1,500 versts dividing Petrograd from the Donets Basin would actually mean not more than 500 versts when the line is electrified, and the distance of 600 versts between Moscow and Petrograd would mean not more than two hundred. The lines to be electrified would be the one running from north to south—from Moscow which is the chief industrial distributing center, through Kursk, Belgorod, and Nikitovka, that is throughout the Donets Basin to the suitable harbor of Mariupol. The other would run from east to west, from Krivoi Rog through Alexandrovsk, Likhaya, Belaya-Kalitva to Tsaritsin, connecting our two great arteries, the Volga and the Dnieper. It would give an outlet for Donets anthracite to the Volga: The importance of the electrification of these lines for the liquidation of our fuel, food, and transport crises cannot be overestimated.

Electrification will have a great effect on our water transport. You see on the map here marked in red a number of electric stations to be erected on the Volga and the Dnieper so as to provide electrical energy for the needs of our water transport and harbors. Electrification will be of particular importance for the Dnieper, the navigation on which, up and down the river, is broken by the rapids near Alexandrovsk. By erecting here an electric station we shall cover the rapids and make the river navigable right through, and at the same time, we shall create one of the most powerful hydro-electric stations in Russia. Our calculations show that we have in our rivers a supply of energy to the extent of 20 million horsepower, counting only such of them that have not less than ten thousand horsepower each. This is distributed approximately as follows: 10 million horsepower in Siberia, 2.7 million horsepower in the Caucasus, 3 million in Turkestan, about 1½ million on the Dnieper, Dniester, and Bug, and the remainder in the Petrograd region, the Murmansk, and the White Sea. I must give warning that caution must be exercised in the construction of large hydraulic stations. In our scheme we have selected only such stations the energy of which could be utilized to the full.

We had in Russia before the war 45,000 small electric plants utilizing water power and represent-

ing an aggregate of one million horsepower. The number of these plants could be increased by the peasants constructing new stations in their spare time, while we would provide them with the necessary equipment. Subsequently all these stations would be included in the general state system. The industries of such a town as Petrograd, which in the past lived upon imported coal, could not be maintained and developed without electrification.

Our calculations have shown that by electrification we may increase the productivity of our industries twice, as compared with pre-war conditions, but at any rate, the increase would not be less than 80 per cent, while the increase in the expenditure of fuel would be only 35 per cent and the increase of labor 17 per cent, and the increase in the number of mechanical motors only 67 per cent.

The New Electric Stations

The Commission on Electrification proposes to construct during the first period 27 stations, in such regions as would make it possible to connect the whole of Russia by one electrical system.

It is proposed first of all to electrify the Donets Basin, and the first station of 20,000 kw. will be erected at the village Kashperovka. In close proximity there will be erected another station near Lisichansk, in the region of the coking coal. These electric stations will utilize the coal refuse and the low grade coal so as to economize the better sorts.

Of particular importance for the Donets Basin will be the station to be erected on the Dnieper, near Alexandrovsk, which will supply the works in connection with the sluicing of the river, which will create a pressure of water enabling at first the utilization of from 200 to 300 million kw., later developing the power to about 800 thousand horsepower. This station alone will mean a saving of from 100 to 130 million poods of coal per annum.

The fourth station in the same region is proposed to be built at Grushev. All these stations will be connected into one and thus will enable us to introduce mechanical methods of coal mining and to create better conditions of life and labor for the miners, to increase output while reducing by half the number of men.

Next is the station Belaya-Kalitva, near the Volga, in the anthracite region. This station could be connected with the Yekaterinodar station in the Caucasus, forming one single system. Then there is a station to be built in the Kuban region, which will make possible to increase the production of zinc, lead, copper, etc. Next is a station on the Terek, near Georgia, which could also supply the latter with energy. A station will be erected at Grosny, in the Caucasus, in the oil region.

Then come stations which will supply the Volga regions. The Tsaritsin station will make it possible to bring the coal from Kalitva to the Volga, and reduce the consumption of oil by the Volga fleet. The Kashparsk station near Samara will consume local shales. Near Kazan, a station will be built at Svyazhsk, which will utilize peat and wood waste.

These stations will enable us to electrify the Volga region's agriculture. Near Novo-Usensk a station will be built which will consume the local natural gas and will supply energy for purposes of agriculture.

In the central industrial regions stations will be built for using the local low grade coal and peat.

At Nizhni a station consuming peat will be erected and will make possible the development of the chemical and metallurgical industry, and in particular at Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, apart from the electrification of the industries, will make possible the introduction of improvement in peat mining. The station at Machursk consuming peat will supply energy to Moscow. The stations of Kashira and Epifan, consuming the low grade coal near Moscow, will also supply Moscow and the industries of the low grade Moscow coal basin. The Epifan and other stations will make possible the electrification of the Kursk railway with its outlet to the harbor of Mariupol.

The stations to be erected on the rivers Volkhov and Svir will provide power for the entire industrial area of the Petrograd region, so that the 200 electric stations in the Petrograd region may be transferred elsewhere.

In the Urals stations will be built at Kiselovsk on the river Chusovaya, at Egorshino (using anthracite) and Cheliabinsk (using brown coal).

These 27 stations will be built at most important points and will be able to cover the whole of our industry.

Quite apart from this is the plan of the electrification of the Murmansk railway, of Siberia and of Turkestan.

The outlined plan may be accomplished to a large extent by our own means, but will require an enormous amount of human labor. However, if we will obtain from abroad powerful machinery, our scheme will be realized within the next ten years.

The effects of electrification on the development of Russia will be enormous. The power developed by those stations would have the same effect as if one threw an army of 15 million fresh people on the labor front. This is true if the stations will work only eight hours a day. Working with a double shift they would develop a power substituting the energy of 30 million people.

Comrade Krzyzanowski demonstrated his scheme on a huge map suspended from the ceiling of the stage of the Great Theater, on which were marked in red circles the stations to be erected, and in blue those in existence. At the mention of a station by Comrade Krzyzanowski it was immediately lit up on the map by a little electric lamp, producing a strong impression upon the audience.

Electricity a Transforming Factor

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

The following is a chapter from the author's book "Wirtschaftsorganisation Sowjetrusslands", which has not yet been translated into English.

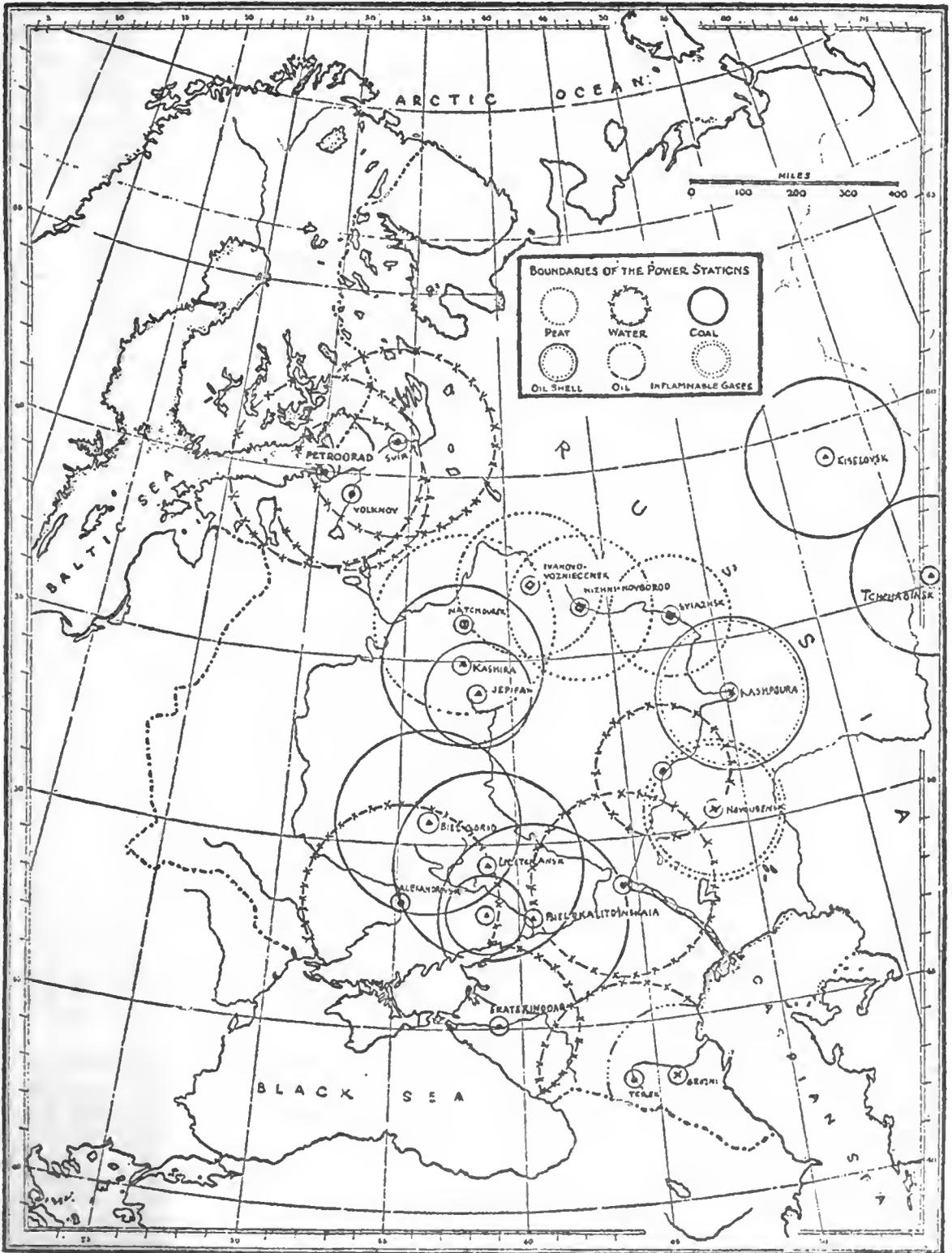
THREE great dislocations are taking place in Russia. Three transfers with the object of abolishing the inorganic quality of economy, of realizing a national location of industry. The metal industry is traveling from the North to the Urals and the South, the cotton industry is moving from the central region to the Caucasus and Turkestan, and in the third—and most important—place, agriculture is moving throughout Russia, is traveling on to cultivate Russia through and through, to intensify the entire soil of Russia. From the North, from the Volga, from Siberia, the pioneer of production and the pioneer of intensive operations, agriculture is being sent out all over Russia.

These three gigantic changes of location are being accomplished with the aid of electricity, with the aid of great overland power stations, with the aid of a tremendous network through which the electric current is loosed in order that everything, from the most elementary commodity down to the smallest product of skill may be given by it.

But this transfer is not equivalent to an evacuation, a desertion of the regions. On the contrary, it is equivalent also to an intensification, an intensification of the production of these regions, but it means an exploitation of other possibilities also.

First, the economy of Russia is divided into new fields in accordance with a plan of electrification—limits are set, on the basis of a new principle—that of electrical geography. This electrical geography is the basis of all nationalization of economy. Once the new limits have been set, once economic divisions have been made in accordance with the sources of raw materials, then it will be possible also to establish rational power stations, and together with them, a practicable rationing of production. With this practicable rationing of production, there will be much greater comforts of administration. This is the immediate purpose.

Fuel possibilities, power transformation possibilities, transportation possibilities must be investigated before the complete execution of the plan is attempted. Studies of economic geographical nature, technological-scientific explorations must be made to all regions in order to anticipate the course of events. The problem of enhancing production in connection with the original sources of materials must be investigated. We must limit ourselves not only to regions already settled, regions on which there is already a capitalist economic culture, we must pass over the Urals, into Siberia, into the Far East, we must go everywhere.



THE ELECTRIFICATION OF RUSSIA

The *Manchester Guardian's* map of the proposed stations and their territory is here reproduced. The words "oil shell" used in the explanation should properly be "oil shale" (combustible slate). Spellings above diverge somewhat from those followed in SOVIET RUSSIA.

In Russia this has already been done and is being done more and more. And more and more the errors of private economy are being exposed, an exposure which was already begun during the war.

In connection with German plans of electrification, particularly those of Klingenberg (*Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft*), an electrical rational economy, the planful electrical economy of Russia is being carried out, under the guidance of Krzyzanowski, Lenin's friend and economic advisor, who has explained this plan to me. Two problems are to be solved, first the question of the location of production, and the question of fuel for the furnaces of the electrical power stations.

Water Power

But these problems are already solved in essential points. In the Petrograd region, in the northern region, in the region evacuated by the metal industries, white coal (water power) is being utilized for the production of electrical power. In the first place the falls of the rivers Svir and Volkhov. These centrals are already under construction. With their aid the transport routes, the railroads of the northern regions are to be electrified. The electrification of the Murmansk Railway is also to be undertaken soon. Great power stations are being built on the White Sea, and at Murmansk. There is excellent water power in this region, convenient sources for the production of electrical energy. Entirely new conditions for production are thus being created for the North. Great nitrogen works are there being established, also aluminium works. With artificial nitrogen, as well as with potash, it is intended to intensify agriculture in these regions. A connection by electric railway will be effected between the White Sea, Murmansk, and Petrograd. The Petrograd region will thus become an absolutely modern transportation region, with Petrograd as its central point, perhaps a gigantic storehouse for the Socialistic foreign trade. It has been calculated that in the region on the White Sea a million horse power (in water power) can be conveniently exploited.

The Petrograd region will therefore obtain power stations which will serve the transportation routes to the seas and to the interior, create new industries by using the mighty water power resources, and intensify agriculture into a model economy. The electrical line from Murmansk to Petrograd will render possible the opening up of the ice-free port of Murmansk, which hitherto has been very little used.

The production of great quantities of artificial fertilizer, as well as the supply of electric current will be to the peasant a spur to a collectivistic cultivation of the soil. Artificial fertilizer and electric power are not only means for enhancing production in agriculture, but also a means for grouping together the small holdings, the peasant farms. As electric power produces large scale industry so it also renders possible large scale agriculture. It facilitates farming, increases the productivity of the soil, saves time, instructs, inspires, furnishes

an example in the sense of collectivism. Artificial fertilizer and electric power are being systematically used by the Soviet Government with the object of gaining the adherence of the peasants to the collective plan, to the agricultural commune. They are impulses and pressures toward unification, toward the rational joining of forces, toward an enlightenment of the peasant souls in the sense of a Socialist economy. The more artificial fertilizer, the more electric power you have in agriculture, the more collective will be your agriculture.

We therefore are to consider an exploitation of the water power resources for the creation of a far-reaching and extremely closely webbed electric current in Russia's northern region. This region, which Russia is ready to subject to capitalist exploitation will be newly fructified after the removal of its industrial heterogeneities without in any way violating the rational principle of location of industry. Its possibilities are water power and the resources of the soil, both agricultural and in certain minerals. By means of water power and the electric current which it produces, transportation in this region will be modernized and accelerated, artificial fertilizer will be produced and immediately brought to the surrounding farm lands for purposes of intensification and agricultural training, ultimately strengthening the collective spirit. In this way this region will become a center for two kinds of influence. In the first place the rapid transportation of socialistic objects of foreign trade from the interior to the ports of the north and to the boundaries of these regions as well as the rapid transportation of imported goods into the interior of Russia will be possible. Furthermore, a fruitful agriculture, a richly yielding soil will be attained, which will be a soil for the future instruction and enrichment of Russia.

Agricultural Matters

In this connection let me at once outline the agricultural plan. The object is to eliminate the old three-field system which is unprofitable, which is an unproductive economy of partial land-idleness. The primitive plow must be eliminated in favor of modern means of cultivation. In the process of this elimination, the economy of endless division of energy must be relinquished and replaced by a collective agriculture.

For this purpose not only agriculture of the northern region, of the vicinity of Petrograd and its radiations, must be intensified, but the agriculture of the Volga region. The Volga region has excellent soils, great tracts of rich black earth, easily exploited. To be sure there is great trouble from draughts, a large scale and fine-combing irrigation is to be undertaken with the aid of electricity, and the mechanical cultivation of the soils of these regions is also to be facilitated by electricity, irrigation, watering, modernizing of implements and tools, and, in consequence a collectivization of agriculture will make these regions not only the granary of Russia, but also a source of food for the whole world. This is one of the most important

problems in the feeding of Europe. Germany has a direct interest in it. Germany should send hosts of skilled farmers, trained agriculturists, machines and implements in great quantities to these regions, for they are so to say the breasts of the mother that can feed Germany. There are immense possibilities of enlightenment here. All that is needed is the will, and in a few years the fruits will be apparent; the German starving may be fed with grain from the Volga. This is not a Utopia, it is a reality if only there is the will.

Siberia's Resources

But this does not exhaust the resources, the possibilities of useful yields from electrical energy in agriculture. To the east of the Urals, far into Western Siberia there exist great areas of land which are partly, in fact almost entirely, untouched. This is also a question of world-wide importance. The Altai region for instance is a garden of paradise. Krzyzanowski told me that in Western Siberia 150,000,000 dessiatins of good land, rich fat land, are waiting for a fructifying cultivation. He said it was almost virgin soil, with only primitive manipulation, scratched only by the *sokha**, by a population that lives in accordance with what the Bible says of lilies. It is a pious farm land, a farm land with faith in God, a farm land that leaves everything to God. An area such as Tolstoy's peasants love, an area that is left to fructify itself, not a modern farm land, which is attacked and fought with, but a farm land that reposes and idles in God. The 150,000,000 dessiatins are here waiting for electrification, for a delving into their entrails, for a shifting about of their forces, for a unification of their forces, for illumination, for energizing by modern machines, for Americanization so to speak, for an extension, an intensive extension of cultivation.

Americans and English have already called attention to the fact that Western Siberia is a new California. If I have the time and the opportunity, I shall take a trip through Western Siberia next spring, in order to let you know precisely what grows there on the ground and under the ground, and what more can be made to grow upon the ground if it is not entirely left to its own devices. I was told in Moscow, scratch this soil only with a pin, with the most primitive community agriculture, with a non-intensive, un-modern cultivation, and these fields, these trees, these bushes, will feed at last 40,000,000 people. Fire them with electricity, drive currents through them, supply them with mounds of fertilizer, collectivize and start an ant-like activity, and this region can feed as many people as Canada, and Canada asked for 90,000,000 settlers before the war. You see the world is big enough. We need not break each others heads for colonies, all we need to do is to distribute and exploit rationally. We need only to proceed socialistically, and the thing will work very well. No one on all this earth would need to hunger if people would only act socialistically. We have electricity, and that means our pinions, we have the

* Primitive Russian plow.

riches that need such pinions; why should we not go right about the job? We only need to reorganize society, transform the administration, get rid of considerations of petty profit, and soon the riches will be visible, soon all the shabby insufficiencies of the past will be only a dreadful memory.

In Western Siberia there are so many natural resources that we may say there is hardly anything lacking; in fact Russia as a whole, once it has been transformed by machinery, once it has been electrified, has hardly any need of obtaining anything from foreign parts. Russia does not need us, does not need Europe. Europe needs Russia. This is a fact. This is not a fact of immediate realization, it is a fact of the future; but it is a fact of the *near* future, already a tangible thing. Since Europe needs Russia it should help Russia so that it may itself be aided by Russia. Go and place yourself at the disposal of Russia, with motors, with porcelain insulators, with rubber, with knowledge, with engineering abilities, with skilled workers. You will not regret it.

Western Siberia has mountain torrents, coal deposits, peat bogs. The problem of electricity from peat is approaching its solution in Russia. Accordingly great power houses are being built near the bogs. Western Siberia has all the resources of fuel. It has also great quantities of polymorphous ores and it is hoped therefore that a new metallurgical industry may arise in these regions, particularly in the environs of Krassnoyarsk.

We shall not have all these things tomorrow, but the day after tomorrow, not without foreign aid, not without skilled aid can Russia immediately raise these treasures. It should therefore immediately have this skilled aid. But do not fool yourself, this skilled aid will not be a corroding capitalist aid, an aid that carries any infection from without. This is no longer possible. You will believe me after you have studied the organization, its tremendous scale, and its inescapable conditions, as presented in this book. You can get from Russia everything you need, but you will not disintegrate Russia's Socialism, Russia's incipient Communism. The Russian proletariat and the Russian peasantry will not permit you to take away what they have accomplished. If the Russian peasant is to this day still opposed to collectivism, because he fears the return of the great landed proprietors and with them the assigning of his collectivized property to the holding of the old proprietor, he will tomorrow be already free from this fear and he will become more and more free from this fear as agriculture is progressively electrified. For electric power is the pioneer and the uniter, the ally of the Soviet system, which is also a uniting and a pioneer power.

Canals, Cotton, and Slate

Of course Russian electrical economy must proceed in a *real*-political manner, along the lines of least resistance. In other words, there is a theoretical and a practical electrical economy, the latter having the object of realizing the former. And at this moment everything is being made real that can be made real.

That is why the cotton industry of the central region (Moscow) is not being immediately transferred to the Caucasus and to Turkestan, in other words to the sources of the cotton, but for the present to the Government of Samara. This is a station on the road to Turkestan, and arrangements are already being made to shift the cotton industry all the way to Turkestan. At present, work is being carried on in Turkestan for enlarging the cotton plantations.

In the Government of Samara the electrical conditions are extremely favorable. Immense quantities of combustible slate (oil shale) are there available, whose fuel value is about equivalent to that of brown coal. In addition to this combustible slate, there are tremendous quantities of combustible gases. The Samara region is the beginning of the great naphtha territory. It is the so-called dry naphtha region: naphtha itself is not found there, but there are very valuable naphtha gases. The ordinary artesian well will furnish you with enough gas to serve a 300 horse power motor for a long time. The Samara power stations are therefore to be fired with naphtha gases and combustible slate. The Volga problem has been a subject of consideration for a long time. It has been found that the "head" of the Volga is not sufficient for purposes of electrification. And besides, the spring floods are a disturbing factor. A new canal is therefore to be built to connect the Volga and the Don. The differences of level in this canal are to make possible the driving of a station of 20,000 horse power. Simultaneously the canal is to serve as the connecting link between the Volga region and the Donets region, in other words, between the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea. This new waterway will enlarge and accelerate the south Russian transportation facilities. Already now the Volga takes care of twenty per cent of all of Russia's transportation. We need hardly point out what this new canal will mean for south Russian traffic, for all the trade of Russia, and for the south Russian industry in particular.

The canal will supply the Volga region and the Ural region with good coal (anthracite) and, in return, will supply the Donets region with the Ural ores and simultaneously move the motors of great power stations in its descent. They are counting, as I have said, on 20,000 horse power stations. Here also, therefore, we have a heating with white coal, with water; just as in the northern region it is the natural rivers, so here it will be the canal that furnishes the white coal, while in the Samara region the electrical power will be taken from the naphtha gases and combustible slate.

After the cotton industry has moved from the central region to Samara, in order later to take up its abode in Turkestan where there are already possibilities of electrification and of irrigation by means of electricity, the textile industry of the central region will be reorganized and extended as a national industry. It will be a great flax and linen industry. The Russian flax is so excellent that it is conquering one region after the other. To be

sure there have thus far been great difficulties through lack of machinery, and no one knew exactly how to adapt the English cotton machinery to linen manufacture. But this machine problem has already been solved. In the first place by an improvement of the flax (mixing it with cotton, etc.), and in the second place, by refitting the machines of the Saxon system for this manufacture. It is hoped that the electrification, together with a gigantic production of flax in the central region, on the Volga, and the border states, etc., may supply Russia with a great textile industry. This textile industry will be fed brown coal fuel, of which there are great quantities in the central region. One gigantic power station is already in operation. It was built before the war by German firms, by the A. E. G., Siemens, Rosenthal. It works well, reliably. Other stations are now perhaps already functioning, at any rate the electrification is proceeding rapidly, particularly in the Moscow region.

The electrification of the Donets region will be effected with the aid of coal dust; the new canal, the utilization of its differences of level for the creation of electrical energy, the mutual exchange of raw materials between the Donets region and the Volga region, the electrification of the Don region with coal dust fuel, all this will facilitate in an extraordinary manner the industrialization of the rich mineral region of the south.

Dividing the Territory

For the present there are four chief centers of electrification: the northern region, central region, the Samara region, the Donets region. Furthermore, there will later be Turkestan, and particularly, Western Siberia. This is the beginning of an entirely new Russian economic geography, an entirely new economic map for Russia. This will systematize and guide Russian industry toward its raw materials, by a rational utilization of force, a rational application of electric current. The forces will be united, transferred wherever necessary, collectivized when necessary, and so unified and distributed that the pursuit of raw materials by industry will not be rendered difficult.

The electrical technology of this shifting, of this industrialization, this unification and feeding the regions with current, is the following:

From the overland power stations, from the great central stations, the current is sent by means of transformers into the sub-stations already present or to be constructed. The small electrical works are in this way to be standardized, so to speak. They will be attached to the systems of the great central stations. For example, already all of the Moscow electrical stations have been connected with a gigantic overland power station near Moscow, the lighting plant, the tramway service of Moscow, etc. Similar is the practice with the electrical works in the metallurgical industry, in the coal industry, etc.

In this way a great net is being spread all over Russia, consisting of regional networks that can be drawn into one. Each regional network is a tribu-

tary of a main central station, from which all the sub-stations, all the power houses of the region are standardized.

We are therefore dealing with a complete electrification of Russia which will involve a utilization of all the possibilities of electrification, of all the fuels, of peat, of coal, of coal dust, of naphtha gases, etc., the utilization of hydraulic power, the utilization of existing works, the construction of branch works, of sub-stations, sub-centrals, etc.

There is to be sure no better means, no more powerful way of achieving a unification of the entire national economy in the direction of a planful socialistic system. Electricity is, so to speak, the energy of Socialism, the technical force of Socialism. Steam was the power of liberalism, of Manchesterism, of so-called free competition. Electricity leads to the elimination of competition, the doing away with the capitalistic throat-cutting. But this does not mean the elimination of the technical cultural competition. On the contrary electricity will kindle the lust for invention, ever opening new fields, ever making new discoveries. Electricity will accelerate the machine, the tool, the spirit that guides machine and tool. Electricity thus may be considered as an immense and important socialistic motor of culture, a power moving toward the Socialistic Society, a power bringing about the Communist Society.

That is why the Third Congress of Economic Soviets passed the following resolution (literal translation:

"Whereas Soviet Russia disposes of immense supplies of fuel, such as naphtha, coal, peat, etc.; and likewise possesses great resources of water power in the form of water-falls, and whereas the rational utilization of these resources for the needs of the country may only be a converting them into electrical energy, the Third Congress of Economic Soviets resolves that the erection of technical power houses for the purpose of supplying industry and the cultural needs of the entire region of the Republic must be considered as one of the most important technical tasks of the nation in the near future, and instructs the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy to draw up and issue concrete plans for the execution of this provision."

Krzyzanowski's formulation of the situation is this:

The Soviet Power + Electricity = Communism.

LOCAL ELECTRICAL INSTALLATIONS

Izvestia in recent issues printed the following small electrical items:

It is reported from Kursk that in the village of Shamenka, district of Staroskelsk, an electrical power station has been constructed, which will furnish light to three hundred houses.

It is reported from Orel that in the village of Chernavsk, district of Yeletz, a dynamo has been installed in the turbine works which furnishes illumination for the building of the local executive committee, the hospital, the school, the post-office, the

telephone station, and a number of private dwellings.

An electrical station has begun to operate in the village of Yassikov, province of Tula, furnishing illumination for all the settlements of the district.

Near the station of Porashino an electrical power house has just been opened, which furnishes electric light to ten villages.

ELECTRICAL POWER HOUSE AT KOLOMNA

Moscow, February 15. The electrical power house at Kolomna has begun operations. It supplies the entire city with electric light and most of the factories with electric power.

ELECTRIFICATION

Twelve glass works have been electrified in the northern portion of Soviet Russia. A power house also supplies the surrounding towns with electricity.

The Next Issue of

Soviet Russia

1) WHEN ARMS ARE FAIR, by John S. Clarke. The well-known editor of the *Worker*, of Glasgow, Scotland, points out that an armed insurrection was inevitable for the overthrow of the Tsarist and capitalist order in Russia.

2) THE FACTORY IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt. A forcible and dramatic presentation of the division of authority in the administration of Russian industry today.

3) PROCEEDINGS OF THE EDUCATIONAL CONGRESS. This congress took place immediately after the close of the Eighth Congress of Soviets, in December 1920, and discussed a number of important educational questions.

4) THE SOVIET RUSSIAN RAILWAY COMMISSION ABROAD. An interview with Professor Lomonossov, who tells precisely what this important Commission is doing.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

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This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

IN 1919 there was a moment in the existence of the Soviet Republic when its position seemed almost hopeless. With Kolchak in possession of all Siberia and large parts of European Russia, with Denikin in the South, with the Ukrainian nationalists under Petlura as well as the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Letts, the Estonians and the Finns, in the West, with the British in the North, in addition to the hunger in the cities and the dissatisfaction of the peasants—who were perfectly willing to get the land through the Revolution, but were unwilling to feed the cities that made the Revolution—the days of the Soviet regime seemed to be numbered. That was the moment the Mensheviks chose to “get even” with their adversaries, the Bolsheviks, and to destroy them from within. Taking advantage of the exhaustion, the hunger, the depression of a great part of the working masses, they told them in their papers that they were starving because the soldiers were getting most of the food, and cried: “Down with the civil war!” Thus at a time when Soviet Russia—in spite of the Government’s repeated peace offers—was attacked by the entire world, they were placing the responsibility not on international capitalism and its White henchmen, but on the communists who, at the cost of unspeakable sacrifices, were defending the first socialist oasis against a world of brigands. For this appeal to the basest instincts of cowardice before the enemy, the Menshevik traitors *were not treated*, as e. g., pacifists would be treated in any country, if they should conduct a similar propaganda in the case of an invasion of that country. *They were not shot—only their papers were suppressed*—and since that time they have been treated with suspicion.

This of course did not stop their further activity. The difficult situation brought about by six years of imperialist war, revolution, civil war, and foreign intervention had of course created an atmosphere in which many workers—unable to see the end of their miseries—decided to abandon the continuous struggle and to return to their native villages, where they had at least enough to eat. Had this movement not been stopped through various compulsory emergency measures, the factories would have been completely deserted, all industrial

activity would have come to a standstill, any defense against the counter-revolutionary onslaughts would have become impossible, the Revolution would have died. The Mensheviks, of course, raised the cry of “slavery” and “forced labor”. Hypocritical servants of the bourgeoisie, they would have preferred the triumph of capitalist oppression as long as “individual liberty” was respected. They were especially successful among those layers of the working class that already under the capitalist system had enjoyed a certain amount of well-being—as compared with the great mass of unskilled and half-skilled workers. The highly skilled workers—whose earnings in most countries bring them nearer to the standard of the middle classes than to that of the large working masses—are everywhere the main support of those “Socialists” or Trade-Unionists who are ready to quarrel with the capitalists and to denounce their greed from time to time—but who will never declare open war on them. The famous words of the *Communist Manifesto* do not apply to them. They have *more* to lose than their chains. They are dissatisfied petty bourgeois—but not rebels. They prefer their position as well-fed underlings in capitalist society to the risks and hardships of revolution and civil war. Working class solidarity is unknown to them as in their hearts they despise the poorer laborers. In many countries the aristocracy of the working class are taking every step to bring about a combination with their employers and improve their situation at the expense of the great mass of the working population. Knowing their indispensableness they often make in Soviet Russia such demands as could only be satisfied at the cost of the hunger of other workers. In this attitude they are, of course, encouraged by the Mensheviks, who are glad in any way to embarrass the Soviet Government. Whenever this happens, the Soviet Government has of course to defend the Revolution and the working class as a whole against these counter-revolutionary machinations, which in such a situation as the present—may spell the death of the Revolution. The Bolshevik is like the Turk—a malicious animal—when you attack him, he defends himself—much to the displeasure of those “friends” of the working class who would like to do from within what Kolchak and Denikin did not succeed in doing from without.*

No wonder, therefore, that Gompers, a contributor to the defunct American organ of Kolchak, “*Struggling Russia*” steps in to defend those poor persecuted Mensheviks. In an article to the *American Federationist*, advance copies of which have been sent broadcast to all newspapers, he gives the Soviet Government a piece of his mind. By doing so the President of the A. F. of L. shows that he is a clever man and that he has not without profit taken a leaf from pro-revolutionary Russian history. Whenever the Tsar and his militaristic, clerical, and bureaucratic henchmen felt themselves menaced by

* A reply of Krassin to an inquiry of the British Labor Party concerning these “persecutions” will appear in our next issue.

the growing dissatisfaction of the workers and peasants — they took recourse to the medieval device of putting the blame for everything on the Jews. After the ignorant masses had vented their accumulated anger in the blood of the convenient scapegoats, the old system continued for a while to go on undisturbed. Now Mr. Gompers, the Tsar of the American labor aristocracy, for various reasons connected with the present situation, feels himself menaced in his autocratic power and prestige, and to stem the tide of opposition against him, as well as in order to ingratiate himself once more with his masters, he takes up the cudgels in a furious attack on all alleged forms of tyranny—in Moscow.

What matters it to him that the *official* report of the British Labor delegation on conditions in Russia was—despite its anti-Bolshevik majority—very favorable to the Soviet Government?

What matters it to him that the German “Independent Socialists” Crispian and Dittmann, who after their return from Russia started an anti-Bolshevik campaign, have been repudiated by a tremendous majority of their party?

What matters it to him that Merrheim of the French Metal Workers’ Union, the “pacifist and revolutionary syndicalist”, as he calls him, is branded as a traitor by all the best and oldest names of French labor unionism, such as Monatte, Yvetot, Griffuelhes, Delessalle, and is now writing prefaces to books by the renegade Hochschiller, who is the head of the anti-bolshevik and pro-interventionist campaign of the Paris *Temps*, the *Times* of the French imperialist and plutocratic gentry?

What matters it to him that the Italian Federation of Labor whose leaders he tries to put in line against Russia has according to the London *Times* just voted one million francs for the support of the Communist International?

After this statement was issued, some of the papers expressed the idea that Mr. Ralph M. Easley, chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation was the inspiration of Mr. Gompers’ denunciation of the Soviet Republic. This turned out to be incorrect, and that gentleman declared that “rather does Mr. Gompers inspire us in what we are doing”.

* * *

A SHORT time ago the question of resumption of relations with Russia was again put forward in the German Reichstag. On that occasion, Dr. Simons, Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that “a resumption of diplomatic relations was impossible, as long as no reparation is made for the murder of our Ambassador, Count Mirbach, committed in 1918.” To many readers this statement must have appeared as proof of a somewhat excessive German vindictiveness, for it had been reported at the time and repeated over and over again that 300 men—Social Revolutionists of the Left—were executed for that deed. The Soviet Government has often enough been attacked by all ‘lovers of free-

dom’ for the cruelty displayed in this dastardly servility toward the Kaiser’s Government. But now news comes from Danzig printed in all New York papers of February 12, that “Blumkin, one of the men who assassinated Count von Mirbach . . . is a shining literary light in Moscow, and holds a position with the Soviet Government.” This information, although it comes from Danzig, seems really to be authentic. For although Blumkin’s literary career is unknown to us, we have known for a long time that after spending a year in prison for his—temperamental outbreak, he joined the Communist Party and really held a position in the government. One year of prison, to 300 death warrants—that is about the real proportion of truth in the “news” about Russia.

* * *

UNDER the title “Not Our Sort of Thinking”, the Montrose (Colorado) *Daily Press*, of February 24, prints the following editorial dealing with this weekly:

“SOVIET RUSSIA,” the official organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, has invaded our fair city, and, according to the statement of one banker here, they are raking in the dollars for subscriptions which, if every community gives similar support, bids fair to permit them to boast of a huge circulation.

“SOVIET RUSSIA,” the official organ of the Russian Soviet government may satisfy the citizens of that section of the world, the magazine “SOVIET RUSSIA” may have its place in the sun, but as far as *The Daily Press* is concerned the United States of America is too good a place for a magazine of that nature and the “SOVIET RUSSIA” should not be permitted to establish its home in these states.

Leon Trotsky and his friends may have a message of great import, but *The Press* is not interested and the reading of one copy of “SOVIET RUSSIA” quickly convinced us that it did not fit into our scheme of living and thinking.

We did not know that we had “invaded” that portion of the United States, but an inspection of our subscription and bundle orders for Colorado shows us that they increased 30 per cent between January 1 and March 1, 1921. As yet this does not justify the suggestion that we are “raking in the dollars”, but an influx of dollars would nevertheless be desirable from subscription sources in any portion of the world. It is true, as *The Daily Press* suggests, that “Leon Trotsky and his friends have a message of great import,” and we must also accept *The Press*’s word that “it is not interested”, and note with regret that SOVIET RUSSIA does “not fit into” its “scheme of living and thinking”. The system of civilization which has supplanted the old regime in Russia, which has made some progress in absorbing some of the border countries of Russia, and which, furthermore, has now for three years been causing the rulers of all the rest of the world to tremble at the possibility of its extension, is perhaps of sufficient importance to demand a kind of place in any scheme of living and thinking. In present-day society, unfortunately, most persons are obliged to give a larger place in their activities to scheming than to either living or thinking.

The Single Economic Plan

By LEON TROTSKY
(Conclusion)

The Unification of the Economic Departments and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection

The fight with bureaucracy and procrastination has become, as I have already said, a very popular cry in our ranks, where bureaucracy is now regarded as an epidemic introduced from outside, which is to be fought by vigorous measures. Procrastination is not infrequently ascribed to sabotage. However, to formulate the question in this way means not to see the question at all. There can be no two opinions as to the necessity of applying strong measures against people guilty of sabotage. But to say that procrastination, slovenliness, and negligence on the part of the Soviet organizations is nothing but malicious 'sabotage or, putting it mildly, bureaucratic indifference to business in hand, betrays a complete failure to understand the very essence of our difficulties. The absurdity of the theory, which lays the blame of all our miseries upon "experts", becomes obvious when we call to mind how often complaints come in about bureaucracy and procrastination prevailing in the Party and trade union organizations. In reality, what we are dealing with is not a disease contracted from without, or mere sabotage on the part of the officials, but something far deeper, viz., the acute pains of adolescence.

The Smolny period of our Revolution was characterized by improvisation and arbitrariness in all branches. The Kremlin period is one of regular organization and Soviet law. Soviet law, with its system of trustified and nationalized industries, food levies, and card system of distribution, with the repair of engines according to order No. 1041, etc., means the deep and thorough-going regulation of our economic life. However, the Soviet machinery of organization, and the actual work of the departments lag cruelly behind the Soviet decrees pointed out above. To get practical results out of a decree, it is necessary, as a rule, especially for local organs, to ascend the ladder right up to the top of a center, then go down, ascend again to the top of another center, and so on. This is procrastination which, in essence, is bred and maintained by the lack of coordination between the economic work proper, the machinery of State, and the Soviet decrees. Sabotage, which may shelter itself in the crevices of this lack of accord, is only aggravating the evil, but is not the cause of it. There is no other way of breaking this front of procrastination except by violating or circumventing the decrees. But to observe Soviet law is just as important as the necessity to fight bureaucratic procrastination. When we investigate carefully the work of any Soviet institution dealing with things material, such as cloth or labor, we are forced to the conclusion that its work proceeds within the pretty narrow limit of procrastination on the one hand and arbitrariness on the other.

The Tsarist State Control was transformed by us into the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, mainly for the purpose of assuring us victory over a criminal pair: viz., most lawful procrastination and most lawless arbitrariness. If it had to deal with intentional crime or vices introduced from outside, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection might very likely have accomplished the task set before it. But the fact is that we are dealing here not with conviction and prevention of crime, but with the building up of an economic organization operating on a correct and coordinated basis. And that is why the methods of the Inspection proved ineffective. Procrastination springs from the fact that the ruins of the capitalist institutions are interlaced with the incomplete and badly coordinated socialist institutions. To defeat procrastination, it is necessary to build up socialist production so that it works smoothly.

The educational problem facing the Inspection, namely, to get the working masses interested in the business of controlling the work of departments and institutions, has, so far, not quite been solved; final judgment cannot be passed on this point before we have had indications from experience. However, with regard to the main problem interesting us; namely, the work of controlling the various departments with a view to ensuring efficiency and coordination, one thing may be said definitely: The Workers' and Peasants' Inspection has proved absolutely unequal to this task. It is utterly impossible to create a special department which should embody in itself all the wisdom of the State and really be able to control the other departments, not merely from the point of view of the conscientiousness and the business-like manner in which the work of each of them is carried out, but also from the point of view of the general efficiency, suitability, and regularity of the work as such. Every department knows that when a change of policy or the introduction of serious reforms of organization become necessary, it is useless to apply for advice to the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. Moreover, the Inspection itself looks like a victim of the incongruity between the decrees and the apparatus for carrying them out, and in its turn serves as a potent factor of procrastination and arbitrariness.

To throw light upon the question, let us approach it on its simplest side. One might have thought that the functions of financial control by the Inspection were very clear. But even here, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection falls into most difficult contradictions from which the work suffers greatly. Our accountancy offers one of the most glaring examples of the discord and incoordination obtaining between the various branches of the Soviet State and the industries. We continue to measure the expenditure of all departments, which

is the expenditure of human labor in the various branches of our construction, in terms of rubles which, however, long since have ceased to be the measure of anything. The credits asked for various works are often calculated by complicated methods, but the practical value of such calculations is more often than not, nil. It is perfectly clear, that in this respect, the widest avenues are open for bureaucratic pressure, connivance, arbitrariness, and downright sabotage, because the Inspection may demand from the departments complete "proof" in justification of the figures submitted in estimates or accounts. The formal criterion of control gives no guidance here. Even an energetic and experienced worker, say, in the food supply, or in the forestry business, or in the business of buying horses, may, after he has taken into consideration his recent transactions, fix the approximate sum which he requires for his operations, and making due allowance for locality and time, his figures may err, say, 50 or 100 per cent, or even more. But the representative of the State Control has no empirical criterion derived from experience. We have no index of prices to which one can refer and we cannot have such an index. The consequence is that the controller will either let things pass, attaching his signature to each and every estimate and assignment, thus easing the responsibility of the heads of the departments without improving matters; or he will combine delay with arbitrariness, be exacting, and demand elaborate reasons for estimated items which, however, cannot be given, and will impose prohibitions in cases when the nature of the business is not understood by him. The more cautious controllers who steer between the Scylla of controller's bureaucracy and the Charybdis of controllers' arbitrariness are straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

The position of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection is yet incomparably more difficult when it passes from questions of formal control to those of the general estimate of the work of the department as such, from the point of view of its advantage to the State and to industry. Taking the work of a department, the following typical offences may be observed: (1) Extraordinary delay in consequence of inner departmental and inter-departmental friction and difficulties; (2) Infringement of decrees and of the rights of other departments in order to get through urgent business in time; (3) Carrying through smoothly, in accordance with the law, without any delay or arbitrariness, business that may be in itself unsuitable. Further, one may come across various combinations of these three faults.

If out of the activity of any large department, we pick out cases where precious time was lost on account of strict adherence to the letter of the law, any department might be represented as an organized center of arbitrariness. The question naturally arises: Why does the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection let such cases pass? The reply would probably be, that the controllers of a given department were convinced that delay arose from outside

difficulties, such as lack of commodities and incoordination of the organization, and that the circumvention of decrees was in most cases caused by the necessity to achieve practical results without inflicting any injury upon some higher interests.

It is much easier to pick out a dozen or so of sins of omission or discrepancies than to estimate properly the work of institutions and departments from the point of view of efficiency and expediency. For such estimates a broad statesman's outlook is required, a much broader one than the outlook of the people who do the work. It is necessary that the controller should have a clear idea of the general trend of the work of the given department, of the nature of the difficulties which he has to overcome, and in this connection should be able to estimate the results achieved. This is an exceptionally difficult task due to the lack of coordination and proportion in the work of the various departments; the most energetic and intelligently guided efforts in metallurgy may be reduced to naught in consequence of insufficient or badly coordinated work of the organs of food supply or transport; on the other hand, the well-organized work of engine repairs may be paralyzed by the low productivity of the metallurgical works, or by the lack of clothes for the workers. It would be naive to assume that the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection is capable of occupying a position above all the other departments, from which height it may review all their faults and shortcomings, apportion the value of each of them in the general scheme and in the perspective, and draw from this all the practical conclusions. This would actually mean to assume that the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, standing above the departments, is in possession of precisely that single economic plan, which the ordinary departments have not yet been able to create. This is, of course, impossible. An independent organ which stands outside of the economic departments cannot unite and direct the work of the latter. This can only be done by the combined efforts of the economic departments themselves.

NEW PAMPHLET ON RUSSIA

We have just received a new pamphlet entitled "Medical Relief Work in Soviet Russia," published by the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee, Room 506, 110 West 40th Street, New York City. The price is fifteen cents.

The pamphlet contains an address delivered by Mr. Martens at Madison Square Garden, New York, on September 2, 1920 as well as a fuller version of Mr. J. L. Magnes' address at the Philadelphia Opera House that which was printed in SOVIET RUSSIA a few weeks ago. Particularly interesting is that portion of the pamphlet called "How the North-Western Government was Organized," which records the selling of supplies of American flour in Esthonia to secure money with which to finance Yudenich's military attack in Petrograd, as well as the political organization of his rear.

The Care of Children in Soviet Russia

By ARTHUR J. WATTS

(Conclusion)

The Health of School Children.

The People's Commissariat for Public Health is responsible for the medical and dental inspection of various school children and has its doctors and dentists attached to the various children's colonies and schools.

This Commissariat is also responsible for the physical culture of the children and cooperates with the Commissariat for Public Instruction in the organization of games and gymnastics and has established one or two special schools for physical culture in which boys and girls live and are specially trained to develop their athletic ability or to correct some physical defect.

Homes and Schools for Tubercular Children.

The Commissariats for Health and Public Instruction cooperate in the maintenance of special homes and schools for children suffering from tuberculosis, but who are able to receive lessons. These homes are all on the outskirts of the town or in the country. Fresh air treatment and sun baths are very thoroughly applied. The children are as brown as berries all over and in warm weather lie in the sun for six hours every day. Lessons are given out of doors and by graduated treatment the children become hardened to the cold.

The cases of bone tuberculosis look very healthy apart from the affected limb and many very remarkable cures have been effected. Very great care is taken of these little ones and special food is allotted to them, but unfortunately there is not enough to meet the need, and dried vegetables for the winter are also lacking.

Forest Schools.

Here again the two Commissariats unite in the establishment of forest schools where children recovering from fever and sickness are sent to recuperate, or children threatened with consumption are given a chance of regaining their strength.

Open air lessons, meals, and sleeping are the rule, with the sun bath and bathing pool, all in the middle of a huge wood.

The open air life develops a love of nature and the children have collected and arranged excellent Natural History Exhibitions. The school I visited had once been inhabited by two wealthy ladies with 60 servants, and now about 50 children enjoy a three months' period of recuperation here under ideal conditions.

As is the case in summer colonies and many other institutions, they wear a single garment during the summer days, with a loose overall to slip on in the cool of the evening.

Schools for Deaf and Dumb.

There has been some development of these schools

since the Revolution, and the two Commissariats cooperate in the management of such institutions. Those which were at one time limited to wealthy children are now open to all.

Schools for the Blind.

Petrograd is rather ahead of Moscow in this respect. Moscow has a very large institution for blind children, which was established many years ago, and though it is doing good work, it is old-fashioned both in its method and atmosphere. There is not the same spirit of comradeship between teachers and children as one finds in all the new institutions.

I understand, however, that all the blind are being registered with a view to something more being done.

The Children's Commission.

According to a decree, no child is to be tried by the ordinary tribunals, but is to be brought under the consideration of the Children's Commission. In Petrograd this decree seems to be efficiently complied with. In the provinces, however, and to some extent in Moscow, children are still tried and condemned by the tribunals, owing to the lack of sufficient people with the proper qualification to serve on Children's Commissions. In most cases, however, children are removed from the prisons by the action of the Children's Commissioners, though some delay often occurs.

The Children's Commission is also interested in the welfare of mentally defective children in all degrees of deficiency.

In Petrograd there is a very efficient reception home for children arrested for crime or sent by school teachers as being incorrigible or unable to benefit by ordinary school training. These children are not regarded as criminals but are well cared for, and during their stay of 28 days they are made as comfortable as possible. The staff consists of doctors, psychologists and teachers who carefully observe the children and decide what kind of treatment will best meet the individual case.

Some cases can of course be diagnosed at once, but all children remain 28 days in order to make sure that they are free from infectious diseases before being sent on to a home or colony.

In Moscow a similar reception house has just been established, but is inefficient through lack of a qualified staff and material equipment.

The Mentally Defective.

On Kamenney Ostrov ("Stony Island") in Petrograd there is a special home for mentally defective children. Here Professor Griboyedov with a staff of five doctors and eight teachers carefully examines the children, and either keeps them in his colony or sends them to some other home. There is a very

excellent laboratory and library of books dealing with the subject, on which he seems to be an expert. The same friendly spirit exists between staff and children as in other colonies and the children seem to enjoy life there very much. There is no hesitation about being examined; in fact the children are eager to be allowed to visit the laboratory.

Careful records are kept by the teachers and doctors alike, and when a child is discharged or sent to some other colony for mental cases, instructions are given as to the kind of training or treatment that is required.

Cases of paralysis are also treated by a system of electric therapeutics, though they are badly handicapped through lack of equipment. Six hundred children have passed through this home and 80 doctors and 220 teachers have received training there since it was established about two years ago.

Schools for Neurasthenics.

Special schools are arranged by the People's Commissariats for Education and Health for nervous and neurasthenic children, where special treatment is given and lessons arranged in accordance with the child's temperament. A very large extension of a Children's House of this type is now being arranged in Moscow.

Auxiliary Schools.

Special schools are arranged for children who at the age of twelve are behind in their schooling, but are capable of learning if given more individual help. They attend these classes in addition to their ordinary school course.

Schools for Backward Children.

For children who are unable to respond to the ordinary school training special schools have been arranged. These come under the care of the Health and Public Instruction authorities jointly.

There are 10 such schools in Petrograd and several in Moscow.

Special Trade Schools.

Special Trade Schools have been arranged for boys and girls who do not respond to ordinary mental training but are capable of developing some skill in manual occupations.

Care of Epileptics and Lunatics.

Special colonies are maintained by the Commissariats for Health and Public Instruction, for the care and training of epileptic, idiotic, and lunatic children. These are mostly in the country under the charge of competent doctors and much valuable research is being carried on with a view to improving the treatment of such cases. As a general rule children up to the age of 12 are in separate homes from the others.

Moral Defectives.

I have already mentioned in the paragraph on the Children's Commissions that children who are arrested for crime are carefully observed for a period before being sent to institutions.

Where the crime is found to be the result of a mental defect the child is treated accordingly without any distinction being made between it and any other child in the same institution.

Where the crime is due to evil surroundings the child is sent to an ordinary home or colony, but where some definite moral defect or social backwardness is manifested the child is sent to a home for Moral Defectives.

There is such a home in a house which used to belong to the tailor of the late Tsar. Here, under ideal surroundings, Professor Belski has charge of 34 boys and girls. He has on his staff a doctor and teachers as well as manual instructors. The principle on which they work is that the aim to be accomplished is to educate the socially backward in social responsibility and to re-direct misdirected energies into right forms of expression. Their method is to give a general education with special emphasis on manual work for those whose energies are misdirected, and special attention is given to the development of collective responsibility. Discipline is maintained without punishment, but a system of natural consequence (no food till hands are clean, etc.), and isolation for anti-social acts. The period for which a child is detained is not determined by the nature of the crime it has committed, but by the way in which it responds to the training.

Parents are allowed to visit their children and after three months children may go home for occasional week-ends. Such week-end visits to their homes form a valuable test and the child is observed on return to see if there is any tendency to relapse into former habits after contact with its old associations.

On discharge every endeavor is made to get the children sent to the country away from the temptations of town life.

There are also several colonies for morally defective boys and girls, run on the lines of the George Junior Republic.

From a visit paid to several of these institutions in Petrograd it is my impression that the results are good, and out of the cases which have gone through such homes and colonies during the past two years only four per cent have returned for a second offense.

In Moscow, unfortunately, there has not been so great an improvement as in Petrograd, nevertheless what was once a children's prison with cells and iron bars has now been turned into a reformatory school. The iron bars and military guards have been done away with, but unfortunately some of the old instructors and staff do not seem to be inspired with any great enthusiasm for adopting new ideas. Another institution has been transformed into a "Children's Home" for moral defectives (boys only), but they do not seem to have reached the efficiency of the Petrograd colonies and the spirit of the place is too institutional and not home-like enough. There are also a number of boys between the ages of 14 and 18 in one of the Moscow prisons. Several were condemned by the tribunals

to death or life imprisonment for murder and robbery with violence, but the Children's Commission has obtained commutations for them and it is hoped that before long they will be able to establish colonies and homes to which they can be transferred.

The Care of the Sick.

The People's Commissariat for Public Health has established special dispensaries, hospitals, and sanatoria for sick children. These are in addition to the schools and colonies which it manages in cooperation with the Commissariat for Public Instruction for weak children who are able to study.

Unfortunately the supply of medicines and appliances handicaps a great deal of this work.

The Feeding of Children.

The People's Commissariat for Supplies is responsible for the feeding of the whole population. This Commissariat supplies food to schools, colonies, and children's homes. It has also established special children's kitchens of its own where children receive one warm meal per day.

Children are also fed in the ordinary communal kitchens or their parents can obtain food for them by means of ration cards.

Special Kitchens for Undernourished Children.

The Commissariat for Supplies and the Commissariat for Health have both established special kitchens where weak and undernourished children receive an extra ration. There are already four such kitchens in Moscow and two more are being prepared.

Mr. Watts' Comments.

The foregoing is an attempt to give a general impression of what is actually being done for the care of children in Soviet Russia.

In the carrying out of the full program there are many difficulties and some failures. Many of the institutions are quite new types to Russia and there is not a sufficiency of trained personnel. Some homes are unsatisfactory because of inefficient staff, lack of suitable accommodation or equipment, and a few have had to be closed down. Every month, however, sees a distinct move forward towards the realization of the full program. Workers are being trained by special courses and the inefficient are learning by experience. Homes are being remodeled and renovated ready for new homes or colonies. Generally speaking the organization in Petrograd is superior to Moscow and the personnel better trained. Petrograd is also more fortunate in having a large number of buildings suitable for homes, etc.

The People's Commissariat for Public Instruction and the People's Commissariat for Protection of Health are uniting for a "Children's Week" which it is hoped will result in a greater development of child welfare work.

Schools, like all other institutions, have suffered through lack of proper personnel. Many of the old teachers are incapable of teaching according

to the new methods, and the new teachers have only had a very short training; but 1921 will see the introduction into the schools of the first batch of teachers who have received a full course of training under the new regime.

I have often heard the criticism that there are a few very good institutions of each type for show purposes, but that the majority are really very poor. This is a half truth. It is the aim of the authorities in each department to maintain Standard Institutions of each type which shall be as perfect as possible. In these Standard Institutions doctors, nurses, and teachers are trained with a view to their being sent to other institutions or to open new ones. The advantage of having Standard Institutions as training centers is obvious. They also form a standard which other institutions are urged to emulate.

Another common criticism is that the Russian Government is interfering with home life by putting children into institutions. So far I have not come across any instance of compulsion being used to put children into institutions other than in cases of crime. It is true, however, that the greater certainty of the children's receiving food and clothing in Soviet institutions results in a desire on the part of some parents to place their children in commune houses or colonies. A great amount of freedom is allowed to parents to visit their children and the atmosphere of the homes and colonies is not at all institutional, but very homelike.

Homes and colonies run by private organizations such as "The League to Save the Children," "Society of True Freedom," ("Tolstoyans"), or Trade Unions, receive from the Soviet authorities the same ration of supplies as are given to Soviet institutions.

No religion is taught in the schools or colonies except that the significance of certain religious holidays is explained. Parents may visit their children on Sundays and give them instruction in religion if they so desire. Children and teachers are allowed to hang ikons on their beds but no ikons are set up by the authorities.

Coeducation has been much criticized, but I am convinced that as a general rule the results are undoubtedly good. I have been much impressed by the natural comradeship which exists between boys and girls. In a few cases where coeducation has been suddenly adopted with older boys and girls unsatisfactory results may have occurred, but on the whole the change seems to be good and especially so as coeducation commences at the age of three and continues as the natural consequence throughout school life.

There is a great shortage of food and clothing, particularly in the provinces where the opening of schools, colonies, homes, and food kitchens is held up simply through lack of supplies.

It is my impression that in general the machinery for child-welfare already exists and that if Russia only had the supplies her children would be thoroughly well cared for and that in a very short time her institutions would be examples for the rest of the world to follow.

On the Way to Moscow

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

GOTHENBURG, February 4, 1920.

FINE weather—rare in January—favored our journey from New York. The Captain of the SS. *Stockholm* called the voyage “exceptional”. And, indeed, it was an exceptional trip for our party. After our bitter experiences in America, here on board the Swedish steamship we enjoyed hospitality. The Captain and his staff, as well as most of the passengers, were most cordial. There were, as might have been expected, certain elements aboard which poisoned the fresh air of the ocean. But we took the proper steps to render these harmless.

All the comrades were happy and much refreshed by the voyage. Harmony ruled among the members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau homeward bound to Soviet Russia. Every evening there was dancing and singing and, amidst the Swedish and American flags decorating the saloons, the “International” was sung frequently, while the picture of the King of Sweden watched this unusual performance. The smoking room was transformed into a “Red Club”, and sometimes, this being “Swedish Territory” and far from “dry”, became a rather noisy place.

Small incidents relieved the voyage of any danger of monotony. For instance, one of the “passengers” who occupied a neighboring cabin to that of Comrade Martens attempted to persuade some of the comrades not to go to Russia but rather to stay in Scandinavia. One young girl was even offered a good position and a considerable sum of money to desert our party—needless to say, without effect. On another occasion two “passengers” were caught entering one of our staterooms “by mistake”. I had the privilege of intercepting one such attempt. We took energetic steps to guard against such occurrences. Failing in these tricks, the “poisonous elements” fell back upon familiar provocative methods, equally fruitless.

On the evening of February 2, Comrade Martens was informed by the Captain that the Swedish Government had refused to allow us to land in Sweden and that the *Stockholm* would not enter the harbor of Gothenburg, but would be held out at sea where a small boat of 1,000 tons would take us on for the trip to Libau. Comrade Lomonossov and Comrade Ström, the Representatives of Soviet Russia in Sweden, confirmed this information by wireless and promised to come to meet us on board the *Stockholm*. It was rumored also that a strike of the engineers was on in all the Swedish ports and that the boat, the *South Sweden*, which was to take us aboard, was manned by scabs. (This subsequently turned out to be a misunderstanding.) It was natural, therefore, that Comrade Martens should inform the Captain that we would refuse to embark on that ship. Later in the evening, however, the following notice was posted: “All passengers holding tickets for Libau and Riga must

be ready for debarking at 5 o'clock tomorrow morning. Breakfast at 4:30. (Signed) Swedish American Line, February 2.”

This caused great excitement in our party, and especially in the third class where, under very difficult conditions, there were about two hundred Russians, seventy of whom had been deported by the American Government. There were meetings of committees representing the various groups, and after a general conference with Comrade Martens, it was decided not to obey the order. A special watch was organized and part of the comrades remained all night in the saloons and on deck. Great activity was shown also by certain of the “passengers”, who wandered throughout the boat almost all night. At 1 A. M., February 3, Comrade Martens saw the Captain and firmly declared that none of the Russians in either class would voluntarily embark on the *South Sweden*. Comrade Martens insisted that we must be allowed to enter the port of Gothenburg in order to meet the Representatives of Soviet Russia and to make necessary purchases in the town. The Captain, who had treated us with real courtesy, was much upset and assured Comrade Martens that the orders which he had received from the Swedish American Line were forced upon the latter by the Swedish authorities and that unfortunately he had to fulfill the order.

“What do you propose to do if we will not leave our cabins?” asked Comrade Martens. “I shall be obliged to use the fire hose,” replied the Captain half jokingly. Comrade Martens then sent wireless messages to the Swedish American Line and to Comrades Ström and Lomonossov. A plan of campaign was elaborated and the comrades were advised to go to their beds and to lock the doors of their cabins. Together with Comrade Safron and some others, I remained on watch in the saloon.

At five o'clock in the morning the pilot boat came up to our steamer, but there was yet no sign of any preparation either for the early breakfast or for our transfer to the other ship. About six o'clock all the self-styled “passengers” were on the deck looking rather excited. Then at last the *South Sweden* was brought alongside the *Stockholm* which had anchored about five miles off the harbor of Gothenburg. The Chief of Police with several officers and a crowd of detectives came on board and a long conference was held in the Captain's cabin, at which Comrade Martens reaffirmed his determination. Finally the Chief of Police declared that soldiers would be sent to take us by force from the *Stockholm*. A meeting was held at once, at which it was decided that all the party should lock themselves in their cabins and that when the soldiers knocked no answers should be given; no attention should be paid even if the doors should be forced, and no physical resistance should be offered when the soldiers entered. At about ten o'clock the alarm was given and we all barricaded ourselves in our

cabins. The Swedish police remained on deck. The comrades in the third class began to sing the "International" which encouraged the revolutionary spirit of all. The situation became rather perplexing to the Swedish authorities. Comrade Martens was once again invited to the Captain's room to confer with the Swedish police. The necessity of making a separate attack on each cabin made matters very difficult. Our dugouts were not only solid, but also numerous. It was impossible to use the water-pumps to dislodge us because of the construction of the ship. Moreover, they realized the scandal which would result from this stupid policy of the Swedish Government. The police finally had to capitulate. The Bolsheviki are not easily beaten, and when he saw this the Chief of Police acceded to Comrade Martens' request to allow the representatives of Soviet Russia in Sweden to board the *Stockholm*.

Meanwhile our friends on shore had not been inactive. On the morning of February 3, Comrade Lomonossov, head of the Soviet Government Railway Purchasing Mission in Sweden, with his wife and Comrade Attorney Hellberg and another Swedish comrade, Skjöld, and Comrade Mary Modell, who was formerly with the Bureau in New York, went to the pier in Gothenburg to await the expected arrival of the *Stockholm*. They had been told the day before that the *Stockholm* would dock about nine o'clock and that a Baltic-bound steamer would stand beside to take on the Russian passengers. When they arrived at the pier, however, they were told that the *Stockholm* had dropped anchor outside the harbor and that the "Bolsheviki" would be put off on another steamer and shipped away immediately. Angered by this trickery, our friends determined to see us at any cost. They hurried to police headquarters and demanded proper treatment. Professor Lomonossov bore with him a letter from the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs permitting him and his companions to board the *Stockholm*. Arguments prevailed, and police headquarters sent a radio to the Captain of the *South Sweden* instructing him not to proceed until the party from the shore arrived. Our friends immediately hired a steam launch and set out for the *Stockholm*.

Amidst loud cheers, Comrade Lomonossov, with Mrs. Lomonossov, Comrade Modell, and the representative of Comrade Ström (Comrade Ström being ill) came alongside and boarded the *Stockholm*.

At about one o'clock it was officially announced that the *Stockholm* would be allowed to enter Gothenburg and that new arrangements would be made by the Swedish American Line to transport the Russian passengers in more comfortable conditions than those which were promised them on board the small steamer *South Sweden*, which could scarcely carry more than 70 steerage passengers and about 50 passengers in the second class.

It was finally arranged that the Russian passengers should be transferred to another large and comfortable steamer and the *South Sweden* should

take only the New York Bureau party and the deportees. Everything being settled satisfactorily, at about eight o'clock in the evening we entered the harbor of Gothenburg to the loud strains of the "International".

It was a real victory of the Bolsheviki over the reactionary Swedish Government.

Tomorrow the members of the Bureau staff and all seventy deported Russians will go aboard the *South Sweden* and proceed to Libau, whence the party will take a train to Riga. From there a special train provided by the Soviet Government will carry us at last to the heart of the world revolution—Moscow.

APPOINTMENT OF DR. DUBROWSKY

Important changes in the administration of relief work done in this country for Russia were announced on February 28 in a letter sent by Dr. D. H. Dubrowsky to the State Department.

Until that day the Representative of the All-Russian Jewish Public Committee, a private organization, Dr. D. H. Dubrowsky, has now been appointed by the Jewish Division of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities, to act as its Representative in the United States, with instructions to "supervise the relief work for all those nationalities for whose support or relief charitable enterprises may be or have been undertaken within the United States."

An Act of Congress of June 15, 1917, requires anyone representing a government, faction, or insurgent group to give notice of his mission in this country to the Secretary of State. Being uncertain as to whether his appointment comes within that act, Dr. Dubrowsky has brought the matter to the attention of the State Department in order to comply with its provisions. The letter follows:

February 28, 1921.

The Honorable The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I beg to inform you that the Jewish Division of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities of the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (Evotdel pri Narodnom Commissariate po delam Natsionalnostei) has appointed me its Representative within the United States. My instructions are that I supervise the relief work for those nationalities in Russia, for whose support or relief charitable enterprises may be or have been undertaken within the United States.

Being uncertain as to whether this appointment comes within the Act of June 15, 1917, Chapter 30, Title 8, I have the honor to bring this matter to your attention in order to comply with the provisions of that act.

I beg to remain,

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) D. H. DUBROWSKY.

Commerce and Recognition

A NEW NOTE TO ENGLAND

[Next week's issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will contain a number of items showing what are the commercial relations now being resumed between Russia and other countries. The fact that Krassin is reported to have come back to London for further negotiations on the Commercial Treaty between England and Soviet Russia would indicate that the Treaty has not yet been signed.]

On February 4, 1921, Mr. George Chicherin, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, sent the following note to the British Government:

The Russian Government has duly acquainted itself with the Draft of the Trade Agreement and the various proposals and suggestions connected therewith which were transmitted by the British Government through Mr. Krassin. We are glad to ascertain that as regards the clauses of the Trade Agreement itself there exist no such profound divergencies between the two governments which would not admit of adjustment through further discussion between Mr. Krassin and the competent British department. The principal obstacle to the signing of the Agreement is, however, the preamble which the British Government desires to amplify and to enlarge without proper negotiations beyond the limits of the basis that was mutually agreed to by the exchange of notes of June 30 and July 7. Regarding this question, the Russian Government is of the same opinion as the British Government as to the fact that this basis expresses the principles of mutual obligations in the most general and vague form leaving ample room for misinterpretations, misunderstandings, and possible mutual complaints and frictions. Seeing that the British Government desires to attain as clear a definition as possible of these obligations and to remove all ambiguity from the relations to be established between both countries with the purpose of creating a real solid basis for their friendly relations and of elaborating the conditions for bringing about peace in the East so desirable to both parties as well as to the rest of the world, these considerations have impelled the Russian Government to insist upon political negotiations without which the Agreement will hardly produce the desired results. A glaring example, namely of the misunderstandings, false conclusions, and unjust complaints resulting from unclear definitions of the June-July Agreement as well as from misrepresentations and false statements of the real facts can be found in the notes of the British Government of October 2 and 9, and must be recalled in the following brief recapitulation.

It was untrue that the Russian Government was sending troops to Persia. As a matter of fact, as soon as the remnants of the White Guard forces in Enzeli had been dealt with, the Russian military and naval forces evacuated Persian territory and since then have not entered it. The fact of the liquidation of the White Guard forces in Enzeli was a necessary act of self-defence of the Russian Republic and can in no case be considered as directed against British interests. The assertion that Bolshevik troops were despatched to Asia Minor was further completely untrue and can only serve as an example of the British Government's misinformation as to the real happenings in the Near East. The Russian Government was not, and is not, engaged in any military conspiracy against British interests in Asia Minor. It has not threatened, and does not threaten the invasion of Khorasan and has not created in Tashkent any organization. We must also emphatically protest against the assertion that the Russian Government has brought about the revolution in Bokhara and that this revolution pursued the aim of an attack against British territory and interests, since as a matter of fact the liberation of the working masses of Bokhara was their own work, and that these working masses in liberating themselves had and have no aggressive designs against any other people or country. It is also untrue that the Russian Government attempted to conclude a Treaty with Afghanistan, with the aim of inciting a tribal rising on the Indian frontier. As to the attempts of identifying the Third International with the Russian Government, they have no more value than an attempt would have of identifying the Belgian Government with the Second International, which has its seat in Brus-

sels, or the British Government with International Organizations, having their center in London, or with the same Third International, to which a British Communist Party is affiliated on a par with the Russian Communist Party. The Russian Government strictly adheres to the conviction that analogous misunderstandings and misinterpretations will be inevitable, so long as both governments will not come together for an exhaustive discussion, and will not clearly and without ambiguity define their mutual obligations and the limits of the reciprocal interests which both parties must refrain from violating. Although the British Government, contrary to our opinion, considers the mutual obligations of the June-July Agreement as being already in force at the time of above Notes, it did not regard itself as violating this Agreement when undertaking, in the East as well as in the West, hostile actions against the Russian Republic in every possible way. In the same countries in which your Notes of October 2 and October 9 falsely attributed to the Russian Government hostile actions against Britain, it was in reality the British Government which conducted and is still conducting a policy of implacable hostility against Russia. In Persia, British military forces rendered help and assistance to the Russian White Guards who threatened the security of the Russian Republic, as well as that of her ally the Azerbaijan Republic, and up to the present date British influence in Persia is directed towards preventing the conclusion between Russia and Persia of a peace treaty advantageous to both countries and containing nothing that would bring prejudice to any other country or which would involve any menace to them. In the Caucasus and Asia Minor the Entente Governments incessantly try to bring about actions threatening the security of Russia and Azerbaijan. British and other Entente agents are constantly attempting to incite rebellions in frontier regions of the Soviet Republics. The incessantly defiant and provocative attitude of the Georgian Government towards Russia would be impossible were it not backed by Entente diplomacy. On the Black Sea, British as well as French vessels are attacking Russian ships or those of other nationalities which bring goods to Russian harbors, and the British destroyers, such as the "Invincible", are lurking in neighboring waters in order to conduct hostile actions against Russian trade and Russian shores. During the period when the working masses of Armenia had not yet thrown off the yoke of militarism and capitalism, the counter-revolutionary Dashnak Government that existed at that time systematically opposed all the lawful demands of the Russian Government and its action was rendered possible only by the approval of the Entente Governments. As to the Turkish National Government, no day passes without statements of the British press to the effect that Great Britain seeks to prevent the establishment of friendly relations between Turkey and Russia, and to drive the Turkish Nationalist Movement upon the path of hostility against the Soviet Republics, although without effect. Whereas the revolutionary movement of the toiling masses of Bokhara is remote from any aggressive intentions against Britain or any other country, we have documentary evidence proving that the previous despotic government of the Ameer of Bokhara relied upon the support of British agents when preparing attacks upon Russian territory. The efforts of the British representatives are also known to us, which are aimed at inciting Afghanistan against Russia, although the Afghan Government, cognizant of its true interests, deliberately refuses to enter the path of hostility against the Russian Republic. In all the western countries which are in some touch with Russia, Great Britain has invariably pursued the same policy of hostility against our Republic. The Polish hostility against Russia and Ukraine and the armed insurrection of the ex-General Von Wrangel would have been impossible without the active help of the Entente

Governments. The landing operations of Wrangel's troops would not have taken place without the help of the British Fleet and without British coal, and the enormous quantity of British equipment and ammunition that was in the possession of Wrangel shows how far the British Government was implicated in fomenting this counter-revolutionary insurrection against the Russian Government. Diplomatic action of the British and other Entente Governments opened the way for the transport of arms and ammunition to Poland, a great part of which was of British origin, as, for example, in the harbor of Danzig, it was British influence which, in spite of the opposition of the local workers, compelled the ammunition to be unloaded and transported to Poland. In the South, Bessarabia was incorporated with Rumania by the British and other Entente Governments, without the knowledge of Russia and Ukraine. Up to the present date, the Entente press gives daily proofs of the continued hostile activity of the British and other Entente diplomacy, aimed at inciting new foes and new hostile actions against the Soviet Republics, thus undermining at the very root the possibilities of trade with the latter. So profound and strong, nevertheless, is the Russian Republic's desire for peace and trade that, in spite of these facts it stands by its decision to conclude with Great Britain the intended trade agreement, but it considers as necessary at any rate the introduction of the following amendment in the preamble:

Since the British Government has already declared its consent to the enumeration in the preamble of those countries in which the British Government engages itself not to undertake any hostile action against the Russian interests, we demand that after the words "especially in Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan, and India" the following words should be inserted: "On the other part, the Government of the United Kingdom will desist and refrain from undertaking or assisting any hostile action or propaganda in any form against the interests or the security of Soviet Russia in the above-mentioned countries, as well as in the countries which formed a part of the former Russian Empire, and which have now become independent states on the ground of the right of the peoples to self-determination, and will also refrain and desist from encouraging or supporting in any way hostile actions against Soviet Russia on the part of Japan, Germany, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia and will not interfere in Soviet Russia's relations with other countries, and will not hamper these relations. The contracting parties reciprocally engage themselves to respect the independence and integrity of Persia, Afghanistan, and the territory of the Turkish National Assembly."

The recent judgment in the Sagor case makes it more over clear to the Russian Government that the confirmation of this decision, by a higher court, by similar judgments with reference to Russian gold or goods would render the Trade Agreement unworkable and would be therefore a lawful ground for its immediate automatic annulment and that this point must be duly stipulated in the Treaty. The Russian Government must also point out that in the new Draft handed to Mr. Krassin a stipulation has been inserted referring to the general debts of the previous Russian Governments, which was absent in the earlier drafts and which must be removed at all events.

After the receipt of the British Government's favorable answer as to the adoption of the above three amendments the definitive negotiations of Mr. Krassin with the British Government will be continued regarding the adjustment of some minor divergencies of a purely commercial character and regarding the signature of the agreement.

(Signed) CHICHERIN.

TRADE RELATIONS WITH NORWAY

The following telegram appears in the Petrograd "Pravda" of January 16th.

MURMANSK, JAN. 15th. Faced with a growing demand for trade with Soviet Russia, the Norwegian Parliament, in secret session, passed a resolution permitting the entrance of Russian representatives for the purpose of negotiating trade agreements.

TO RENEW COMMERCIAL RELATIONS Latvia and Russia

RIGA, December 24.—*Latvian Vest* of December 23 writes: The Russo-Latvian commercial relations are improving lately and will soon assume concrete form. The Russian representative Hanetsky, before leaving for Moscow, had a very thorough conference with Ulmanis (the Latvian Premier) and the Minister of Trade and Industry; full agreement has been reached in all important matters. We are even informed that the representative, Hanetsky, is going to make a report about all this to the Congress of the Soviets. There are two projects for the renewal of commercial relations: the first of them has in view trade operations through the medium of the government, and the other one, elaborated by the Association of Latvian Merchants, has in view the organization of a special committee through which the trade with Russia will have to go on. During the governmental conference, in the presence of the representative, the first project was accepted, e. i. the trade will go on, on a governmental scale. This question has been recognized as extremely important, and in the course of the next few days there will be organized in Moscow a special commercial delegation. It is expected that after the return of the Russian representative concrete proposals will be made on his part.

RUSSIAN TRADE VIA ESTHONIA

The Statistical Department of the Esthonian Ministry of Trade has published the following statistics of Russian transit trade via Esthonia, from the conclusion of the peace treaty to December 1, 1920:

Imports:	Tons
Total	11,893
Iron and Steel Products	2,111
Copper Manufactures	1,638
Chemical Products	1,550
Leather Goods	1,399
Salt	839
Textiles	613
Agricultural Implements	562
Paper	470
Foodstuffs	385
Exports:	Tons
Total	3,514
Wood	2,382
Flax	1,132

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Wireless and Other News

NEWS FROM SOVIET UKRAINE

(Cable from A. Menshoy)

Moscow, February 6 (via Reval).—All rumors regarding an uprising in the Ukraine are absolutely false. I have been in Kiev, Kharkov, and Odessa. Having spent six weeks in Ukrainian cities, towns, and villages, I found everything peaceful and quiet. The peasants are readily accepting the Soviet rule.

New Soviet schools for children and adults have been opened in every village. One hundred per cent of the rural population are taking part in the Soviet elections.

There are no more Jewish pogroms in the Ukraine. The Jewish population now feels completely secure and satisfied. I spoke to hundreds of peasants and Jews and heard no complaints from any one, as was the case previously. The population is adapting itself, and getting accustomed to the new order.

All are satisfied.—From a Ukrainian daily appearing in New York.

RUBBER SHOES

The manufacture of rubbers in the rubber shoe division of the well-known Treugolnik Factory in Petrograd, which has recently resumed work, has been increased from 300 to 800 pairs of rubbers per day. A greater increase of the production cannot be undertaken at present, owing to the lack of fuel. There is sufficient raw material on hand for three years to come.

THE WOOLEN INDUSTRY OF RUSSIA

A recent number of *Pravda* states that according to data now available the production of finished woolen goods during the months of October, 1920, amounts to 660,403 arshins* of coarse cloth, 467,707 arshins of fine cloth, 399,807 arshins of worsted, 655,704 arshins of brushed wool, in all 2,187,624 arshins. These figures do not include the production in the Ural region, which would add somewhat more than 100,000 arshins.

As compared with the month of July, 1920, production has increased 113 per cent.

To train skilled workers for the woolen industry, courses have already been opened in most districts.

MILLING INDUSTRY

The milling industry in the Crimea is now being concentrated. It is expected that the total production from January to March will amount to 400,000,000 poods.*

MANUFACTURE OF PARAFFIN

In the Gachina district, province of Petrograd, a big factory has been established for the obtaining of paraffin from the mud that is found in great quantities at the bottom of the peat bogs.

* 1 arshin=2.46 ft.
* 1 pood=36 lbs.

LABOR ARMIES IN FORESTRY WORK

Moscow, January 26.—As it is impossible to carry out completely the forestry program for the season of 1920-1921 with the aid of volunteer labor the Central Committee for Forestry has found it necessary to requisition immediately for lumbering work certain sections of the labor armies in the districts in which such work is now particularly necessary, such as for example, in Murmansk and the Urals (110,000 men and 60,000 horses), the Caucasus, and the western governments, as well as northern Russia. In all 200,000 men and 91,000 horses are required.

THE STATE CREMATORY IN PETROGRAD

The procedure of cremating is not accompanied by religious ceremonies. But on the request of relatives, religious ceremonies may be permitted within the walls of the crematorium to be performed by clergymen of any religious denomination after a personal agreement between the relatives and the clergymen.

The ashes, after burning, are put into an urn and soldered up. The urn with the ashes can, according to the wish of the relatives, either be placed in the columbaries of the crematory, or buried in the cemetery, or given up to the relatives.

No charge is made for cremating the corpse, nor for the grave, nor for delivering the corpse to the crematory through the district burial division.

The furnace of the crematory works day and night.

POSTERS MADE IN GERMANY

The following letter recently issued from Berlin seems to indicate that the posters published in SOVIET RUSSIA two weeks ago were printed in Germany by order of the Soviet Governments

The Scientific-Technical Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy, Berlin Branch, has established a Bureau of Economic and Industrial propaganda. Its task will be to explain to the popular masses the tremendous importance of the means of communication, of the factories, shops, etc. for the reestablishment of the economic and industrial life of Russia. The propaganda is being conducted in a telling way, viz. through posters that are printed here in Berlin in large quantities and are forwarded to Russia. From among the posters that are being printed at present we may mention:

"There is bread in the villages but hunger in the cities — restore the railroads". "The city is without bread — the factories will stop running". "Comrade, your factory is your pride". "Improve what is bad — create what is good".

In ordering the posters the artistic side was emphasized. Important Russian and German artists were interested in the work.

(Signed)

Foreign Section of the Scientific-Technical Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy of the Russian Soviet Republic.

MOSCOW WORKERS' FIRST HOME

The Moscow Soviet has succeeded in establishing, 16 miles from Moscow, its first Recreation Home, the beginning of an entire series of such establishments.

By the spring the Moscow Board of Health expects to open so many houses of this kind, that it will be able to receive in them simultaneously one thousand workmen and women.

The request to assign workers to the recreation homes struck the factories and works like a bolt out of the blue sky. Opinions, discussions, conjectures, flew about in great profusion. The aged workers, those most in need of such recreation, at first seemed to be doubting Thomases as to the value of these improvements. Their conversations indicated that they did not believe it was possible anyone would be interested in their comfort to the extent of providing them with a few weeks of recreation.

I wish I could repeat the conversations that were held in the factories on this occasion, when the first workers reported in order to set out for the Recreation Home. But they did have a germ of faith in the possibility of the realization of the scheme, and therefore all marched to the Recreation Home. Almost all of these workers were non-partisans, some of them even illiterate. But their con-

fidence in the Soviet power was so great that they did not believe the insinuations spread among them by its enemies.

A man of about sixty was pointed out to me with the words: "When he came to the Recreation Home, he wept all day; so did his old woman. She came with him and cried."

I turned to him: "Is that true, Did you weep when you came here?"

"I did, it is true. It seemed impossible to me that anyone would think of looking after me in my declining years. But now I see it is really so."

And the whole company burst into genial laughter.

"Now when we go back and tell in the factories how we were received here everyone will want to come to this place."

"But it is hard to sit around without doing any work," one aged laborer observed, "very hard." "I have been working for forty years straight on without interruption, and now I have been sitting here for two days without doing a single thing."

A veritable revelation of the nature of capitalism. The idle bourgeois, when he comes to work, finds it hard to spend more than a single day on real labor.

But the proletarian, when he tries to take a rest after forty years of labor, finds he is not used to repose.

Paternalism in Soviet Russia

The Russian Workers' and Peasants' Republic has enacted progressive and common sense laws governing the registration of parents and of births, and establishing the paternity of children. Legitimacy, the validity of marriages, the personal rights and duties of children and parents are clearly defined in

The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia

The full official text of this entire code of laws is printed in booklet form (85 pages) 25 cents each, postpaid. Send orders and remittances to

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The Revolutionary Effort

By VICTOR SERGE

(The following letter from Petrograd appeared in a recent issue of "La Vie Ouvriere" of Paris.)

Petrograd, January 22nd.
FORTUNATELY the winter thus far has been very mild. This is indeed a piece of good luck for the fuel crisis is such that a number of factories have had to be closed in Petrograd during the last few days. This was heart-breaking to many of us.

The problem is always the same: it is not that wood is lacking—wood is plentiful for a hundred versts all around—but we have not the necessary workers to cut it down, on the one hand because of the mobilization, and on the other hand, because we have not the means of compensating the field workers.

What could we give them in fact? They need manufactured articles. To furnish these, we should have to restore production, cost what it may. So long as production is not sufficiently restored to satisfy the needs of the country districts, the peasant, defiant and hostile to the city, will refuse the city his work.

I may add that the peasant seems better disposed this year: propaganda, agitation, the "Weeks for Help to the Peasant," and finally, the victories of the Red Army at the fronts, have somewhat improved the state of mind, to the extent that in the fuel crisis the central factor still remains the lack of transportation.

The number of locomotives at our disposal is exceedingly small as compared with our needs. There results the impossibility of fully feeding the centers with wood as well as with other materials. This crisis therefore occupies all minds and the daily difficulties are enormous. I recently visited hospitals that are not at all or very badly heated. Think of what sufferings are involved in a fact like this!

However, among all these unheard of difficulties—which are being surmounted by reason of the fact that they are less terrible and less formidable than they were last year—the revolutionary work is being pursued step by step. It is a gigantic work of cultivation, a work over a stony soil, torn up shells, like the soil of former battlefields. Whatever is done, whatever may be the danger and the difficulty, whatever may be the ill-will of some, the stupidity of others, our revolutionary plow cuts its furrow so deep that its mark will be ineffaceable. To be sure it occasionally deviates for moments from the straight line but it would be stupid to be surprised at this.

The first great change that I observed this year as compared with the preceding ones, is a purely psychological one. The White, who was very numerous still among the population in 1919, and even in 1920, has disappeared. You no longer meet the emaciated intellectual who confidently informs you of the approaching downfall of Red Petrograd. The food speculators have also disappeared, and the plots seem to have come to an end. No one, even of those who are hostile, any longer doubts the stability of the Communist regime.

If you knew what persistent hatred had been sworn against it by all the former possessing classes, bourgeois and petit-bourgeois, how that class surreptitiously sabotaged, you would understand the importance of this moral victory. Today, all our enemies of yesterday have entered the service of the Communist state. Naturally this is equivalent to a new danger and will contribute not a little to the creation of the baleful bureaucracy that we have thus far been combating.

The struggle against bureaucracy, the heritage of the manners of the old regime, the consequences of famine,* of officialism brought about by the war and of our fumbings in the work of Communist construction—is one of the problems on the order of the day.

You know that I am somewhat a diffident person and less inclined to be cocksure in the matter of an agreement with what may be called official optimism. And I really admire these people and the revolutionary elite.

Hardly six weeks ago we were still at war and already the demobilization (that of the classes of above 32 years) is being effected, and already we breathe more freely.

For a month, from one end of the country to another, passionate discussions are being carried on concerning the economic reconstruction of the country. The pitiless criticism, coming from the masses themselves, meets those Communists in high positions who have not been able to resist bourgeois inclinations. I am sure the matter will be taken care of; the entire party is working on it.

Parallel with this it is necessary to get rid of the bureaucracy. This will be a long and difficult task to be sure; for it is only by organizing the Communist life, in other words, the well-being, the liberty, the true democracy of the workers that this task can be accomplished. But already today these words are on every lip, these ideas in every head.

In the Communist Party the chief debate at present is on the subject of the function of the trade unions in production (and of course on their mode of organization).

Should they take charge of the administration of production (decentralized in vast regions) and begin by restoring it at any price, without recoiling from the application of the military methods which have permitted the creation and the victories of the Red Army as Trotsky would like, or should they be chiefly schools of applied communism, making no use of force except after all means of persuasion have been exhausted, and constituting from now on a workers' organization, largely democratized, as Lenin and Zinoviev would desire?

These tendencies are not the only ones, and I shall be able to give you more information on this subject soon. The next Congress of the Party will settle the question. At present it inflames all minds.

You know the contempt which Red Russia has for the democratic methods of the capitalist state. The reason is that the latter have no other object than that of masking the actual monopolization of all powers by the plutocracy. For some time the forms of an entirely different democracy have been taking shape here. Certainly the Communist Party

*The bureaucracy is one of the consequences of famine in the sense that the distribution of the extremely small number of manufactured articles at our disposal demands an apparatus of statistics, of control, of supervision, etc., that is extremely complicated. When there are three pairs of shoes to 100 persons you may imagine how easy it is to allot them.—*Author's Note.*

exercises the dictatorship and has refused its enemies all the "liberties" that would have permitted them to kill it without fail in a short time. But I have been witnessing for a number of weeks this new spectacle: great crowds (for there are 30,000 Communists at Petrograd) of workers, of soldiers, of housekeepers in which the militants occupying the most important positions of confidence mingle with each other, are passionately discussing principles of the economic organization. Plebiscites or referendums might offer more in the way of formal guarantees; but they are far from being capable of comparison with this living debate, of daily recurrence, in speech, in writing, in action (for the material is chiefly that of the various experiences actually being undergone), in which there participate the six hundred thousand members of the Communist Party, and in another way, all the active members of the trade unions.

Other discussions of less scope are being taken up in the educational centers. The new element here is that in addition to the Communists, the parents of the pupils, the teachers, etc.—in short all those interested in the question—are called upon for their opinions. The principle of instruction is being constantly discussed. The school is called: the labor school. It is to mold men who are to be first of all producers. And this is logical: to be men—free men—in the full sense of the word, men must conquer—by producing—well-being and leisure. Is this school to be a poly-technical or a technical school? Shall it give instruction in a more general or in a more specialized form? That is the problem.

To give you an idea of the far-reaching significance of this revolutionary work, let me add that we are witnessing the disappearance—by the process of natural death—of money. Free food, free lodgings, free light, free railroads and tramways; free theatres under discussion (practically realized up to 70 per cent). Besides clothing and articles of prime necessity come from the Communist stores also free.

Action and discussion are constantly in progress. Advances are being made, with life, towards life, and all this under what painful conditions! I can give you an idea of this from some exact documents in my hands—of statistical nature—which I shall outline in a following letter.

The conditions are still terrible and sometimes such that the endurance and the vitality of the revolutionary people seem miraculous.

SOVIET DIPLOMACY

Relations with other governments during the last six months of 1920 are set forth in **SOVIET RUSSIA**, which printed the official texts of more than thirty notes sent out from Moscow during that period. These issues, bound (Volume III), comprising 652 pages, with illustrations and maps, sent postpaid for five dollars. Address

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110 West 40th Street

New York, N. Y.

When Arms Are Fair

BY JOHN S. CLARKE

(From "The Worker," of Glasgow, Scotland, of which the author, who visited Russia in 1920, is editor.)

"The arms are fair when the intent of hearing them is just."
—Shakespeare.
"Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just,
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."
—Shakespeare.

One of the humors of the Capitalist propaganda, if people could only see it, is the confident manner in which the glass-house propagandists throw stones at their opponents. Our Coalition hack-writers and some of our "most eminent" authors and artists, in this regard, meet on common ground. The British pharisee is, without exception, the most sanctimonious humbug on earth. The Russian's word is not his bond. He does not keep faith. He repudiates his contracts. These malpractices are entirely alien to the British character. But we haven't hanged the Kaiser yet, and it has recently been disclosed that our statesmen never had any intention to hang him. We haven't given Ireland, as a small nation, that self-determination we fought the war to preserve. Instead, we hush up the damning report of the atrocities perpetrated by the hired thugs called "Black-and-Tans," and issue blue papers on the atrocities committed or alleged to have been committed by the Soviet Extraordinary Commission. Our writers seldom mention Trotsky's name without prefixing "the one-time pacifist" to it as a sneer, yet the leader of the Allies' armies against the Germans, and the leader of the German armies against the Allies, if our priests and clergymen can be relied on, was the one-time pacifist Jesus Christ.

Pacifism is something that depends on time, place, and motive. Under certain circumstances everyone is pacifist. Under others most ordinary people with healthy minds will be bellicose. There was one celebrated occasion when even Jesus acted in a decidedly pugnacious manner—when he scourged the money-changers and kicked their tables over. A great deal depends on what one has to fight for, and under Capitalism, where hatred of an enemy is admittedly "organized," where the basest lying is indulged in, and most sordid subterfuges are resorted to, in order to inveigle men who have no quarrel into fighting each other for someone else's benefit, pacifism is the correct attitude. This was the pacifism of Trotsky and of all genuine Communists during the Great War.

Moreover we are all pacifists in the sense that we thoroughly believe that warfare, the systematic and calculated slaughter of human beings, is a wicked way of settling disputes. It is one of the reasons, in fact, of our being Communists. We desire a system, an international system of Communal ownership of property, wherein profit-making, surplus-producing, labor-exploitation, which are the

economic bases of most wars, will be totally extinguished. We fully recognize, however, with Hosea Biglow that under past conditions—

"Civilization has got furr'id
Sometimes upon a powder-cart."

and that the "powder-cart" will be a very necessary institution during the transition from the old system to the one we are anxious to bring to birth. During that transition, a period through which Russia is now passing, our pacifism is shelved for active militancy. Such is the period of dictatorship exercised by the new class which is "getting furr'id." It amounts to this. A gang of burglars have been forcibly occupying your house for many years. They have eaten your best food, worn your best clothes, slept in your best beds, and monopolized your leisure time for their own entertainment. They have never moved a finger to produce anything, to clean up, or to share your own good things with you. They have watched your children starve, grow bloodless, and die for lack of nourishment in sight of a table which groaned with the good things of life and which you produced. They quarreled among themselves over the loot, and persuaded you and yours to fight for them instead of fighting for themselves. All this they were able to do because they lied to you, debauched your mind, and threatened you with firearms if you raised a protest.

Suppose you awoke rather suddenly, and, during one of their periodical quarrels, snatched at a firearm and refused any longer to act the host to a crowd of parasites. Suppose further you insisted on their doing their share of the wealth-production and on receiving no more than an equitable share of the product, and suppose again that they were as equally determined to continue their vicious practice of living on you as you were determined to end it—what would you, a peaceful, inoffensive mortal, do? You would do this: You would have to terrorize this gang of bandits into accepting a higher morality even if it necessitated wiping half of them out of existence. Such in concrete form is "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and why the mighty Red Army of Soviet Russia obeys the commands of the "one-time pacifist" Trotsky. Russia has been clearing the aristocratic, plutocratic, and alien parasitic brigands out of her house, and doing it in many instances with their own firearms.

But the Army! The Red Army! Is it not militarism as naked and unashamed as the militarism of the brigands? No, reader, it is not. I have already in a previous chapter pointed out the essential difference. Let me relate an episode which will accentuate the point.

The Tretyakov Art Gallery

With nothing particular to do one Sunday morning, a small company of us left the hotel, walked through Kitaigorod,* crossed the Moskva, and visited the Tretyakov Art Gallery, which stands in a narrow grass-grown and ancient looking street. It is as spick and span in appearance as any gallery in this country, and the glorious collection is as intact and well-cared for as ever it was. Room after room is filled from floor to ceiling with the creations of Russia's master artists, with many of the works of the great foreigners hanging conspicuously in places of honor. Oil paintings and water-colors, etchings and engravings, chalk and pencil drawings, wood carvings and marble and bronze statuary are there in abundance. A great many of the pictures serve useful propaganda purposes. Here is an enormous canvas depicting Peter the Great's massacre of the Streltsi outside of St. Basil's. Here is one that literally curdles the blood in one's veins. It is an incident in the life of Ivan the Terrible. The Tsar is kneeling upon a gorgeous Persian rug holding in his arms a dying young man; the iron pointed staff which the Tsar always walked with is lying on the floor beside him. The face of the Tsar is haggard and colorless, the lower jaw with its fringe of beard has dropped, showing the pallid lips which appear to move; the eyes are bloodshot and protrude from the sockets, and a glare of fear and rage flashes from them as from the eyes of a wild beast. The face of the young man is hideous! frightful!! horrible!!! The portrayal of pain is ghastly; the pallor is accentuated, the eyes are closed, and across the left temple there is a rugged crack through which a stream of rich red blood trickles down the cheek, further intensifying the death pallor of the face. The delicate hands hang limply down to the rug upon which a pool of crimson is forming from the young man's ebbing life stream. The background is dark.

One shudders but is held fascinated by the almost living figure of Ivan, whose remorse for the murder of his beloved child tempers the savagery of those glaring eyeballs. One sees the escape of a human soul, and the soul of a human chained in the body of a jungle beast. The human part of the monstrous Tsar peeps pathetically from the bloodshot eyes, as, one might imagine, the soul of Jekyll sometimes wistfully peered from the orbits of Mr. Hyde. The lips tremble, one can almost see them tremble, as they mutter an incoherent prayer for forgiveness, as the terror-stricken father clutches his dying child. The atmosphere is maddening in its intensity, one wants to shut one's eyes and scream, but cannot. Those fearful eyes! They pierce the brain and linger there for days.

That iron-tipped staff! Look at this canvas! Ivan stands on the Red Staircase of the Palace. A courier has arrived and stands before him with a dispatch. The courier is reading; Ivan, surrounded by his suite and guard, is listening with apparent

interest. The courier's face is perfectly placid, but the corners of the mouth are drawn and the lips are thin. There is more than interest depicted on Ivan's face; there is a malevolent glint in those sinister eyes. One wonders why the artist has labored to produce so ordinary a scene, and with such indefatigable pains to ensure fidelity to detail. Every tassel and button, seal and ribbon, and every ornament of apparel is perfectly executed. Why the malicious look of glee in Ivan's eyes? Why the stiff lips of the courier? Look closely, reader, and you will observe something to chill your spine. That iron-pointed staff. Ivan leans his heavy body upon it. *The point of it has "accidentally" pierced the boot of the courier and is penetrating his foot to the ground.* Ivan pretends that he is unaware of the fact. The courier is reading as though nothing were disturbing him—erect, enduring the excruciating pain, too proud to wince. It is a wonderful but a gruesome picture. There are many paintings of prison life, and of the raids, arrests, and farewells of the revolutionaries of the past. The little dungeons, the Siberian boundaries, the "etapes" and the dying convicts, are all here, and all have their propaganda uses.

The appalling misery of proletarian and peasant life is contrasted with the affluence, gaiety, and prodigality of the upper classes. There are hawkling parties setting forth elaborately arrayed on sleek horses; banquet scenes, and palace interiors at festive seasons. And there are paintings of the great frozen Siberian "tract" with litters upon which the exhausted are dying; prisoners breaking their meagre ration of black bread, impatient to devour it; prisoners drawing themselves up to the barred windows six inches square, to catch one glimpse of the sweet sunshine; prisoners recumbent, with hope abandoned, despair freezing the heart, and tears falling upon the paved floor.

There are effigies of all the Tsars, and a half-dozen or more of Leo Tolstoi alone.

There are huge canvasses executed by the greatest of all modern Russian painters, Vereshchagin. They convey the one message—the utter rottenness of war. Battlefields are depicted in all their ghastliness and shame. Battles are painted with every horror that accompanies them. The desolateness and misery of military bivouacs and camping-grounds are faithfully reproduced. "The Spoils of War" is but a huge pyramid of human skulls upon which a number of carrion crows are perched, picking whatever morsels of decayed flesh remain. Had I been an artist myself, a great artist, there is one painting I would have liked to execute. It would represent the scene I witnessed in this very hall where the Vereshchagin pictures are hung.

Let me describe the subject, reader, then marvel at the depth, the profundity, and the honor of the Russian Communist spirit. We stood in the great gallery devoted to the artistic creations of Vereshchagin, the greatest anti-militarist genius of last century, if not of all time. It is divided into three chambers by means of permanent partitions. A bronze bust of the great painter occupies a pedestal

*The so-called "Chinese Quarter" in Moscow.

near the main wall. Opposite the large windows hang his tremendous canvasses, his protesting works of art, where the light may give them every advantage. In front of them in each of the three chambers stands a group of soldiers, men of the Red Army of Soviet Russia. They are without officers and number, perhaps, about fifty all told. They stare with lively and intelligent interest at the anti-war paintings in all their horror, while an art instructor (there were two men and one woman instructors) delivers to them a graphic lecture upon the message the picture is intended to convey, together with details concerning its achievement. Each instructor is an enthusiast, for enthusiasm is written on the brow and the voice vibrates with it. He points with delicate finger to the wealth of detail or lack of it, he explains atmosphere, movement, suggestion, perspective, and every fine point of consummate artistry. Then he takes the ensemble, and his gestures, facial and bodily, change, his voice alters, his eyes flash, the pink leaps to his cheek, he becomes twice as animated and twice as vehement, and his audience of Red soldiers is moved to the quick, as the orator points out to it the savagery and futility of war.

That is the difference between the Russian Communist "militarism" and the class-made, war-glorifying, hatred-organizing, truth-distorting, murder-sanctifying brigandage of Imperialist militarism. The latter teaches with calculating cunning that war is a noble calling and "brings out the best in human nature." In Russia they teach abhorrence of war, that it is cruel, bloody, vicarious and futile, and brings out the *worst* in human nature. Im-

perialism deliberately propagates its false doctrines, and elevates the ignoble trade of murder into the "noble profession" of warfare, because its whole existence is based upon mean and sordid theft, graft, spoliation, and slavery. Its propagandists dare not tell the truth, they must lie and equivocate or their rule could not last a week. Communism does not lie to its people, to its soldiers. Communism teaches its soldiers how to use the weapons of Imperialist militarism, teaches them militarist tactics and discipline, in order that they may the more successfully resist their would-be enslavers and preserve their freedom intact. And because the soldier of Communism knows the truth about the causes of war, he fights the better. His determination is that no servile army of Imperialist "hired assassins" shall ever succeed in imposing their system of banditry upon him and his fellows, if fighting will prevent it, and his strength, to use Tennyson's expression, "is as the strength of ten, because his heart is pure." The world has witnessed the coming of a military phenomenon in less than three short years. That amazing army, the creation of the "one-time" pacifist, has beaten invader after invader to pulp. Every army sent against it has gone forth a "conquering host," and returned a starving, ragged rabble. Churchill of the far north, Kolchak of the far east, Denikin of the south, Yudenich of the northeast, Wrangel of the Crimea, Balakovich and the Poles—one and all have danced their dance macabre to the music of the "International." Is not that a sufficient justification for having trained men in an art which they are studiously taught to abhor?

The Factory in Soviet Russia

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(A Chapter from the author's book, "*Wirtschaftsorganisation Sowjetrusslands*".)

HOW did the nationalization of industries take place? We have seen (early in this book) the rise of the factory committee, we have witnessed the struggle of the factory committee within its own membership, as well as in its quality as a whole, for the control of production. We have seen the swift, over-hasty, but absolutely necessary seizure of the controlling power after the outbreak of the November Revolution. This was a nationalization that had arisen organically, but had nevertheless been achieved inorganically, in a disjointed fashion. Nor was the composition of the administration of unified character. There was mostly a triple division with interlocking personal relations: business management, factory committee, controlling commission.

Let me here outline in essentials what I have learned from a report of the nationalization of the Prokhorov Factory. This report was rendered by the members of the factory committee about the end of May, 1920. The Prokhorov establishment is one of the biggest textile factories of Russia, a factory of the first order (see classification below),

and now under the direct administration of the *Glavk-Tekstil*.

From the March Revolution to the November Revolution, there was an opposition among the workers of this factory, an opposition between the radical demand for the control of production, and that of the Mensheviks. It was not an open struggle, but it nevertheless involved a laming of the will to seize production.

These interests were solidified, unified, by the struggle of the worker against the counter-revolutionary troops. This was a sharp struggle, weapons against weapons, the factory had become a fortress and in the long run had to be defended by its armed workers.

The first step in nationalization was the appointment of a control commission. This commission was appointed by the factory committee. The factory committee was appointed by the entire working force.

The *Glavk-Tekstil*, the textile center of the Republic, was then not yet in existence. The former administration was still in power. The commis-

sion therefore was faced with the task of controlling the old administration, in accordance with the general regulations for control which had already been issued by the Communist Party.

Until the foundation of the *Tsentro-Tekstil* (later *Glavk-Tekstil*) the factory still had funds of its own. The control commission had to supervise the application of these funds. Furthermore, it had to take care of the furnishing of raw materials, which had to be obtained chiefly by means of requisitions. The control commission took control of the funds. Every draft had to be signed by the business management and by the control commission.

This activity began the day after the conquest of the factory by its workers.

The control commission and the factory committee could at any moment be recalled by their worker constituents.

While the control commission as a matter of fact was already determining the business transactions of the factory, the factory committee was administering the interests of all the workers. The Communists in the factory committee were, during this period, engaged in the task of educating the Mensheviks to recognize the necessity of a complete control of production. The discussion of political questions was simultaneously a discussion of the practical affairs of the factory.

The foundation of the *Tsentro-Tekstil* was equivalent to substituting a central control for this control commission. The factory workers approved this substitution, as the central control was a national control, under the rule of the proletariat.

The foundation of the *Tsentro-Tekstil*, a centralization in administration, was equivalent also to the elimination of the factory owner, and the elimination of the factory owner in turn made the control commission superfluous, as the chief function of this commission had been the supervision of the business management as conducted by the owner.

Up to this point the workers were responsible for the appointments of administrators. Through their own organs, they had thus been the administrators. When centralization took place, this task also was eliminated. The appointment of administrative offices was now no longer undertaken directly from among the workers, but was transferred to the central organs, namely, to the central business organ, i. e., the *Tsentro-Tekstil*, and to the comprehensive representative of the direct interests of the workers, the textile union.

We have therefore been tracing the following steps: the elimination of the control commission, the elimination of the owner, the founding of the central administration with controlling functions, the founding of the union.

The influence on the appointment of administrators was now exerted through the unions. The central administration and the union, together, sought to determine the personnel of the factory administration.

The sole remaining direct workers' organization

was the factory committee. The factory committee is the nucleus of the trade union, and therefore also has an influence on the appointment of the factory administration. We shall discuss this problem later.

But the actual task of the factory committee, aside from the functions arising from the trade union according to the committee, was now the education of the workers to a socialist economy, essentially a task of making them better qualified for their work. It was no longer a direct task of guiding them toward the new system.

The workers had thus been woven into a total apparatus, into the organization as a whole by means of the trade union. They were no longer a direct instrument of the administration, but an indirect instrument. This division of functions became more and more sharply defined as the process of centralization progressed.

That is all I have to present from the report of the factory committee of the Prokhorov establishment.

Nationalization and Centralization

The First All-Russian Congress of Economic Soviets had to take up the task of drawing the administrative consequences of the already accomplished nationalizations, and simultaneously of unifying the factory administration.

The Congress naturally directed its attention chiefly to the industries that had been nationalized. They were placed under the influence of the central administration. The trade union functions were not yet so sharply defined, owing to the as yet comparatively loose organization of the trade unions.

But the necessity for appointing specialists was already apparent. The first step of nationalization was rather one of political nationalization. It was now time for the economic and technical nationalization to begin. The First Congress therefore determined that one-third of the members of the operative administration of nationalized industries should consist of technical men, and business and commercial employees. This definitely emphasizes the right of the central bodies to intervene and select.

Furthermore, administrative principles were drawn up for the trustification of a number of nationalized industries.

The term of administration was definitely set; the possibility of recall at any time had disappeared.

Certain technical and business tasks were assigned to the management of the industry, which were then still, essentially, tasks to render possible a socialist economy of orientation and transition, in other words, tasks of inventory and balance.

In addition, a personal union of management of industry and central organization (Provincial Economic Soviet, Regional Economic Soviet, The Supreme Council of National Economy) was provided for. The tendency is centralistic. To be sure, the lower centrals, especially the Regional Economic Soviets, had considerable power over the nationalized industries assigned to them. At

any rate, the determination of the Supreme Council of National Economy to hold the reins tightly was already distinctly visible.

The Second Congress emphasized even more definitely than the first the necessity of centralization, i. e., of eliminating autonomous administration. The resolutions say: "The organs of workers' control attempted to take control of the industry. They assume not only the functions of control but also the organs of the industry, not only the supervision but also the administration. Now, under the political and economic dictatorship of the proletariat, under the nationalization of industry, new conditions are arising for the active participation of the working class in the organization of economy. There have been formed regulating and organizing organs of economy, in which representatives of trade unions participate. Under these conditions, the task of workers' control must be a supervision of the running of the establishment and an auditing of the commercial activity of the factory management, as well as of the administration of entire industries. The industrial unions are chiefly interested in the carrying out of these tasks."

This was a clear formulation of the manner in which the functions of the workers, or, of the workers' organs, had been limited. The trade unions (industrial unions) took their place. The control commissions were now elected by the industrial unions, in the measure that they have been organized and centralized. The All-Russian Council of Trade Union Organizations was entrusted with the task of managing the control commissions.

The following was attained by this act: the business management was centralized, or made dependent, respectively, on the centralization, and was controlled by the unions, whose roots were in the industries. The industry was thus given a place in the national organization as a whole, but had not lost its relative function, which remained, however, not a direct but an indirect one.

In the report of the factory committee of the Prokhorov establishment mention is made of a substitution of administrative centralization for the factory control commission. The trade unions now assumed the functions of control of this centralization, in other words, the influence over these control commissions. But this control was not an administration in the strict sense of the word. It was just an administrative control, not a direct administration.

Meanwhile nationalization had advanced considerably. It now transpired how far the direct influence of the Supreme Council of National Economy and the influence of the Provincial Economic Soviets over the industries might go (accordingly a classification of industries was made by the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets).

The enterprises were divided into three groups according to the technique of administration, into trustified enterprises (combines), and other important enterprises standing directly under the administration of sections of the Supreme Council of National Economy, further into enterprises stand-

ing under the administration of the Provincial Economic Soviets, which had again power of central administrative control over the two categories of factories: those of the second order and those of the third order (petty industry).

We therefore have to consider factories of the first order directly under the sections of the Supreme Council of National Economy and factories of the third order under the Provincial Economic Soviets. The factories of the second order are attached to sections of the Provincial Economic Soviets which have a relation of dependence on the sections of the Supreme Council of National Economy. This relation of dependence is of centralistic nature. By means of extension of their trustification, the factories of the second order are, as far as possible, transformed into factories of the first order, thus taking them out of the direct administrative jurisdiction of the Provincial Economic Soviets and placing them under the direct Administration of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

Factory Administration

The factory administration of enterprises of the first order and second order, remained for the time (and still remain) a collegium administration. The administration of the factories of the first order consists of representatives of the factory workers, of the trade unions, and of the Glavk, (the section, or center), each having one-third. To be sure, the Third Congress of Economic Soviets already permitted the possibility of individual administration in the industries of the first order, which is the desideratum set up by Trotsky.

If one-third of the administrative collegium consists of representatives of the factory workers, this is not to be confused with the control jurisdiction of which we have spoken above.

The administrative collegium of the factories of the second order have the same, or at least a similar, membership.

The administrative guidance of the factories of the third order (petty industry) is determined by the nature of these industries. Of course a collegium administration is not necessary in this case, as it may be in the factories of the first and second order.

The process of appointment is being simplified more and more. We shall speak of this again in the chapter on trade unions. At any rate, the trade unions together with the central organs have the right to confirm appointments regardless of what are the bodies from which the administrative members are chosen, or what are the bodies proposing or electing them. In the matter of appointments, the voice of the trade union is to have chief weight, but in practice the process of appointment is often of another nature, particularly when the quality of the appointee is a very serious matter.

As soon as the trustification of a series of enterprises has been accomplished, the administration of the combine ("trust administration") interposes between the industrial administration and the section of the Central (or Provincial) Economic Soviet.

The French Colony in the Baltic Sea

By A. D.

ACCORDING to the treaty of Versailles three districts located on the extreme northeast of Prussia have been separated from Germany and temporarily handed over to a French administration. This is the so-called "Memel-Land" numbering about 150,000 inhabitants. The central point of this territory is the port of Memel (in Lithuanian *Klaypeda*) the only seaport on the territory of ethnographical Lithuania.

The Allies most likely would not have made up their minds to detach "Memel-Land" from Germany if it were not for the persistent demands of the Lithuanian nationalists who kept insisting that so-called "Prussian Lithuania" should be united with "Greater Lithuania," and that the Lithuanian *hinterland* should obtain access to the sea. When, at the beginning of the World War, in the fall of 1914, the Russian troops occupied a part of East-Prussia, there was jubilation among the Lithuanian nationalists of Vilna and Kovno. Under the scepter of the Russian Tsar they had dreamt of an autonomous Lithuania which would include Memel, Tilsit, and Gumbinnen, the three main cities of Prussian Lithuania. As is well-known, their dreams collapsed with the defeat of the Tsar's army at the Mazurian Lakes.

After the victory of the Entente in 1918, the emissaries of the Lithuanian nationalists again went to work to prove to the French and English diplomats that Prussian Lithuania ought to be united with Greater Lithuania. As a matter of curiosity we may remark that many of them even asked for Königsberg, on the ground that in its vicinity there live a few hundred peasants who speak Lithuanian.

According to quite reliable statistical data, about 150,000 Lithuanians who still speak the Lithuanian language live in Eastern Prussia. In the past century Germanization has caused the almost total disappearance of the Lithuanian population, the Germanization of the city population going on with great speed. The Lithuanian peasants, the majority of whom are rich, have become one of the mainstays of the old system in Eastern Prussia. Some of the Lithuanian papers appearing in Memel and Tilsit were the mouthpieces of Prussian reactionary ideas.

For the Lithuanians in Russia, Prussian Lithuania had only this significance: that Tilsit was the center where illegal literature was being printed, to be smuggled in hundreds of thousands of copies over the Russian border, to the great discontent of the Tsar's officials.

The Lithuanian nationalists who called the attention of the Allied diplomats to the district of Memel have, up to the present, no reason to rejoice over the fruits of their policy. *In the treaty of Versailles there is no direct indication to whom the district of Memel will belong in the future*, and since the beginning of 1919 the master in that

place has been the French Governor-General Odry, and French prefects are the masters in the towns and villages. Up to the present there is not the slightest guarantee that the district of Memel will be attached to Lithuania. *But it is an almost generally known fact that the district of Memel has been already transformed into a French colony.*

The Lithuanian Telegraph Agency (Elta) has several times reported that the Memel district is being supplied all the time with more and more French troops. We are unable to indicate their exact number, but in the opinion of some reliable persons about 5,000 men have been sent there. (The whole population of the district of Memel is, as I have already said, 150,000.) Moreover the *Associated Press* reports from Warsaw: "The League of Nations' International Army to supervise the plebiscite at Vilna will probably establish its base at Memel, which is under the League's control." The Vilna plebiscite question may have important international consequences, and this can of course not be a matter of indifference to Soviet Russia. If Memel becomes the gathering point of this international expedition, then this fact is only another proof that the Frenchmen already have their own colony on the Baltic Sea.

When in the fall of last year, Russian counter-revolutionists were trying to recruit an army in Latvia, when Count Pahlen and other Tsarist officers established in Riga and other Latvian towns offices for the enlistment of volunteers, these volunteers were first sent to the Memel district, according to an agreement with the French authorities, and from there directed to the armies of Wrangel and Balakhovich. Thus the district of Memel was transformed into a meeting place of all the bought and deluded mercenaries who were destined to fight on the anti-Soviet fronts.

According to the information of the Lithuanian Telegraph Agency there was always a number of French warships in the port of Memel. *The French are guarding the shores of Lithuania in exactly the same way as the English are guarding the shores of Esthonia.*

A short time ago, according to reports of papers from Kovno, there arrived in Kovno agents of the Polish "mutineer" Zeligowski. These are a certain Lithuanian adventurer, Augsztolaytis, and his friend Vanagaytis. These gentlemen are partisans of the union between Lithuania and Poland, on a federative basis. The French imperialists are in perfect agreement with this plan, as a united Poland and Lithuania would be a strong barrier against the "Red peril," and this would secure to Poland a natural access to the sea. There is not the slightest doubt that in such a case the French imperialists would willingly cede the Memel district to Lithuania, which would be part of Poland, the ally of French imperialism. For it must be kept in mind that the deeper political meaning of Zeligowski's

adventure consists in the plan to unite Lithuania with Poland, in some way or other, to get rid of the opposing government in Kovno, and to transfer all power to the big and middle landholders in both countries.

The Lithuanian nationalist press is full of attacks against the French. They are full of resentment and indignation. They have always been eagerly asserting that France is "the defender of small nations," and now. . . . When in the beginning of 1919 the representative of France arrived in Memel, the Lithuanian bourgeoisie of that city greeted him with open arms. But the honeymoon of their political friendship did not last long. The French were not slow to find out that a Lithuania that is under the protection of British capitalism, is not a convenient executor of their plans. And thereupon they decided that it would be much better for them to remain themselves masters in the district of Memel than to give it back to Lithuania.

However, this is a splendid illustration to show how the French are anxious to preserve the rights of small nationalities. The Lithuanian bourgeoisie cringing before the Frenchmen, was rewarded according to its deserts. . . .

The French authorities in the Memel district are living in perfect harmony with the local German big land-holders and capitalists. In the directorship that manages the country, there are seven Germans and only two Lithuanians. The Lithuanian paper *Prusu Lietuviu Balsas* is indignant about it, but it forgets that no large imperialist power has ever taken care of small nationalities disinterestedly, due to a social system where profit is the basis of everything.

The strengthening of imperialist France on the Baltic, the acquisition of the Memel base by this power, in connection with her ever hostile attitude toward Soviet Russia, resulted in Moscow papers being quite disturbed in regard to events in the district of Vilna where Zeligowski is ruling, and in the district of Memel where the French Governor General Odry is ruling.*

The Lithuanian people ought to learn from this Memel experience. They suffered a great deal from the consequences of the French-Polish attack. They ought to see that their only friend is Soviet Russia.

GEORGIA A SOVIET REPUBLIC

The following cable was received on March 12 at the office of SOVIET RUSSIA:

Information has reached Moscow that Kutais, the last foothold of the reactionaries in Georgia, has been overthrown and the Government captured by the Georgian revolutionists, thus making the whole of Georgia a Soviet Republic:

—RUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY.

*A cable from Kovno (the seat of the independent Lithuanian Government) reports that the Polish authorities are forcibly impressing into military service all men between the ages of 19 and 30, inhabiting the northeastern part of Lithuania. The Polish Government is confiscating the property of those whose sons have escaped military service.—(*Ukrainski Schodenni Listy*, February 15.)

New Exaggerations Corrected

The following two cables were received on March 8 at the office of SOVIET RUSSIA:

I.

Moscow, March 5.—In view of the persistent rumors abroad, alleging uprisings, mutinies, etc., the following are the facts: Moscow and Petrograd are now absolutely quiet. A week ago, on the insistence of the workers, the food rations were equalized, thereupon workers of the Government Printing factory who had been getting extra rations protested, sending delegates to different factories, unsuccessfully endeavoring to foster strikes. The workers in other factories, insisting that the Government measures were right and justifiable, refused to join the demonstration which ended immediately. The soldiers maintained that the strike was without justification and wanted to demonstrate their disapproval of it. This is the only foundation for stories of soldiers' mutiny. A similar incident occurred at Petrograd, where the workers in a factory who had been getting extra rations objected to the equalization, but that was also quieted promptly.

Kronstadt is a separate incident and the facts are as follows, according to dispatches just received from the Petrograd Soviet: The fortress of Krasnaya Gorka, which dominates Kronstadt from the land, is maintained in our hands. The garrison of Krasnaya Gorka is absolutely hostile to the mutineers and is eager to fight them. In Kronstadt in the forts of Peredovoi and Ustye the same situation prevails. Until now the mutineers have not been dispersed only because the military authorities wish to spare the battleship *Petropavlovsk*, but if it should prove necessary Krasnaya Gorka will force the mutineers to surrender. Dissensions are breaking out among the mutineers, one faction supporting General Koslovsky, the other being against their officers and actually attacking them.

In Petrograd there is complete quiet. Even in the two factories where food and fuel difficulties caused demonstrations by some, the men now understand that they were made tools by a capitalist conspiracy. Eight thousand Petrograd sailors have held a meeting and unanimously passed resolutions supporting the Government.

At a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet, March 4th, Zinoviev gave the following history of the Kronstadt events: On February 13th the Paris "Matin" spoke of revolts in the Baltic fleet. The "Echo de Paris," February 14th, had similar stories. As at that time no unrest whatsoever existed in Kronstadt, but later occurred, it is proof that the whole affair was a deliberate plot by French agents, which fact is confirmed by the activity in Finland at that time of Czarist Russian officers and agents who managed to penetrate into Kronstadt using the food difficulties as basis. A few days later when Kalinin, president of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, spoke at a large meeting at Kronstadt, the patrol of the battleship "Petropavlovsk" wanted to prevent his leaving, but sailors of that

battleship interfered and apologized. On February 28th, at a meeting on board the "Petropavlovsk" a reactionary resolution was adopted, but rescinded on demand of the ship's crew. On March 1st, a new resolution was adopted demanding the reelection of the Kronstadt Soviet, which was agreed to. The election thereupon began, but conspirators obstructed it, demanding that it be held on board the "Petropavlovsk." On March 2nd an actual mutiny commenced, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries taking an active part, calling themselves non-partisans. The nominal leaders were Petrichenko, former purser of the Petropavlovsk and Turin, but the real leader is Captain Burksar, one of the former Czarist officers. General Koslovsky is a person of lesser importance. Following upon the meeting came the inevitable disillusionment, in spite of the frantic efforts of the aforementioned officers to maintain the morale of the mutineers by holding out hope of the possibility of escape to Finland. A Social Revolutionary paper, published in Reval and circulating in Kronstadt, held out the hope of Esthonian help. In a military sense Kronstadt was never for a moment in danger of coming under control of the mutineers to the extent of menacing Petrograd, as it was constantly covered by the guns of Krasnaya Gorka. "While mutiny now is no longer," said Zinoviev in his address to the Petrograd Soviet, "the time has come to completely liquidate this farce." Zinoviev was followed by other speakers, including Kalinin and a Kronstadt sailor, Feodorov, formerly under Burksar. The meeting then adopted a proclamation calling upon the workers, sailors and soldiers in Kronstadt to divulge the real sources of the conspiracy and stating that no attempts against Soviet power would be tolerated and calling the men back to duty, promising that those who had been misled would be distinguished from the real plotters and would be treated conciliatorily. After the meeting the situation eased as indicated above.

In a recent speech Lenin explained the food situation, saying that large stores of food accumulated had been too confidently distributed instead of being stored for a possible emergency and that when heavy snowstorms and temporary shortage of fuel brought down the train arrivals from 120 every five days to 20 the consequent lessening of rations produced a protest. The usual number of trains are now bringing food and the shortage is over. It is obvious that foreign plotters are endeavoring to use the rumors of unrest to counteract possible trade relations with England and other countries. No uneasiness is felt here, as the demonstration proved that the great masses of the workers adhere firmly to the policy of the Government and the soldiers immediately rallied to its support.

Washington B. Vanderlip arrived in Moscow two days ago and is now negotiating the consummation of his deals and projects. L. Martens and party arrived February 18th.

(Signed) RUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY.

II.

Moscow, March 6.—The final stages of the Kronstadt adventure are marked by utter disillusionment among the participants in the mutiny. Fighting in progress among the mutineers themselves. A part want to surrender, realizing the hopelessness of their situation. This dissension began shortly after arrival of Trotzky to take charge of the situation.

The Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic has issued the following proclamation, signed by Trotsky, Kamenev, Tukhachevsky, and Lebedev: "The Government of the Peasants and Workers has ordered the immediate return of the mutinous ship into the hands of the Soviet Republic. It is ordered that all who have raised their hands against the Socialist fatherland should immediately lay down their arms, disarm the objectors and deliver them to the authorities without delay, release the arrested Commissars and other representatives of the Government. Only those who capitulate unconditionally may expect the clemency of the Republic. Simultaneously it is ordered to have everything ready to crush the mutiny and the mutineers with armed force. The responsibility for the suffering which thereby may come to the peaceful population will fall wholly on the White Guard mutineers. This is the last warning." Disillusionment was accelerated by the stores running low after the first days of pillaging. Frantic efforts by capitalist agents and other counter-revolutionists, together with Finnish White Guards who slipped into Kronstadt, to maintain the morale of the mutineers and create a counter revolutionary front went to naught. The sailors became disgusted when the aims of the agents behind the scene were divulged and refused to submit to common leadership. Some groups of sailors want to organize a new Soviet; the crew of the Petropavlovsk wants to organize an anarchist commune; others are indifferent, as there are no more stores left to pillage. Agent provocateurs tried to induce the mutineers to start bombarding but did not succeed. The whole affair is expected to dissolve at any moment.

(Signed) RUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY.

III.

On March 10 the following cable was received: Moscow, March 9.—The fantastic stories abroad about revolutions, street fights and mutinies in Petrograd, Moscow and other cities are pure inventions. The Kronstadt affair is a separate incident without effect anywhere else. A gang of Tsarist generals and French spies took advantage of dissatisfaction among the Kronstadt sailors, whose extra rations were temporarily revoked; but now that the counter-revolutionary schemes of the plotters have been revealed, the sailors are deserting the generals and their gang. The reactionaries still control the battleship "Petropavlovsk," but our fortress guns are speedily ending the adventure. The reason why this was not done earlier is that we wanted to spare the ship and the men imprisoned aboard her. The Soviet forces, under the personal

command of Trotzky and Tukhachevsky, have the situation well in hand. Moscow is as peaceful as a Sunday in a New England village. Mild excitement, not unmixed with merriment, was caused by the receipt of wireless messages from abroad telling of bloody fights here. The alarmist reports are obviously aimed at preventing the attainment of peace between Russia and England and America.

Former members of Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York are all busy working in various offices. L. C. Martens will make a trip through Russia to get acquainted with conditions. Arthur Adams, formerly head of the Technical Department of the Soviet Bureau in New York, is busy organizing factories with American emigrants, who are all eager to serve the Soviets.

(Signed) SANTERI NUORTEVA.
Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Santeri Nuorteva, formerly Secretary of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York, returned to Moscow last summer. He is now Director of the Division of Entente and Scandinavian Countries in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

IV.

The following cable was received on March 11: Moscow, March 10.—At the Congress of the Communist Party, attended by delegates from all over the Republic of Soviet Russia, discussing plans for the general agrarian and economic reconstruction, a speech by Lenin, voicing profound confidence, met with enthusiastic response.

Demobilized Red soldiers of the Moscow district have passed the following resolution: "Returning to civil life, we solemnly pledge ourselves to aid in the industrial and economic development of the Socialist mother country. Should the Workers' and Peasants' Government need us again for defense, we will report at the first call."

The foremost artists of the Moscow opera and stage will render a special program March 11th, commemorating the anniversary of the great Ukrainian poet Shevtchenko.

Yesterday was celebrated as an international holiday by the women workers in Moscow. A number of model day nurseries were opened for the children of women workers and for training mothers.

The Petrograd Economic Council is preparing to construct buildings and improvements on Soviet farms in the Petrograd provinces with the opening of the spring season. A special woodsawing train has been outfitted at Petrograd to carry a crew of workers to the forest regions. The train is fully fitted with the necessary tools and is equipped with all comforts for the workers.

Some one affected by crazy rumors about a counter-revolution in Petrograd, sent a radio from Reval to the Petrograd wireless station inquiring: "What government have you at Petrograd?" Petrograd replied: "We have the Soviet Government of Workers and Peasants, which possesses more stability and longevity than all bourgeois governments put together."

It is reported here that the Hoover relief in Soviet Russia has been made conditional upon the release of "innocent Americans" imprisoned in Russia. No innocent Americans are imprisoned in Soviet Russia, only a few spies, and even they might have been freed long ago had the American Government made any straightforward inquiry on their behalf to the Soviet Government.

Judging by wirelesses circulated abroad, the foreign press and public are much exercised over the alleged downfall of the Soviet Government. We are sorry not to oblige prospective undertakers, but feel too sturdy and in too excellent health just now to think of death. Therefore, please have the funeral indefinitely postponed.

Disappointed funeral directors may get good jobs here in the jolly task of sweeping out the last remnants of the counter-revolution.

(Signed) RUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY.

STATEMENT OF MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE

The following statement was received from the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee:

New York, March 1, 1921.

We are receiving inquiries daily from people going to Soviet Russia, as to what kind of medical supplies are most needed in Soviet Russia, suitable to carry over with them. Also many of our local committees all over the United States and Canada request that we furnish them with a list of medical supplies and instruments which should be accepted from contributors.

The Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee recommends that preference be given the following supplies when making up packages for Soviet Russia:

1. Quinine.
2. Aspirin.
3. Tincture of Iodine.
4. Protargol.
5. Castor Oil.
6. Cascara Sagrada Tablets.
7. Epsom Salts.
8. Calomel.
9. Gauze and Bandages.
10. Bland's Pills.
11. Bicarbonate of Soda.
12. Blue Ointment.
13. Green Soap, Castile Soap, Laundry Soap.
14. Hot Water Bottles and Ice Bags.
15. Combination Syringes.
16. Centigrade Thermometers, Clinical, Rectal and Mouth.

The following supplies are important, but may be used only under physician's directions:

1. Phenol or Carbolic Acid.
2. Bichloride of Mercury.
3. Chloroform.
4. Ether.
5. Ethyl Chloride.
6. Powder Digitalis.
7. Hexamethylamine.
8. Triple Bromides.
9. Aspidium.

The above medical supplies are suitable for collection by local committees for shipment to Soviet Russia. In addition to these supplies, donations of surgical and dental instruments of all kinds, rubber goods, such as surgical rubber gloves, sizes 7 and 8, and baby bottle nipples are very acceptable.

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE,
Room 506, 110 W. 40th St, New York City.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

SIR PAUL DUKES is at present in New York and on March 8 spoke encouragingly to a representative of the *New York Times* as to the prospects of the present counter-revolutionary attempt on Petrograd. When Sir Paul was in Petrograd as the head of the Petrograd branch of the British secret service, he was not yet Sir Paul, he was plain Paul Dukes: like Sir Philip Gibbs, he has since been knighted for services rendered less to the people of Great Britain than to the aristocracy that governs them. It is very reasonable that the *Times* should ask Sir Paul for his impressions of these events, for he has no doubt considerable interest in their outcome, and must be following their course very closely. His presence in Petrograd in 1918 and 1919 was not without a much closer connection with the counter-revolutionary attempts occasionally coming to the surface in that city than that of a Britisher merely interested in getting news to his home Government of the Russian events in which that Government was interested. For Sir Paul, then "Mr." Dukes, spent most of the period during which he was in Russia (December, 1918—August, 1919) in aiding to organize all bodies opposed to the Proletarian Dictatorship, in supplying them with money, in creating a spy system for the information of the intelligence department of Yudenich's army, in its attack on Petrograd, and in many other occupations of great value to the enemies of the Russian workers. Some of the facts concerning his activities in Russia were published in *Soviet Russia* for June 5, 1920, some time after their publication by the Soviet Government.

It appears that with the aid of a man named Kurtz, a former officer of the Czarist police, Dukes approached high Soviet officials, former Czarist military officers, and sought to (in some cases even did) corrupt them with money, in order to use them for counter-revolutionary military purposes, as well as for the obtaining of information that would be of value to Soviet Russia's enemies. One of Dukes' most able agents was a woman about forty years old, named Maria Ivanovna, who succeeded even in securing admission to the Communist Party, attending its meetings, and forwarding information on its activities to her employer. She regularly received information from the political section of

the Soviet Army, and stood in relations with the military censorship of Petrograd, as well as with a number of other political organs. Thanks to her, Dukes was enabled to secure contact at Moscow with the organization formed there by the adherents of Kolchak and Denikin—the so-called "National Center"—and to obtain an interview with Shchepkin, head of this body, who authorized Dukes to speak for him at London, and to whom Dukes made promises of money.

In a certain small way, the activities of Dukes had their effect. A number of his men were constantly at work spreading alarming reports throughout Petrograd as to an impending sharpening of the food situation, in order to anger the population against the Soviet Government. Wherever possible, attempts were made to emphasize evidences of discontent among the people, in order that signs of an allegedly growing disaffection might tempt those who felt in any way dissatisfied to seek contact with counter-revolution. Another object of these efforts was to produce a feeling of nervousness, insecurity, and fear on the part of Soviet leaders, in order to force them into acts of bad judgment, which very rarely ensued, however. Other bands were organized to serve as a nucleus for possible counter-revolutionary uprisings, and these bands, chiefly under the officer Kuskhev, were stationed in forests where it was hoped they would attract deserters from the Red Army to join their ranks. All of these bodies disintegrated very rapidly on coming in contact with the real attitude of the Russian people. To several leaders of such bands Dukes is known to have paid sums of money, to Skorzhinsky and Popov, for instance. In the month of March, 1919, alone, his payments to such men are known to have amounted to a considerable sum.

Dukes was officially recalled from Petrograd in August, 1919, and left Maria Ivanovna in charge of his intelligence and other work. Yudenich was then preparing his "dash" on Petrograd, which was destined so soon to turn into a swift retreat. As he approached the city, the organization created by Dukes concentrated its attention almost exclusively on military matters. In frequent reports to Yudenich's general staff, it communicated detailed data on the extent, the morale, the armament, and the distribution of the Red troops. When Yudenich was at the gates of Petrograd, it delegated a group of military men, among whom were the former admirals Bakchirev and Razvozov, as well as Lundkvist, formerly Chief of the General Staff of the Siberian Army, to raise a rebellion in Petrograd, in the rear of the Red Army. Kurtz undertook to hand out weapons to several hundred hooligans, who were to create disorder and disturbance in the streets. The plan was not carried out, however, by reason of the fact that, as Yudenich came nearer and nearer to the city, the sympathies of the population became so manifest, and the working class adopted such energetic measures for defending the city, that the conspirators felt it was safer not to risk any overt acts. Many of the participants

in these plots paid the death penalty in November and December, 1919, after Yudenich had disappeared from the stage of history and the details of the conspiracy had become known.

The movement on which Mr. Dukes' comments appeared in the *New York Times* of March 9 seems not unlike that in which he played so prominent a part two years ago. Disaffected elements have obviously been armed by foreign governments, Finnish or French, or English; forts have been seized in some cases (Krasnaya Gorka, by the way, which is still in the hands of the Soviets, was actually handed over to Finnish forces two years ago through the treason of a White Guard officer who had succeeded in worming his way into a position of confidence in the Red Army); there has been some looting, possibly by the hooligan elements that were also depended on for cooperation during Yudenich's drive. Altogether it is not an uninteresting parallel, and if Mr. Dukes will make it the subject of one of his lectures in America, we promise to attend. Thus far he has given us little information on the recent events, although we are reassured by his words: "it was easier to gain access to Nicholas II. than to the President of the Soviet Republic." We think Nicholas II. could more safely have been exposed to Mr. Dukes' access than could Nikolai Lenin.

JOHN SPARGO'S "Memorandum on Trade with Soviet Russia," submitted to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, January, 1921, in connection with the Hearing upon the Resolution of the Hon. Joseph I. France, Relating to the Resumption of Trade with Soviet Russia," has just been "reprinted with the permission of the Author" by the "Russian Information Bureau" (Mr. A. J. Sack), and circulated with an accompanying letter of praise signed by Mr. Sack himself. Like all of Mr. Spargo's work, it bears evidence of nightly toil and curious modes of thought. After beginning with an assertion that he has always considered trade with Russia to be desirable, and claiming that this proves him to possess a "sympathetic interest in the object of the Resolution by Senator France," Mr. Spargo goes on to prove, to his own satisfaction, that the United States should not trade with Soviet Russia. We shall not analyze his arguments; they are of the usual kind, but two little sentences of his pamphlet are worthy of special note. They are these:

1. "Soon or late—perhaps sooner than we are ready to meet the responsibilities which will thereby be placed before us—the Bolshevik rule will either collapse of its own rottenness or be overthrown." (P. 18).

We wonder has Mr. Dukes been giving Mr. Spargo any advance information on the so-called Kronstadt counter-revolution?

2. "Litvinov, who had been permitted to reside in Christiania, and to conduct trade negotiations on behalf of Soviet Russia, was ordered to leave the country by the Norwegian Government, again because of his participation in movements directed against the very existence of the Norwegian State." (P. 28).

Readers of *Soviet Russia* will recall the extensive correspondence between Litvinov and the Norwe-

gian Department of Commerce, printed by us on December 25, 1920, which contains not a word of any such activity on the part of Litvinov as is mentioned by Mr. Spargo. We may add that Litvinov left Christiania for Russia on October 6, the day following his receipt from the Norwegian Commercial Department of a letter, dated October 5, informing him that they saw no profit in a continuation of the correspondence.

* * *

IF the Soviet Government does not soon fall, the whole prophecy business will go to pot. Lt. General Sakharov told Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, at San Francisco, on September 15, 1920 (*Soviet Russia*, Vol. III, page 309), that the Soviet Government would not outlast the winter. We then gave Mr. Sakharov six months in which to prove the truth of his assertion. The six months are up, the Soviet Government still stands, and no doubt some other Lieutenant-General is about to start us on another six-month period. But we divide time more generously, and have really no reason to take these prophets seriously. Meanwhile, it will be very interesting to learn, when all the facts come out, who has been behind the latest attempt to overthrow the Petrograd Soviet and cut off that city from Moscow.

* * *

PERSONS with a good memory will perhaps recall that Senator Moses of Maine was the chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, which investigated the activities of Mr. Martens. The Senate resolution by which the Sub-Committee was created directed it to investigate not only Mr. Martens, but also "all facts relative to the activities of any other party, parties, or organization bearing upon or relating to Russian propaganda in this country." The obvious intent of that resolution was to investigate the activities of Mr. Bakhmetiev, who was maintained as an ambassador of a non-existing government by funds supplied by American tax-payers. Singularly, however, Senator Moses failed to carry out this part of the directions given him by the Senate. Immediately after the testimony of Mr. Martens had been closed, Senator Moses declared the work of the Sub-Committee ended. To be sure, a request for information was directed by him to Mr. Bakhmetiev, but the latter hid himself behind his alleged ambassadorial immunity, and was not called for examination. We shall pass over the question whether an envoy of a non-existing government has a better claim to immunity than an envoy of an existing *de facto* government. Of greater importance is the fact, admitted by Senator Moses in his report, that "Martens, in his testimony, had given the committee to understand that a misappropriation of American money had taken place." At the beginning of the investigation Mr. Martens had announced that he was ready to offer other testimony than his own, as well as documentary evidence, that would throw a light upon the activities of Mr. Bakhmetiev and the Kolchak Government

which he actually represented in this country. But Senator Moses apparently did not desire to let the American public have any of that evidence. Quite recently Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Kelly testified before a Congressional Committee that by direction of the State Department Mr. Bakhmetiev was supported out of the funds of the United States Treasury. Senator Moses had satisfied himself with a whitewash of these business transactions of the Wilson administration. As soon, however, as he learned of the cancellation of the deportation warrant against Mr. Martens the valiant Senator rang the alarm with a resolution condemning in veiled language the action of the Secretary of Labor. The Senator's personal animus finds expression in the hackneyed phrase "self-styled ambassador of the Russian Soviet Government," although he knows from the evidence submitted to his own Sub-Committee, that Mr. Martens was officially designated as "representative," not as "ambassador," the latter title having been abolished by the Soviet Government. Senator Moses is worried by the possibility of Mr. Martens's return to this country and seeks the advice of the Attorney-General. The misgivings of Senator Moses were answered in a statement made public on March 2 by the former Secretary of Labor, who said that "the decision against Martens did not end Martens's legal resources, he could still have had recourse to the courts," and that "it would have been months before Martens could have been deported, *if at all.*"

The former Secretary of Labor by these words admits the weakness of his decision, which was apparently forced upon him by the disingenuousness of the Wilson administration. If anyone had been in doubt that the proceedings against Mr. Martens were of a diplomatic character, this fact was made clear by Ex-Secretary Wilson's decision. Mr. Martens personally was exonerated from all charges, except his connection with the Soviet Government, which was held to be "an organization that teaches the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States," within the purview of the immigration law. It is perfectly evident that by no strained interpretation of the immigration laws can they be made the machinery for dealing with foreign governments which entertain hostile intentions against the government of the United States. Such matters come within the scope of diplomatic relations, and are within the jurisdiction of the State Department. But the Wilson administration, reluctant to commit itself, resorted to the pettifogging device of shifting the responsibility to the Department of Labor. It was the contention of Mr. Martens throughout the deportation proceedings that if his presence as a representative of the Soviet Government was objectionable to the American Government, all it had to do was to request him to leave, in the usual manner sanctioned by international law, but he could not admit that he was liable to deportation as an alien pursuant to the immigration laws. The decision of the former Secretary of Labor conceded his contention.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY officers do not always fare well after the failure of the enterprise in which they were engaged. Frequently they become the rank and file of new military bodies, recruited for new invasions of Soviet Russia. It is somewhat amusing to note the various other activities to which such officers may be asked to resort in order to save themselves from death or imprisonment. A little item from the Vienna *Rote Fahne*, of January 30, will be of interest in this connection:

(Rosta, Vienna.) The counter-revolutionary newspaper *Golos Rossii* writes:

"We have received a letter from a Russian officer at Constantinople, stating that the French are employing Russian officers stationed at Constantinople, as street cleaners under the command of Singalese negroes. Although we have heard many strange things" the paper adds commenting on this report, "it is something unheard of that Russian officers should be compelled to do the most menial work under the command of negroes, for which, it appears, the French consider their own negroes too good."

We have no reason to feel that it is exceptionally humiliating for white (both Caucasian and Bourbon) officers to work cleaning the streets under the supervision of black soldiers serving under a White Government. In fact, there is a sort of gratification in the situation of white officers experiencing in their own persons the tyranny and compulsion of a foreign government that puts them to useful work after they have consented for years to be used as traitors and counter-revolutionists in the service of that foreign government. In aiding the government of France to oppress the Russian workers of the occupied districts—the districts temporarily governed by Wrangel or other agents of the French Government—these officers were attempting to restore in their native country a system that would enable them and their class once more to enjoy the privileged position they formerly occupied in Russian society. In this attempt they—and their French sponsors—failed, and it is for this failure that they are now paying when the French Government treats them as common laborers and sends them out in the streets to do honest and necessary work. Largely in order to escape physical or other work under the Soviet Government, these soldiers refused to support the government of their native country, and sought refuge with its enemies—the enemies of the workers all over the world.

Soldiers of this disintegrated army that once fought under France, many of them no doubt by reason of compulsion, may also now be doing work cleaning the streets of Constantinople or other cities under Allied domination. Some of them at least have been reported as having made an attempt to align themselves with other forces, possibly more friendly to the Soviet Government. A recent report giving some indication of such new enlistments, is contained in the following Moscow wireless, dated February 14, which we take from *Die Rote Fahne*, of Vienna:

"Troops of the former army of Wrangel have succeeded in making their escape to Anatolia, where they have joined the Kemalists."

Public Education

(No subject so much engages the attention of the leading spirits in Soviet Russia as that of providing a suitable care and education to the young. No sooner did the Eighth Congress of Soviets end, late in December, than there opened an educational congress attended by educators from all parts of Russia, on December 31. Thus congress succeeds congress in uninterrupted succession, and the population of the country is provided with every opportunity to learn of and participate in the administration of the country. The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia is being held this month.)

Delegates to Educational Congress:

THE party Conference on public education which was called by the Central Committee of the party opened on December 31, at 5 P. M. The decisions of the conference will have a vast importance for the whole organization of education in the Soviet Republic; the material and principles advanced await final decision at the Tenth Congress of the Party. The Conference likewise had to examine the question of the impending reconstruction of the organs of the Educational Commissariat, in conformity with the new tasks that are put before it as a consequence of the fact that the Soviet Government's work is mainly concentrated on economic construction.

Every one who is prominent in educational work, together with representatives of the National Trade Union Council, the League of Youth, delegates from the Eighth Soviet Congress, and directors of the provincial departments of public education took part in the Conference. Representatives came from Petrograd, the Commissariat for Education of the Ukraine, the Khirgiz Soviet Republic, Azerbaijan, etc. The number of participants was 134 comrades with decisive votes, and 29 with advisory capacity.

First Day

The Conference was opened by Comrade Lunacharsky, who, in a few words, outlined a number of problems and the importance of the work to be done. The agenda being announced, the following committee was proposed: Comrade Zinoviev (Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party), Lunacharsky (R.S.F.S.R.), Kozelov (National Trade Union Council), Grinko (Ukrainian Education Commissariat), and Lilina (Petrograd Education Department).

Then Comrade Lunacharsky, People's Commissar for Education, in an introductory report, indicated the perspectives of the Commissariat for Education and the series of problems which have been put before it in the sphere of child-training and polytechnical education.

"The Commissariat for Education"—said Comrade Lunacharsky—"is first of all the laboratory for the production and organization of a system of conviction, the basis, as Comrade Lenin said, upon which rests the coercion of the proletarian dictatorship. The Commissariat for Education is an organ of the Party. On the other hand it must carry out the orders of all the economic commissariats, training cadres of specialized and able men for all fields of industry. And in that sense it is an economic commissariat.

"Whereas the Party has hitherto concentrated all propaganda and agitation in the Party organs, it is now putting this work on the Soviet organs; i. e., on the organs of the Commissariat for Education. The Commissariat, similarly, is destined to unite the training of men scattered in various departments and organizations, as well as to establish scientific discipline.

"The maximum program of Communist education, put forward at the same time as the program of the social revolution, could not be realized, mainly because of the undeveloped status of the schools, the hostility and ignorance of the tutors, and still more, because in war time the Republic could not supply sufficient means for the work of public education out of its attenuated resources. That is why the facts are so far from the ideals contained in our declaration. Nevertheless, the Commissariat for Education still remains true to its first declaration concerning the uniform school, although perhaps with some modification in details. The pedagogic idea of Communism—political education—remains the same even in relation to the transition period."

Comrade Lunacharsky further defined the relationship between the system of social training for children and adolescents, which embraces them on the age-scale classification up to 15 years, in the form of the 7 years' schools, after which they are sent for 4 years to the technical high school for special education. Thus, we have the education system as a network of institutions, first of all the pre-scholastic type, then the 7 years' school and the 4 years' technical high school for various specialities.

Having further spoken in detail of these, his basic postulates, Comrade Lunacharsky dwelt on the idea of industrial and agricultural schools, closely bound up with production and primarily for the youth of the working class; he then drew the attention of the Conference to one question of tremendous importance—the formation of a pedagogic personnel, and defined the measures outlined in this sphere, as for instance, the recruiting to pedagogic work of men from the technical and agricultural high schools, to train workers and peasants for elementary pedagogic work in short-term courses.

Second Day

The second day of the Conference began with Comrade Lunacharsky's report on social training. Referring to the problem of family and school he said:

"The family is disintegrating with tremendous rapidity. On the other hand, I doubt whether there is a family at the present time that could afford any sound training for the children; not only our principles but want itself urges us in the direction of social training. In no case, however, can we adopt the principle of compulsion or persuasion."

Examining in the latter part of his speech the charky states that the approximate number of children being cared for (up to 400,000) is most insignificant in comparison with the vast mass of children that are in need of the attention of the State. Indicating the immediate perspectives as far as the growth of social training is concerned, the speaker laid it down that it is the basic task of the Commissariat for Education to further the work of building and perfecting schools.

"We should," said the speaker, "realize a higher type of school, a club school, a whole-day school; that is, a boarding-school. The schools and the children's homes are coming together, and with the development of our work we may look more calmly upon the fading of the bad influence of the modern family upon the children."

The Conference then attentively listened to the report of Comrade Litkens, concerning tuition reform. Comrade Litkens advanced postulates concerning the necessity of doing away with the method of instruction by means of lifeless routine, of ceasing to give the pupil abstract knowledge instead of the necessary abilities and habits on the basis of industrial labor processes. Comrade Litkens pointed out the necessity, pedagogically, to adopt finally the forms of school life that would give the child a first training, so that when it reached, let us say the age of 15 years, it could choose for itself a definite profession or speciality in the technical schools.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM (An Interview with Lunacharsky)

The reform of the Commissariat for Education is not at all confined to the appointment of new men and the concentration of the structure of the former Public Education Department. It is incomparably wider.

The basic functions of the Commissariat Education have been defined as follows: theoretical, administrative, and financial-supply. The theoretical work of the Commissariat has a special academic center, which draws up principles, works out plans and programs of a scientific and artistic character, administering purely learned and academic-art institutions and using them for pedagogic state purposes; all this is closely connected with the administrative center.

The organizing center concentrates all the work of financing, supply, and information, working in closest contact with the administrative center.

Finally the administrative center actually conducts both the model institutions under the direct management of the Commissariat, and the entire mass of educational institutions through the provincial educational departments.

The administrative center, in its turn, is split up into three head managing departments on the basis of the different functions of the Commissariat of Education. These are, the Chief Committee of Public Education, which carries on all the educational work among the children under 15 years of age; the Department of Vocational Education, which manages the work of preparing all kinds of workers for the State and for industry, embracing all the ages above 15 in the educational sphere; and the Political Education Department, engaged in general educational work (specifically Communist) among the adult mass of the population.

Having created a sufficiently strong leading Communist nucleus to take the lead, it is proposed to recruit the collaboration of the best experts on a much wider scale and with more determination than has been done hitherto.

I consider it likewise of great importance to create councils at all the more important centers in which representatives of the Party, of the National Central Executive and the economic commissariats would take part. Such an institution existed some time ago in the shape of the State Committee for Public Education but it was whirled away in the general stream of disorganization that prevailed at that time. At present this institution, in the form of councils working systematically and evenly, is being revived. The desire of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions to combine the amalgamations of the labor unions in the center and in the provinces with the Commissariat for Education, fills me with the greatest joy. It certainly promises to infuse much freshness into the work and to facilitate the solution of the principal problem, which is, to bind the school stably with the population, and first of all with the workers.

ART IN SOVIET RUSSIA (From the Report of the Commissariat of Education)

In Tsarist Russia the enjoyment of art in all its forms was exclusively the privilege of the ruling classes. The "nation" only got wretched crumbs as a substitute. Knowing what a powerful means of agitation the theatre is for the masses, the police State kept a vigilant eye upon the so-called people's theatres, fencing them round with a censorship, and entirely subjecting them to the police authorities. Education, both musical, theatrical, and artistic, was quite inaccessible to the masses.

It became the aim of the Soviet Government to make art accessible to all, to bind it up in the life of the laboring masses, to put it on a new foundation, so that it should draw new forces from among the proletariat.

At the same time, while working persistently towards the creation of a new, purely proletarian art, we endeavored to familiarize the proletariat with the best achievements of former art.

At the start, in the realization of this task, we met with our principal difficulty, which was the lack of talented forces in the art world, who could

understand the tasks confronting Soviet Russian art, and could see them carried out. Only recently have we been able to make progress among the art workers and they have given us a number of prominent men, and helped us to put art on a sound basis.

The Theatrical World. Much has been done in democratizing the theatre. The repertoire of the biggest theatres has been greatly improved; in this connection, we are still working to acquaint the workers with the best models of the classic theatre. By a recent regulation a uniform price for seats at all theatres has been established; this measure is a step towards the complete abolition of all pay for theatrical shows. Considering the theatre as an instrument of education and propaganda, we should make it free of charge, as we do the school. Parallel with the classical repertoire, there is slowly coming up a new revolutionary repertoire, which we are endeavoring to foster by means of competition in the studios and workshops.

On the other hand, among the working masses themselves, such a tremendous striving towards theatrical creation is evident that it has proved extraordinarily difficult to manage and direct all the theatres and groups that sprang up so naturally.

The Musical World. In the musical field our path was generally the same as in the theatrical sphere, i. e., we aimed at drawing the wide labor masses to appreciate works of genuine musical art; extensive musical education was given and wide facilities for the production of new music, growing out of the proletariat itself and corresponding to the spirit of the times.

We are accomplishing the first task by creating a number of State orchestras, from our best orchestral forces. The Musical Department has formed five large symphony orchestras, about fifty small orchestras, and two orchestras of national instruments. These orchestras during 1919 and the beginning of 1920, gave in the provinces about 170 symphonic concerts from chosen works of classical music, 70 concert-meetings and over 170 concerts of various kinds. These concerts enjoy invariable success among the workers and Red Army men.

The work in the field of musical education is conducted along two lines; the musical education of the wide masses is attained by the establishment of a network of national musical schools, whose number at the present time is 75 (before the Revolution there was one); on the other hand the Musical Department of the Commissariat of Education is working extensively in the schools and children's homes. Thus in Petrograd up to 500 schools and 600 children's homes have included in their curricula the systematic teaching of music. Choir singing has been introduced in 80 per cent of all the schools; the practice of music in 60 per cent; the nurseries all have a musical staff attached to them.

The second line is the creation of professional music schools, the number of which is already 200,

with an attendance of 26,000. The percentage of worker and peasant students in the national schools is 70 per cent, in the vocational schools of the First and Second grades about 55 per cent, and in the higher musical schools it is not more than 30 per cent, which is naturally to be explained by the fact that a corresponding cadre of workers and peasants has not yet been prepared for the high schools.

Apart from this the Musical Department is engaged in the production of musical instruments; it is at present giving most attention to the revival of the noblest of Russian national instruments,—the "Dombra." The nationalization of instruments and of music enabled the Musical Department to adopt measures for the correct distribution of this stock, and to take stock of especially valuable old instruments, of which a collection has been formed. Thus we possess the only collection of the famous Stradivarius violins in the whole world; these are not hidden in the museums, but are given, on competition, to the use of the best violinists, who are obliged to let the masses hear good execution on the famous instruments.

The problem of realizing a new proletarian music is, of course, not going to be decided by means of decrees or by personal effort. In this regard our hope is with the proletarian youth who are training in our musical schools, and every spark of talent is supported by us by all possible means.

Fine Arts Department. This department carries on extensive work of practical nature. Having made the industrial principle the basis of its work, it has spread a wide network of workshops, both of a purely artistic type and of industrial art where on the one hand it strives in general to develop the artistic taste of the working masses, and awaken talent amongst them, and on the other hand directly introduces the principles of art and style in industrial work. With the latter aim, work-shops have been set up for chintz work, wood-work, stone-work, printing, pottery, and toy-making, etc. There are 35 such workshops in different parts of Russia. The total number of people in these workshops is 7,000.

Besides this the Department is organizing, both in Moscow and in the provinces, art exhibitions whose aim it is to acquaint the workers with all the tendencies of art in general. That fine art is not declining with us is proved clearly not only by the productivity, but by the quality of the work in our porcelain factories, whose productions are highly valued abroad. They now employ widely the watchwords and emblems of the times in their work. The State has given full freedom of development to all tendencies in the sphere of art, for it believes that its ever-growing contact with the working masses serves as the surest regulator for putting art on a firm and true foundation. The occasionally apparent preponderance of one tendency in art over another finds its explanation in the fact that energy and impetus is at times dis-

played by young art groups, which discover enthusiastically new ways or achievements. We regard this calmly and without apprehension. We are sure that the new artist, the proletarian-artist who has graduated from our art schools, will at the proper moment deliberately sweep away all that is superfluous and superficial; he will use all that is valuable, and will give to the world an art that will be unequalled for its vividness and expressiveness.

Museum Department. One of the most brilliant pages in our art work is the activity of the Commissariat for Education in the sphere of the safeguarding of the monuments of art and of the past.

Since the Revolution, our museum collections have been growing all the time. All the treasures that had been hidden from the eyes of the masses in palaces and manors have been collected and placed in the museums, being the property of all the workers. The network of museums in the provinces is growing with unusual rapidity. From 31 at the beginning of the Revolution their number is now 119, and practically every day brings news of the opening of a new museum. The treasures of the Hermitage have grown by half as much again. The museums of the capitals have been rearranged, redistributed, and supplied with experienced guides, who read lectures and conduct the excursions of workers and peasants. Visits to the museums have grown numerically, and have changed still more qualitatively; workers and peasants are overfilling the museums. The attendance at the museums, especially in the provinces, is hard to define. It is sufficient, however, to point out that according to a rough report, the museums of Moscow alone, during 1919, had over 500,000 visitors. A number of country manors have been wholly transformed into museums, which vividly illustrate the life and surroundings in the Ducal Estates of the XVIII and XIX centuries. Not less intensive is the work of restoration. The cleansing of ancient ikons has enriched our collection of very valuable productions of Russian ikon-painting.

In spite of all the obstacles and difficulties, the Museum Department of the Educational Commissariat, slowly but splendidly, is working to restore the Kremlin and the Yaroslav Mosques.

Finally, archeological excavation has not ceased for a moment, and the study of our past is making good headway. Archeological groups of amateurs are being formed in the provinces, carrying on excavation and research under the guidance of scientific leaders.

OUT OF SCHOOL EDUCATION

From the very first day of its existence the Commissariat for Public Education was confronted by the problem of out-of-school education, or, according to the present terminology, of political-educational work.

We have to deal with a country in which the percentage of illiterates is enormous, a country

which it was the policy of the Tsarist regime to keep in darkness and ignorance, a country which was in the power of most fanatical prejudices.

The old Out-of-School Department, now the Political-Educational Department of the Commissariat of Public Education, faced the problem of organizing public libraries, schools of all types for adults, clubs, people's houses, excursions, etc. The task was to broaden this activity and give it a communist direction.

In the field of library work the results were the following:

In 32 provinces there were 13,500 libraries in 1919. In 32 provinces there were 26,278 libraries in 1920.

The number of libraries taken over by the Soviet Government was 11,904; of these there were 8,229 school libraries. In 1919, the number of libraries amounted to 25,562; the number of school libraries being 11,467. It should be pointed out that these figures are in no way sufficient to show the growth of the libraries, because they do not include a great number of establishments of the library type, which have grown up in the Red Army, nor the libraries organized by the trade unions for their members, nor the small libraries of a primary type, which serve as a basis for the so-called reading huts, the number of which amounts to about 40,000 on the whole territory of Soviet Russia.

Very characteristic are the figures showing the growth of the library matter in Petrograd:

Before the Revolution there were 23 libraries with 140,000 volumes; after the Revolution 59 libraries with 865,000 volumes.

After the Revolution 59 libraries with 865,000 volumes.

Further, the Out-of-School Department was engaged with the work of organizing schools of different types for adults.

In 1919, there were registered by the Out-of-School Department 7,134 schools for adults and 101 people's universities.

A special task was the work of liquidating illiteracy. By a decree of the Council of People's Commissars an Extraordinary Commission for the Eradication of Illiteracy was created.

Here are some figures on the number of illiterates in Russia. There were registered:

Province	Illiterates
Saratov	2,400,000
Viatka	2,000,000
Homel	1,500,000
Riazan	1,200,000
Penza	300,000
Vologda	500,000
Pskov	600,000
Kazan	500,000
Nizhni-Novgorod	440,000
Ural	75%
Altai	78%
Simbirsk	80%
Tiumen	93%
Astrakhan	93%

These figures are eloquent of the difficulties and

the vast scale of the work to be carried out in this field.

According to the plans of the Central Commission, courses are organized all over Russia for the preparation of a staff of teachers for the eradication of illiteracy.

In the province of Cherepoviets three-days county course-conferences were held, which were attended by 350 school workers; then two-days volost course-conferences, which were attended by 10,000 persons, and finally, special instructors' control courses, which were attended by 5,000 persons. Information was received about the organization of courses in the provinces of Archangelsk, Astrakhan, Vitebsk, Vologda, Viatka, Homel, Ekaterinburg, Kaluga, Kursk, Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, Moscow, Novgorod, Orel, Olonets, Orenburg, Penza, Samara, Saratov, North-Dvina, Simbirsk, Uralak, Ufa, Cheliabinsk, Tiumen. (This information is for the period up to the middle of the summer 1920.)

The work of the Commission has given good results. The pace at which the work is being carried on is shown by the following figures:

During three months the liquidation courses were attended:

In the province of Tambov by 40,000 people;

In the province of Cherepoviets by 57,807 people;

In the province of Ivanovo-Vosnessensk by 50,000 people.

In Petrograd by 25,000 people.

All over the Republic an enormous number of literacy schools have been opened; 10,000 schools were opened by the middle of Spring in the province of Cherepoviets alone; in the province of Tambov—6,000 schools, which were attended by 48,000 pupils in the month of April; in the province of Simbirsk—6,000 schools, in the province of Kazan—5,000 schools, which were attended by 150,000 pupils; in the province of Viatka 4,000 persons were attending the literacy schools, even before the decree was issued.

The information received from different cities furnish the following picture: In Petrograd there are 500 school establishments with 1 or 2 schools in each; 4,000 persons have already passed these schools, and 25,000 more are attending them at present. A great number of schools were opened in Moscow with 22,000 attending. There are 25 schools in Kronstadt, 190 schools in Kaluga, 150 in Tula, 130 in Kosmodemiansk, 65 in Uriev-Polsk, 45 in Kustanay, 40 in Gzhatsk, 20 in Zhisdrinsk, 20 in Romen, 300 in Berdiansk, 180 in Archangelsk, 190 in Omsk, 70 in Yelaguba, 30 in New-Omsk, 12 in Cheliabinsk, 15 in Ekaterinodar, 20 in Odessa.

It is interesting to point out the compulsory measures, which are practiced in different parts of the Republic: In the province of Kazan, those who refuse to attend the literacy schools are subject to 5,000 roubles fine, to 3 months of compulsory labor and the loss of their food cards. In Petrograd those who refuse to attend the schools are reduced to a lower food category, they are tried

in a people's court and excluded from the trade union. In the province of Tambov a signature for an illiterate has no validity.

Primers are printed in Russian, Polish, German, Tartar, Yiddish, and in the other languages of the peoples living in Russia, and a great number of copies are published.

According to our information, 2,700,000 citizens attended the schools during 1920.

But in order to carry out all this work, it was necessary to have a staff of Out-of-School education workers, of whom there were very few in Russia.

The Political-Educational Department developed its work in this direction, and by the end of 1919 a staff of 6,200 workers had been prepared. The number of courses was 65.

In order to complete the picture of the work carried out by the Department for out-of-school education, it is necessary to add the network of people's houses and clubs, which is continually increasing, covering the whole country, and the enormous number of lectures, concerts, meetings and debates which are held daily over the whole territory of the Republic.

—*Russian Press Review*, No. 19.

The Next Issue of

Soviet Russia

THE DARKNESS BEFORE DAWN, by John S. Clarke. Another article by the editor of "The Worker," Glasgow, Scotland, reviewing some of the more interesting malpractices of the Romanov dynasty.

THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN PRODUCTION. Speeches by Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev, expressing the varying attitudes of these three leaders on the proper functions of the trade unions in the economic life of the country.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC by Eugene Varga, Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. An interesting tribute from one of the leaders of a sister republic. He is a specialist in the field of which he speaks.

NOTES TO ENGLAND. Translations from the official Russian texts of several notes from the Soviet Government to the British Government, in the course of the trade negotiations at London. Hitherto unpublished in America.

THE REFORM OF THE MODE OF LIFE, by Alexandra Kollontay. The distinguished author takes up the question of the alterations in the life of the individual brought about by the economic changes now taking place in Soviet Russia.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND GERMANY, by Clara Zetkin. The well-known German Communist, in a spirited speech, points out the importance for Germany of resuming commercial relations with Soviet Russia.

How Industry is Managed in Soviet Russia

(The Vienna Office of Rosta, under date of February 11, communicates the following information that will excellently supplement the article of Dr. Goldschmidt above.)

Rosta, Feb. 11.—The management of industry in Soviet Russia at the present time is as follows:

The Supreme Council of National Economy is the central organ, defining the production program for separate branches of industry, and regulating and managing industry; in the provinces there are local councils of public economy. Each branch of industry, in its turn, is managed and regulated by the Head Department in the Center, and by the corresponding section of the Provincial Economic Councils in the provinces. Finally separate industrial enterprises or their combines are managed by the Shop or District Management.

All organs managing industry have as their basis the industrial unions. The apparatus of management is constructed on this basis, and on this basis only.

The guiding apparatus of the Supreme Economic Council is the Board, which at the present time consists of thirteen persons, formed by agreement with the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions (ACCTU). The Boards of the Provincial Economic Councils (P. E. C.) consisting of three to seven persons, confirmed by the Board of the Supreme Economic Council, are elected by the local executive committee in agreement with the local provincial Trade Union Council; the Chief Industrial Departments are appointed by the Board of the Supreme Economic Council in agreement with the Central Committee of the corresponding trade union, and in the event of disagreement, with the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions. The District Management of enterprises is preliminarily indicated by the District Conven-

tions of representatives of the workers of the corresponding enterprises, and is confirmed by arrangement with the Provincial Branch of their trade union, with the Chief Department of the corresponding branch of industry or with the Provincial Economic Council according to what category the concern belongs to, the second or third. The management of an enterprise is appointed by the District (or by the Chief) Management.

The management of industry is thus based on the industrial trade unions, and the trade unions and their amalgamations take part in the organization of national economy just as they take part in organizing the apparatus for the regulation and management of industry. Here, the trade unions and their amalgamations only formally take part in organization of the managing apparatus, i.e. they agree on one or another candidate, put forward by the organs of the Supreme Economic Council; others, apart from agreement, also put forward their candidates which form the majority; and finally the degree of participation by a third class is deeper; they not only participate in the organization of the managing apparatus but also in the organization of industry itself; such form an absolute minority.

In summing up the participation of the wide labor masses in the organization of industry, the Board of the Supreme Economic Council establishes the fact that the participation of the workers in the organization of industry was businesslike and creative. The following table characterizes the degree of participation of the workers in the organs of management:

Board of the Supreme Economic Council and Provincial Economic Councils.

Total:	Workers	%	Experts	%	Employees	%
187	107	57.2	22	11.8	58	31.0

Collegiate Chief Management:

Total:	Workers	%	Experts	%	Employees	%
140	72	51.4	31	22.2	37	26.4

Collegiate and One-man-Factory Managements:

Total:	Workers	%	Experts	%	Employees	%
1,143	726	63.5	398	34.8	19	1.7

Total:	Workers	%	Experts	%	Employees	%
1,470	905	61.6	451	30.7	114	7.7

Here we have 61% of workers, among whom are many prominent administrators and organizers, and 30% of experts, with whom we cannot dispense especially now, when wide industrial perspectives of peaceful construction have opened up before the Supreme Economic Council.

The labor management changed its character in the course of the work itself. At first, large collegiums stood at the head of the management in the center, in the districts, and at the enterprises, a thing which made it necessary to have representatives of all kinds of experiments to decide all questions coordinately. These collegiums also aroused the mistrust of the workers for the administrative technical personnel and the officials, i.e., the department representatives. In proportion as the corresponding collegiums actually united the management in their own hands, the department representatives became superfluous; part of the workers became so familiarized with the work that they were actually able to conduct it themselves and the former distrust gave way. Parallel with these changes, there took place the transition from wide representative collegiums to narrow business directors of one-man management. At the present moment, most of the factories and works have gone over from collegium to one-man management; out of 2,483 enterprises 2,183 are under one-man management and 300 under collegiums.

It must be emphasized that in the practice of economic management at the present time the principle of automatic representation of separate institutions in the organs of management has already been done away with, and we have at present gone over to the principle of organizing the guiding collegiums or appointing individual directors and managers not by means of the joint confirmation of the activities of each industry or its branches but by the corresponding guiding organ of the State on the basis of business considerations. Owing to this, the possibility has been avoided of friction or misunderstandings between the trade unions and the organs of economic management, in view of the fact that persons belonging to the organs of industrial management or the leaders of these organs are responsible before the corresponding central committee of the trade union, and on the other hand the responsibility for their preparation in the execution of their tasks rests with the organs that appointed them, and with the trade union in agreement with whom they were appointed.

How the Central Apparatus Works

The Central apparatus of the Supreme Economic Council is split up into three groups of sections. First of all the Board of the Supreme Economic Council itself has six sections, with the aid of which it establishes the industrial plan for the current year and carries out the general leadership of industry. These sections are:

1. The commission for production which receives separate production programs for separate branches of industry, which are examined and submitted to the Board for confirmation.

2. The Financial, Economic and Accounting Sections, which examine the balance sheets of both central and local economic organs, and which finance industry.

3. The Utilization Commission which establishes the plan of distribution of the products of industry (its personnel also comprises representatives of the Food Commissariat.)

4. The Council of Supply and Distribution (in process of formation) which confirms the program of the distribution of semi-manufactured products which require finishing, and conduct all the technical work of distribution and supply.

5. The Factory Statistical Section.

6. Section for Contact with the Provinces which conducts communication with the local Councils of Public Economy.

The second group are production sections, there being 15 of them, in accordance with branches of industry. They directly manage and regulate the corresponding branches of industry, in respect to which they oversee the execution of the production programs and orders, distribute the raw material, take account of manufactured products, and subsidize the enterprises of the last group that are of special state importance.

The third group of sections are: 1. Industrial administration. 2. Inspectorate. 3. Juridical Section. 4. Editing and Publications, etc., which can be defined as auxiliary sections.

In each province, the local economic council is the organ directing and managing industry; i.e. the Provincial Council of Public Economy, organized on the same lines as the Supreme Council.

The local councils are divided into corresponding industrial sections; Metal, Textile, Chemical, Electro-Technical, etc., which are directed by the Boards of the Economic Council on the one hand, and on the other hand are likewise subordinated to the corresponding production sections, where they present their balance-sheets and whence they receive instructions and orders as to the management of the industry under their auspices and on their territory.

Enterprises of the second and third groups are under the management of the local councils. Thus the local councils subsidize the enterprises under their management, according to a budget, substitute and appoint directors, etc. At the head of the sections of the local councils are men confirmed by the Board of the Local Trade Unions. In order to keep pace with the growth of work arising through the Federation of other Soviet Republics, local councils for public economy have been created. These now number 81.

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The Soviet Russian Railway Commission Abroad

(The Rosta Office at Stockholm, on February 9, 1921, in its daily bulletin included the following interesting data that had been furnished it by the Russian Railway Commission in Stockholm.)

The Soviet Russian Railway Commission abroad, which does not function directly under any official Russian department, was definitely appointed in accordance with the decree of the Council of People's Commissars No. 18,312 of November 5, 1920.

The duty of the commission is to bring unity into all the orders of railway material abroad, including also the repairs of Russian locomotives in foreign countries.

The Commission is first to order:

1. 2,000 train locomotives valued at 500,000,000 Swedish crowns,
2. Locomotive parts valued at 60,000,000 Swedish crowns, necessary for repairing locomotives in Russia,
3. Accessories for pumping stations destroyed by Denikin and others, valued at 15,000,000 crowns,
4. The organization of the construction of 4,000 to 5,000 Russian locomotives abroad.

The following are the facts with regard to new locomotives:

In Sweden 1,000 locomotives of the Russian type have been ordered. The first of these will be ready by the summer, and the entire order must be completed by 1925. Locomotives of the same type are also to be ordered in Germany. The entire work of construction for both countries is to be centralized at Henschel's Shops in Cassel, where the drawings and model shall be prepared, after which Russian locomotives may be built at all the shops in question. At the head of this work stands Engineer Fren, a professor at the Engineering School at Moscow, one of Russia's foremost locomotive constructors. In order to insure the absolute similarity of all the locomotives, which are to be constructed at 19 different shops, and that any part may be transferred from one locomotive to another, a test is to be made by assembling a locomotive from parts that have been manufactured at all the various 19 shops. Another interesting provision in the locomotive agreement is this: the final test of the locomotive shall take place in Russia by attaching it to a complete train and operating it with the train, and the final acceptance of the locomotives shall not take place until each of them has been subjected to this test.

As has been already indicated, 1,000 locomotives were ordered in Sweden and 1,000 in Germany. Arrangements have already been made for the purpose of allotting these locomotives to the various shops, but it has nevertheless not been possible thus far to allot more than 100 locomotives to all the German shops, in accordance with the demands of the workers. The fact is that the bankers do not want to pay more than 70 per

cent of the value of the Russian gold on the London and New York exchanges. They are making use of the fact that the Soviet Government under present political conditions cannot itself transport the gold to these points. By such a policy the bankers are pursuing a double purpose: they hope to put 30 per cent of the value of the Russian gold into their own pockets and to undermine the proletarian finance which is so hateful in their eyes. Doubtless the bankers in all countries have come to an agreement on this matter, and this agreement has even been publicly designated by the name "The Gold Blockade Against Russia." However necessary these locomotives may be for Russia, nevertheless Russia can not afford to throw away 83,000,000 crowns in order to fill the pockets of the bankers, and it is for this reason that the allotment of the remaining 900 locomotives has been delayed.

In the ordering of the locomotive parts, which are necessary for repairs, the conditions are somewhat different. In this matter the sums involved are considerably smaller, and in spite of the unfavorable conditions for the sale of gold almost all the orders have been drawn up or are about to be drawn up within the next few days. About 80 per cent of these orders fell to the share of Germany, as Germany proposed a price that was hardly more than half that asked by Sweden. In addition to Germany and Sweden, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia have also received allotments. Aside from the low prices, Germany defeated its competitors by swifter deliveries, and that not only on paper. The first contracts were signed October 20, 1920;* the deliveries began in the second half of December, and in the first month 1,500 tons of railroad material were already being sent to Russia.

It is also interesting to note that while the English firms demand a guarantee payment of 100 per cent from the Soviet Government, the German firms are relying on the word of the Soviet Government and demanding no guarantee at all.

The orders for pumping machinery were placed chiefly in Sweden, although much might have been obtained more cheaply in Germany. As for the repair of locomotives, already 200 locomotives have been forwarded to Esthonia for such purposes, and an agreement has been drawn up with one of the biggest Esthonian concerns for the repair of 1,500 locomotives, and negotiations are in progress on the subject of the repairs of 2,000 to 3,000 locomotives in Germany, Norway, and Denmark.

*The text of one of these contracts will be found in "Soviet Russia," Volume IV, No. 6.

Notes to Persia and Lithuania

NOTE TO PERSIA.

Moscow, Feb. 15.—The representative of Chicherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Karakhan, addresses the following note to the Persian Representative:

Mr. Representative: The Soviet Government shares fully your view with regard to foreign troops on Persian soil. As soon as we received your note of November 9, the Soviet Government hastened to open negotiations with the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan, on the subject of the sojourn of Azerbaijan troops on Persian territory, in the districts of Enzeli and Resht. Since the last meeting with you I have informed you as to the attitude of the Republic of Azerbaijan and as to the reasons why the troops of this Republic were stationed on Persian territory. The Republic of Azerbaijan finds itself obliged for reasons of self defence to maintain its troops in these districts, in order to prevent English troops now in Kazvin, or already moving forward against Resht and Enzeli, from attacking the territory of Azerbaijan. From the latest urgent communications of the Azerbaijan Government it is apparent that that Government is animated only by feelings of friendship and fraternity toward the Persian people, and that it is extremely unpleasant for that Government to be obliged to maintain its troops on foreign territory, all the more since the presence of these Azerbaijan troops on Persian territory may be erroneously interpreted and become an obstacle to the restoration of friendly relations between the two states. The Government of Azerbaijan will therefore withdraw its troops from Persian territory as soon as the English troops are also withdrawn. The Government of Azerbaijan has assured the Russian Government that, as far as the Azerbaijan Government is concerned, Persian territory would very soon be freed from foreign occupation. In the name of my Government I take the liberty to express the hope that the proposals of the Azerbaijan Government may be well received by the Persian Government, and that the latter will soon undertake all necessary steps to make possible the convocation of the commission, already discussed some time ago. I take the liberty to propose that the most suitable place for the meeting of this Commission would be the city of Kazvin or of Teheran. As soon as the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs receives information to the effect that the British Government also accepts this plan for liquidating the Anglo-Azerbaijan front on Persian territory, the Azerbaijan Government will of course also consider it its duty immediately to appoint its fully empowered representatives to the above-mentioned commission.

Please accept the expression of my esteemed consideration.

Representative of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs,
KARAKHAN.

PROTEST AGAINST SENDING INTERNATIONAL TROOPS TO VILNA.

Riga, Feb. 16.—The Representative of Lithuania in Moscow, Mr. Baltrushaytis, has received the following note from Chicherin:

I have the honor herewith to request you to submit the following communication to your Government:

The Russian Government cannot witness without concern the disorders now prevailing in the city of Vilna and in the territory which was allotted to Lithuania in the treaty of July 12, 1920,* between Russia and Lithuania.

At the moment when the General of the Polish Army, Zeligowski, with the aid of a number of Polish troops occupied Vilna and began to collect in the city and in its environs officers and soldiers hostile to the Russian Republic, out of White Guardist detachments, the Russian Government lodged a protest with the Polish Government against this procedure, and made the Polish Government respon-

sible for the latest operations of this Polish general and his troops. The Russian Government can no longer refrain from calling the attention of the Lithuanian Government to the international obligations which the latter must fulfill with regard to the city of Vilna and its surroundings. On the basis of the treaty entered into between Russia and Lithuania on July 12, 1920, the Russian Government has the right to demand of the Lithuanian Government that the latter do all in its power to put an end to a situation in Vilna which constitutes a menace to the security of the Soviet Republic. I consider it necessary to emphasize that the preliminary treaty signed on October 12, 1920, at Riga, between Russia and Poland,** in no way alters or abrogates the Russo-Lithuanian treaty of July 12, 1920.

But the preliminary treaty, between Russia and Ukraine on the one hand and Poland on the other hand, provides that questions concerning disputed territories belonging to Lithuania and Poland are to be settled by Lithuania and Poland themselves. This provision is a logical conclusion from the fact that the sovereign power of the Russian Republic over the district and city of Vilna has ceased, but it by no means signifies that the Russian Government is obliged to look on passively while the present conditions in Vilna continue, if these conditions threaten its own security. In addition, the question of the ownership of the above mentioned region has been solved by agreement between Lithuania and Poland, and not to the advantage of Poland. The sovereign power over the district and city of Vilna is now with Lithuania, since the district was allotted to that state by virtue of the Russian-Lithuanian treaty. In view of this fact, the Russian Government has the right to demand of the Lithuanian Government that the latter take every step to put an end to the present condition in Vilna, since the city is a center for White Guardist elements, which are in a position to prepare aggressive enterprises against Soviet Russia. Besides, the Russian Government has learned that the group of states which calls itself the "League of Nations" has recently been elaborating a plan for sending international troops to Vilna. The Russian Government calls the attention of the Lithuanian Government to the fact that the arrival of such troops in Vilna cannot be considered as in accordance with the provisions of the Russian treaty with Lithuania. In the absence of any treaty and any contact whatsoever between the so-called "League of Nations" and the Russian Republic, and in view of the fact that the states constituting the "League of Nations" have not yet ceased their hostilities against Soviet Russia, such troops must be considered as troops hostile to the Soviet power. We therefore express the firm hope that the Lithuanian Government may not permit this appearance of armed forces in Vilna, since their presence would have to be considered by the Russian Government as an action hostile to Soviet Russia, an action threatening the security of the Soviet Government. The Russian Government is convinced that the Lithuanian Government will take all necessary steps to put an end to the conditions in the city and district of Vilna which violate the treaty, and that it will not permit the above mentioned armed forces to secure admission there.

I take this opportunity to request you to accept the assurances of my great esteem and my most upright respect.

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
GEORGE CHICHERIN.

The Lithuanian Government has now answered the note of the Council of the League of Nations of December 20, and consented to the plebiscite in the Vilna district on the condition that the Polish troops shall be withdrawn and that the administration and the police authority be taken over by non-interested powers. Simultaneously however the Government

*Full text of this treaty was printed in *Soviet Russia* for December 4, 1920 (Volume III, Pages 562-565).

**The text of the preliminary treaty, with a complete discussion and map, appeared in *Soviet Russia* for December 11, 1920 (pp. 586-593).

informs the Council that in spite of repeated efforts it has been impossible to obtain the consent of the Soviet Government to the sending of international troop contingents to Vilna. As the intervention of troops of this kind constitutes a violation of the treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia, the Kovno Government must decline to receive the foreign contingents unless the Council of the League of Nations and Poland may obtain the consent of the Soviet Government.

—RUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY.

"Soviet Russia" four weeks ago (No. 8) printed a front-page cartoon (from a Dutch newspaper) illustrating the reaction of the proletariats of the small neutral nations that had been requested to furnish a "police" guard for the city of Vilna during the projected plebiscite.

RUSSO-POLISH NEGOTIATIONS

Riga, Feb. 13.—A representative of Rosta on the 13th inst. had an interview with the Russian representative in Riga, A. A. Yoffe. When questioned whether it was true that the Polish Delegation was delaying negotiations Yoffe answered:

"I do not believe that the delegation is doing this intentionally. There is no doubt that Poland is interested in having the peace treaty signed as early as possible, and this is emphasized by the entire Polish press. At any rate it is interesting to note that in spite of the fact that Chicherin declared himself ready, on Sapielha's proposal, to state a date by which the peace negotiations should be concluded, the Polish Delegation has always ignored all my proposals that such a period be set. I nevertheless continue to consider such a decision to be entirely feasible and am ready to sign the peace treaty within a period of even five days. In my opinion the delay of the negotiations is rather to be ascribed to the indecision of the Polish Delegation, which even in absolutely clear cases, when Russia and Ukraine could not assume the obligations demanded by Poland—and they certainly will not under any conditions assume them—keeps coming back again and again to questions that have already been settled, without possessing

determination enough to accept the only possible formulation. It is clear why under such circumstances they should wish to blame me for this delay, but the facts speak for themselves, and the extent of my participation in delaying the negotiations is evident from the fact that the Russo-Ukrainian Delegation is today as ready as it was two months ago, when the above described note of Sapielha's was handed to it, to sign an agreement with the Polish Delegation in which an extremely short period will be designated for the elaboration of the treaty and the signing of the peace."

When asked: "What do you think will be the consequences of Pilsudski's trip to Paris?" Yoffe said: "To my mind the most important event connected with this trip is the speech of Millerand, in which the latter said that the boundaries of Poland had not yet been definitely fixed. With the situation as it is today, this statement can only be understood as a reference to the failure of achieving a decision on the East Galician question. I therefore believe that Pilsudski's trip to Paris and the obvious failure of the hopes connected with it would make the Polish Delegation more yielding, since the fact that under these circumstances we did not reopen the question of the revision of the boundaries provided for in the preliminary treaty of peace, particularly the revision of the East Galician question, reveals the loyalty of Russia and Ukraine and particularly their fidelity to the conditions of the preliminary peace in a very favorable light. I hope it will be possible to sign the peace under the conditions drawn up by the conference. The conditions proposed by us to Poland represent the maximum in this respect, and from this standpoint the threats that France will aid Poland in a war against us would seem to suggest that Russia and Ukraine were demanding something from Poland and were threatening it with war. Of course France could not possibly force Russia and Ukraine to accept obligations which they are not capable of fulfilling, and any war, even if it should end favorably, would weaken both sides, and, by lowering the solvency of both, would render more difficult still the fulfillment of these unbearable conditions. I do not even touch upon the fact that the outcome of a war can never be predicted, and that the present situation is by no means such as would inspire Poland with a certainty of victory, even if it may count on the aid of France. For if France in the course of three years of intervention has not succeeded in imposing obligations upon us which we regard as intolerable, it is to be hoped that the Polish delegation will recognize that this is the fact, and that it may soon proceed to a signing of the peace."

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The Paris Commune — 50 Years Later

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The Paris Commune and Soviet Russia

By LEON TROTSKY

Short episode of the first Revolution made by the proletariat for the proletariat, ending in the triumph of its enemies. This episode (March 18-May 28) lasted seventy-two days. (The Paris Commune, March 18, 1871, by P. L. Lavrov, Petrograd: Published by "Golos" 1919, p. 160.)

The Socialist Parties of the Commune Were Not Prepared

The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first weak attempt in history at domination by the working class. We venerate the memory of the Commune in spite of its limited experience, the lack of preparation of its militant sections, the confusion of its program, the lack of unity among its directing elements, the indecision of its plans, the excessive fussing in execution, and the frightful disaster in which it so fatally ended. We hail in the Commune, as Lavrov puts it, the somewhat pale dawn of the first proletarian republic.

That is not Kautsky's view of the matter. After devoting the greater part of his book, "Terrorismus und Kommunismus," to pointing out a crudely propagandist parallel between the Commune and the Soviet power, Kautsky beholds great virtues in the Commune where we see misfortunes and mistakes.

Kautsky vigorously turns his energies to proving that the Paris Commune of 1871 was not "artificially prepared," but spontaneously produced, taking the revolutionists by surprise, contrary to the Russian Revolution of November, which was prepared down to the minutest details by our Party. This is indisputably correct. Not having the courage to clearly formulate his profoundly reactionary views, Kautsky does not tell us whether the Paris revolutionaries of 1871 should be praised for not having foreseen the proletarian insurrection and for not having prepared themselves for

it, or whether we should be blamed for having foreseen the inevitable and consciously proceeded to take time by the forelock. But all Kautsky's exposition is conceived in a manner to produce in the reader precisely this impression: A misfortune came upon the Communards (the Bavarian philistine Vollmar even went so far one day as to express the regret that the Communards had not gone to sleep instead of taking up the power) who therefore deserve all our indulgence; the Bolsheviki, on the other hand, consciously anticipated this misfortune (the seizure of power) and that is why they will never be forgiven either in this world or in the next. If you put the question plainly in this way it of course reveals itself as an incredible absurdity. It is none the less true, however, that such is the inevitable inference from the position of the "Kautskyian Independents" who withdraw their heads into their shoulders in order to see nothing, in order to foresee nothing, and who cannot take a step in advance if they have not first received a good kick in the rear. "To humiliate Paris," writes Kautsky, "to refuse it autonomy, to deprive the capital of its title, disarm it in order to risk later with certainty a monarchist coup d'etat, such was the capital task of the National Assembly and of Thiers whom it had elected head of the Executive Power. From this situation arose the conflict which led to the Paris insurrection." "We see to what extent this form of revolution differs from what was accomplished by Bolshevism, which drew its strength from the peace aspirations and had behind it the peasant masses; which, in the National Assembly, had not monarchists against it but Social Revolutionists and Mensheviks."

"The Bolsheviki came to power by means of a well-prepared revolution which suddenly placed

in their hands the entire Government machinery, of which they are availing themselves in the most energetic and most pitiless manner for putting down their adversaries including proletarians."

"At the beginning, no one was more astonished by the Communist insurrection than the revolutionists themselves, and for many of them the conflict was in addition very undesirable" (page 44).

In order to obtain a clear idea of the real meaning of what has been said by Kautsky on the subject of the Commune we shall quote the following interesting testimony:

"On March 1, 1871," Lavrov writes in his very instructive book on the Commune, "in other words six months after the fall of the Empire and a few days before the rise of the Commune, the guiding personages of the International at Paris had yet no definite political program."

"After March 18," writes the same author, "Paris was in the hands of the proletariat, but its leaders, disturbed by their unexpected power, did not take the most necessary measures for security" (page 71).

"Your role is more than enough for you and your sole care is to withdraw yourself from responsibility," declared a member of the Central Committee of the National Guard. "There was much truth in this," writes Lissagaray, a participant and historian of the Commune. "But at the very moment of action, lack of proletarian organization and preparation frequently comes from the fact that functions are imposed upon men who are not of a stature to discharge them." (The History of the Commune of 1871 by Lissagaray, Brussels, 1876, French Edition, page 106.)

It appears from what precedes (and it will be clearer later on) that the absence among the Paris Socialists of a program of direct struggle for political power is explained by their theoretical emotionalism and their political confusion and in no way by higher considerations of tactics.

It is beyond doubt that the fidelity of this very man Kautsky to the traditions of the Commune will evince itself above all in the profound astonishment with which he will receive the proletarian revolution in Germany, where he beholds nothing more or less than "an extremely undesirable" conflict. We doubt, however, that future generations will revere him for this view. The very essence of his historical analogy is nothing, we must not fail to mention this, but a mixture of confusions and reticences.

The intentions which Thiers had with regard to Paris, were those of Milyukov with regard to Petrograd, supported publicly by Chernov and Tseretelli. Daily they repeat—from Kornilov to Potressov—that Petrograd was isolated from the country, that it no longer had anything in common with the country, and that, demoralized to the marrow, it was attempting nevertheless to impose its will upon the nation. The first task of Milyukov and his acolytes was to discredit and debase Petrograd. And this was going on at a time when Petrograd was the true center of the revolution which had not yet succeeded in con-

solidating itself with other parts of the country. In order to give this city a good lesson, Rodzianko, the former President of the Duma, spoke openly of handing over Petrograd to the Germans, as Riga had already been handed. Rodzianko did nothing more than formulate clearly what was in reality the aim of Milyukov, supported by Kerensky's whole policy.

Milyukov wanted to disarm the proletariat as Thiers had done. But worse still, by the intervention of Kerensky, Chernov, and Tseretelli, the Petrograd proletariat had practically been disarmed in July, 1917. It had again taken to arms on the occasion of the offensive of Kornilov on Petrograd, in August, and this new arming of the proletariat was a serious element in the preparation for the November Revolution. In a way, therefore, those points on which Kautsky contrasts the March insurrection of the Paris workers with our November Revolution do, to a certain extent, coincide.

But in what way do they differ? Principally in that the sinister aims of Thiers were carried out, in that Paris was strangled and tens of thousands of workers massacred, while Milyukov went to pieces miserably and Petrograd remained the impregnable fortress of the proletariat, and leaders of the Russian bourgeoisie went down to Ukraine to beg the armies of the Kaiser to occupy Russia. This is evidently to a large extent our fault, and we are ready to take the blame. An essential difference also is this—and this difference has been felt more than once in the later development of events—that while the Communards began preferably with patriotic considerations, we acted from the standpoint of the international revolution. The defeat of the Commune led to the actual breakup of the First International. The victory of the Soviet power led to the foundation of the Third International.

But Marx, on the eve of the Revolution, advises the Communards not to rebel but to organize! We might add that Kautsky might adduce this fact in order to demonstrate to what extent Marx underestimated the acuteness of the Paris situation, but Kautsky desires at any cost to exploit Marx's advice in order to emphasize the harm done to the movement by insurrections in general. Like all the mandarins of the social democracy, Kautsky considers the chief function of organization to be that of embarrassing revolutionary action.

Even if we limit ourselves to the question of organization we must not forget that the November Revolution had been preceded by nine months of existence of the Kerensky Government, in the course of which our Party was engaged rather successfully both in agitation and in organization. The November Revolution was accomplished after we had been given an overwhelming majority in the Soviets of workers and soldiers of Petrograd, of Moscow and, in general, of all the industrial centers of the country, and transformed the Soviets into powerful organizations, directed by our Party. There was nothing like this among the Communards. Finally, we had behind us the heroic

Commune of Paris, from the destruction of which we had inferred that it was quite necessary for revolutionists to foresee events and to prepare for them. We admit that these are our crimes.

The Paris Commune and Terrorism

Kautsky makes use of a rather extensive parallel between the Commune and the Soviet power for the sole purpose of calumniating and deriding the living and triumphant dictatorship of the proletariat in favor of a mere attempt at dictatorship made at a sufficiently remote period.

Kautsky cites with an indecent excess of satisfaction a declaration of the Central Committee of the National Guard, dated March 19, on the subject of the assassination of the two generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas by their soldiers: "We say this with indignation. It is a blood stain with which they want to soil our honor. It is a miserable calumny. Never did we order these murders. The National Guard did not in any way participate in the perpetration of this crime."

It will be understood that the Central Committee had no reason to take upon itself the responsibility for a murder in which it did not have any share. But the rhetorical and sentimental tone of the declaration well indicates the political timidity of these men in the face of bourgeois public opinion. Should this surprise us? The representatives of the National Guard were for the most part men with a very modest degree of revolutionary training. "No one whose name is known," writes Lissagaray. "They are petit bourgeois, grocers, strangers in the organization, and mostly foreign to politics" (page 70).

"A discreet and somewhat timid feeling of terrible historical responsibility and the desire to remove themselves from it as soon as possible," writes Lavrov of them, "runs through all the proclamations of this Central Committee into the hands of which Paris had fallen" (page 77).

Having quoted this declaration on the shedding of blood in order to disgrace us, Kautsky, following Marx and Engels, criticizes the indecision of the Commune: "If the Parisians (in other words the Communards) had untiringly pursued Thiers, they might have succeeded in taking possession of the Government. The troops which were retreating from Paris could not have offered the slightest resistance to them. But Thiers was able to fight while retreating, without difficulty. He was permitted to retire with his army, to reorganize it at Versailles, to breathe a new lease of moral life into it, and to reinforce it" (page 49).

Kautsky cannot understand that it was the same men, and for the same reasons, who published the declaration above quoted on March 19, who, without striking a blow, permitted Thiers to retire and to regroup the army. If the Communards had been able to gain the victory by the exercise of moral influence only, their declaration would have had an immense importance. But this was not the case. As a matter of fact their humanitarian sentimentality was nothing more nor less than the complement of their revolutionary passivity. Men

to whom had fallen the lot of taking over the Government of Paris and who did not understand the necessity of immediately and exclusively using this power in order to undertake the pursuit of Thiers, to crush him irrecoverably before he had time to breathe, to take the army in hand vigorously, for the purpose of an indispensable cleaning up in the commanding elements, to take possession of the provinces—such men naturally could not be disposed to act rigorously against counter-revolutionary elements. It was impossible to rush the pursuit of Thiers without arresting his agents in Paris and without shooting conspirators and spies. If they considered the assassination of counter-revolutionary generals as an abominable crime, it was of course childish to attempt any rousing of energy among the pursuing troops, who would also be commanded by counter-revolutionary generals.

In a revolution, a higher force is equivalent to a higher humanity. "Just these men," Lavrov very correctly says, "who attach so much value to human life, to human blood, will bend all their energies to obtain a quick and decisive victory and will then act most swiftly to put down their enemies by force; for it is only by this mode of procedure that it will be possible to have a minimum of inevitable losses and a minimum of bloodshed" (page 225).

The declaration of March 19 may however be estimated more justly if it is understood not as a profession of absolute faith but as the expression of a temporary state of mind on the day after an unexpected victory, attained without the slightest bloodshed. Absolutely devoid of any understanding of the dynamics of the revolution and of the popular moods which pass through rapid changes by reason of internal conditions, Kautsky's thought follows dead formulas and twists the perspective of events by arbitrary analogies. He does not understand that this magnanimous indecision in general is natural to the masses in the first period of revolution. The workers do not pass over to the offensive except under the pressure of an iron need, just as they will not take up a Red Terror except under threat of counter-revolutionary massacres. What Kautsky interprets as a result of a particularly elevated morality on the part of the Paris proletariat of 1871 is in reality only a characteristic of the first stage of civil war. We have observed similar cases in our revolution.

At Petrograd we seized the power in November, 1917, almost without bloodshed and even without arrests. The Ministers of the Kerensky Government were released immediately after the Revolution. Even further—after the power had passed into the hands of the Soviet, the Cossack General Krasnov, who had attacked Petrograd together with Kerensky, and had been taken prisoner at Gatchina, was liberated on his word of honor, the next morning. This is a "magnanimity" which was very characteristic of the state of mind in the first days of the Commune, but which was none the less an error. General Krasnov, after having conducted guerrilla warfare against us in the south for nearly

a year, after having massacred several thousand Communists, recently made a new attack on Petrograd, but this time in the ranks of the Yudenich army. The proletarian revolution became more violent in its methods only after the uprisings of the military cadets at Petrograd, and particularly after the revolt (organized by the Cadets, the Social Revolutionists, the Mensheviki) of the Czechoslovaks in the Volga region, where thousands of Communists were slain, after the attempted murder of Lenin, the assassination of Uritsky, etc., etc.

These same tendencies, in their earlier phases only, may also be observed in the history of the Commune.

Impelled by the logic of the struggle, the Commune in principle entered upon the road of using force. The creation of the Public Welfare Committee (Comité de Salut Public) was dictated, in the mind of many of its advocates, by the idea of a Red Terror. This Committee was destined to have "the heads of the traitors cut off" (Journal officiel, No. 123), and to "crush treason" (same Journal, No. 124). Among the decrees of "menace" we should point out the ordinance (April 3) on the sequestration of all the property of Thiers and his ministers, the demolition of his house, the taking down of the Vendome column, and particularly the decree on hostages. For each prisoner or partisan of the Commune shot by the Versailles troops, three hostages were to be shot. The measures taken by the prefecture of police, conducted by Raoul Rigault, were of a purely terrorist character, although they were not always adapted to the end pursued. The real object was always paralyzed by the spirit of diffused conciliation of the directing elements of the Commune, by their desire to conciliate the bourgeoisie with the accomplished fact by means of hollow phrases, by their oscillations between the fiction of democracy and the reality of dictatorship. This last thought is admirably formulated by Lavrov in his book on the Commune.

"The Paris of the rich and of the miserable proletarians and of social contrasts, in as much as it was a political body, demanded in the name of liberal principles a complete liberty of speech, of assembly, of criticism of the Government, etc. But the Paris which had carried out the revolution in the interest of the proletariat, and which had undertaken to realize this revolution in institutions, demanded as a Commune of the emancipated working proletariat revolutionary—that is, dictatorial—measures with regard to the enemies of the new regime" (pages 143-144).

If the Paris Commune had not fallen but had been able to maintain itself by means of uninterrupted struggle, there is no doubt that it would have had to resort to more and more rigorous measures in order to crush the counter-revolution. It is true that Kautsky would not have been able then to compare the human Communards with the inhuman Bolsheviks, but on the other hand Thiers would not have been able to carry out his terrible blood-letting of the Paris proletariat. And history would not have lost by the exchange.

The Absolute Central Committee and the "Democratic" Commune

"On March 19," says Kautsky, "some of those present in the Central Committee of the National Guard demanded that they march to Versailles, while others demanded an appeal to the electorate, and still others that revolutionary measures be taken, as if each one of these steps," as our author assures us with great profundity of mind, "were not equally necessary and as if anyone of them would have excluded the other" (page 54).

In subsequent lines, Kautsky, speaking of the disagreements within the Commune, serves us with warmed over banalities on the reciprocal relations between reform and revolution. As a matter of fact the question presented itself in this form: if they were to take the offensive at Versailles and to carry it out without losing a moment it was necessary to reorganize the National Guard at once, to place at its head the most aggressive elements of the Paris proletariat, which would have brought about a temporary weakening of Paris in its revolutionary position. But, to organize elections at Paris while they were sending outside of its walls the elite of the working class, would have been absolutely without any sense from the standpoint of the revolutionary party. Of course marching on Versailles and the elections to the Commune would not have been opposed to each other in theory, but in practice they did exclude each other: to have success in the elections it was necessary to postpone the march on Versailles; for the success of the march on Versailles, the elections would have to be postponed. And finally, in taking the field the proletariat weakened Paris and it then became indispensable to assure oneself against all possibilities of counter-revolutionary surprises within the capital, for Thiers would not have stopped at anything in order to rekindle in the rear of the Communards a conflagration of reaction. It was necessary to establish in the capital a more military, in other words, a more rigorous regime. "They were obliged to struggle," writes Lavrov, "against the multitude of internal enemies who infested Paris and who only yesterday were still rebelling on the edges of the Bourse and the Place Vendome, who had their representatives in the National Guard, who had their press, their assemblies, who almost in broad daylight were maintaining their relations with the Versailles troops, and who became more and more resolute and audacious with each imprudence, with each ill-considered move, of the Commune" (page 87).

It was also necessary at the same time to take a series of steps of economic and financial character in order to satisfy above all the needs of the revolutionary army. All these most indispensable measures of a revolutionary dictatorship could only with difficulty have been conciliated with a great electoral campaign. But Kautsky has not the slightest understanding of what a revolution really is. He thinks that a theoretical conciliation is equivalent to a practical realization.

The Central Committee had fixed the elections

to the Communes for March 22, but lacking confidence in itself, frightened at its own illegal status, in a frantic attempt to act in accord with a more "legal" institution, it opened more or less fruitless and endless negotiations with the Assembly of Mayors and Deputies of Paris which had been deprived of authority, and was ready to share its power with this assembly if it should be impossible to come to an agreement. Valuable time was thus lost.

Marx, on whom Kautsky tries to lean, following an old habit, by no means proposed to elect the Commune and simultaneously to launch the workers in a military campaign. In his letter to Kugelmann of April 12, 1871, Marx wrote that the Central Committee of the National Guard had too soon abandoned its powers to leave the field free to the Commune. Kautsky, in his own words "does not understand" this opinion of Marx. The thing is quite plain. Marx understood at any rate that the task consisted not only in not running after appearances of legality, but in dealing a mortal blow to the enemy. If the Central Committee had been composed of true revolutionists, as Lavrov very justly points out, it would have acted quite differently. It would have been unpardonable for it to grant ten days to its enemies before the election and the convocation of the Commune, in order that they might strengthen themselves at the moment when the directing elements of the proletariat were abandoning their task and were not certain they had the right to guide the proletariat directly. The fatal lack of preparation on the part of the parties of the people now produced a committee which considered it obligatory to grant themselves ten days of inaction.

The aspirations of the Central Committee which desired as quickly as possible to hand over the power to a "legal" government were dictated less by the superstitions of a formal democracy, which on the other hand were not lacking, than by a

fear of responsibility. Under the pretext that it was only a provisional institution, the Central Committee, although the entire apparatus of power was centered in its hands, refused to take the most necessary and most urgent measures. Now, the Commune did not take away all the political power from the Central Committee, which continued, without much modesty, to meddle in all affairs. There resulted a duality of power extremely dangerous, particularly in view of the military situation.

On May 3 the Central Committee sent to the Commune a delegation which demanded a transfer of the control of the Ministry of War. Again, as Lissagaray puts it, this question was raised: "Whether the Central Committee should be dissolved or arrested, or whether it should assume the functions of the Ministry of War."

In a general way the trouble was not of the principles of democracy but the absence in these two parties of a clear program of action, and of the fact that they had a common desire both in the absolute revolutionary organization, as personified in the Central Committee, as well as in the "democratic" organization, the Commune, to shift responsibility to each other, and yet not to give up power completely. Such political relations are not worthy of imitation.

"But the Central Committee," Kautsky consoles himself, "never tried to violate in any way the principle by virtue of which the supreme power should belong to those elected by universal suffrage. On this point the Paris Commune was opposed outright to the Soviet Republic" (p. 53). There was no unity of government will, any more than there was a revolutionary vigor, but there was a duality of power and the result was a rapid and frightful disintegration. But to make up for this—and must we not regard it as a sufficient consolation?—there was no violation of the "principle" of democracy.

(To be concluded)

Economic Reconstruction of the Soviet Republic

By EUGENE VARGA

(The author, formerly a University Professor in Hungary, was Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. He now occupies an important position with the Russian Government. The following article appeared in Moscow in No. 55 of "Vörös Ujság" (The Red Daily) on December 19, 1920.)

In the next few days the Russian Soviet Congress will meet. The period in which its deliberations will take place is an extraordinary one in the history of proletarian Russia. Peace prevails on all the country's frontiers. As to the permanence of this condition of peace, we should not however surrender ourselves to any sweet illusions. The imperialistic states, whose existence has been made uncertain by the mere fact that there is a proletarian nation on earth, will make new attempts again and again in order to overthrow the Russian proletarian state by force of arms.

At any rate it is possible, even probable, that the state of peace will continue for a certain period, and this period must be utilized for the reconstruc-

tion of Russian economic life.

Without doubt this reconstruction is extremely necessary. The capitalistic order has been abolished, but the revolutionary task is by no means completed thereby: *a new mode of production must be created, whose yield will exceed that of the capitalist order.* In order to attain this, the following innovations must be made: first, the anarchy in capitalist production must be replaced by a systematic mode of operation, i.e., all the forces of production, technical equipment, labor power, sources of raw materials, transportation possibilities of the proletarian state must be exploited systematically in such manner that the labor of each worker may attain the greatest possible degree of efficiency.

Efforts have been made hitherto for a systematic operation of individual branches of production, but as yet there is a lack of an economic organ that would embrace the entire economic life of the country, and regulate and secure the interlocking operation of the various branches of production. There is no reason to deny this condition. The creation of this economic plan, as well as the determination of the guiding lines necessary for it will be the chief task of the Congress.

In the second place: the productive yield of capitalist economy was insufficient, and this is chiefly because only an extraordinarily small portion of the population was carrying on productive work. In capitalistic society entire great branches are occupied in *unproductive* work: for example, the capitalist classes, the organizations created for the protection and control of private property, the judges, lawyers, officials, watchmen and custodians, etc., the enormous number of merchants, agents, commercial travelers, and employees necessary under free competition, the workers producing articles of luxury for the rich alone, all the female members of the ruling class who are quite capable of doing work, etc., etc. In order to lift the production of the entire country it is necessary that those formerly concerned in these superfluous occupations shall be added to the productive labor forces. This has not yet been done in Russia. The task of the coming year will be the introduction of compulsory labor and a practical utilization of the labor power of the entire country. The guiding lines of this task must also be determined by the Soviet Congress.

The role of the trade unions in the proletarian state and in production is closely related to the above question. The experiences in Russia have not yet given final results in this field. The adherents of the militarization of labor are opposed by the advocates of the ideas of free discipline. But it is undeniable that labor discipline in the industries has thus far been a weak point of Russian economic life. The workers work only 18 or 20 days a month instead of 25, and the yield of their work is far behind what the capitalists got out of their workers in peace times. The Soviet Congress was convoked in order to draw up the proposed steps in this field also.

In spite of the undeniable improvement that has been recorded in the past half year the yield of production in the field of industry is insufficient: the same must be said also of agricultural production. The extent of the cultivated area has considerably diminished during the last five years, for instance, in the last fiscal year alone, seven per cent. In addition, the average yield has also gone down. This phenomenon unquestionably has its material reasons, such as: lack of good implements, decrease in live stock, cessation in the importation of artificial fertilizer, etc. A further reason for the decline is the lowering of the productive ability of the peasantry. Owing to the insufficiency of industrial production, the peasant cannot obtain the city products and instruments of production,

nor the commodities necessary for his personal consumption, at least not in sufficient quantities. Consequently the peasant, in the first place works less, and in the second place seeks to raise on his ground only such products as may be utilized by him in his own home: foodstuffs of all kinds, tobacco, flax, hemp, etc. Everywhere the attempt of the peasantry is to be observed, to produce, in his domestic economy, only those products necessary for the covering of his own needs. This attempt must be combated, and the Soviet Congress must take a definite attitude to the question of the regulation of the peasant economy by the State.

In the economic field, great tasks face the Soviet Congress. In addition to the main questions that have already been touched upon above, the Soviet Congress will occupy itself also with the possible dangers of the growth of bureaucracy, and with the relations of the great central organization to the local organs, and in general with the successful combining of the centralistic administration with the initiative of the local organs. We are sure that the representatives of all of the toiling Russian people will find the proper solution for their further evolution. At any rate it is an extremely interesting and reassuring fact that at the beginning of the fourth year of the Russian Proletarian Revolution the Soviet Congress is faced not with the question of how to secure the rule of the proletariat, but chiefly with the question of economic reconstruction. *The question of maintaining their power is no longer a problem for the Russian proletariat.*

In the Next Issue of

Soviet Russia

INTERVIEW WITH KERZHENTSEV, Chairman of the Soviet Russian Commercial Delegation in Sweden. Refutation of the fantastic reports about uprisings in Russia.

IN RED RUSSIA. Letters from Pierre Pascal, a French Communist. This article deals with the Extraordinary Commission, prison conditions, and the so-called Red Terror in Soviet Russia in 1920.

THE PARIS COMMUNE AND SOVIET RUSSIA, by Leon Trotsky. In continuation of the article in this issue Trotsky takes up "The Democratic Commune and the Revolutionary Dictatorship" and "The Workers of Paris of 1871 and the Petrograd Proletariat of 1917."

THE EXECUTION OF COUNT MIRBACH, by Victor Serge. A vivid description of the terroristic activity of the Social-Revolutionists of the Left that culminated in the execution of Count Mirbach, the German Ambassador to Russia. The author was formerly an exponent of Individualistic Anarchism in France.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND GERMANY, by Clara Zetkin. The well-known German Communist, in a spirited speech, points out the importance for Germany of resuming commercial relations with Soviet Russia.

The Darkness Before Dawn

BY JOHN S. CLARKE.

Once again I was privileged to walk abroad in Petersburg. Petersburg, the "city of dreadful night"—and radiant day; the city that owes its origin to Peter and Catherine, who, in the words of a writer in the "Contemporary Review" "loved the people and strove for their advancement."

Who would dream when gazing upon its pink and white vistas; green-mottled and golden-spired fanes; stately river beautiful-ised and palace-banked; and the sculptural wonders of its bridges, streets and prospects, that little more than two centuries ago its site was the boggy haunt of marsh fowl and jungle beast? Scarlet Petersburg—*Red Petrograd*; well is it named red. The soil on which it stands, the stones of its streets and buildings, are red with blood—the blood of the countless victims of sadistic Tsars and libidinous Empreses. But where Tyranny reigns there shall the imperishable spirit of Liberty brood, and it was so in Petersburg. That which once was a capital of iniquity has become a metropolis of justice.

Ere human wolves sought prey upon this spot the wolves of the Finnish forests claimed it as their own.

In time came Peter the "Great," and he, battling with Swedes who wished to own the Neva territory as their ancestors had wished before them in the days of Alexander Nevski, decided to build a fortified city, which would not only keep such enemies at a distance, but be "a window looking into Europe" out of dark and barbarous Russia. How this fiendish despot satisfied his whim may be told in few words. He selected the small island of Yanni Saari, or "Hare Island," as the Finns contemptuously called it (because the Russians were alleged to run away like hares in battle), and began the building of the fortress called Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Around this the city arose, and by means of a worse slavery than ever was known to ancient Egypt. Men were driven to the Neva marshes from every part of Russia, and forced to labor for the autocrat by every cruel form of coercion known to the wit of man. Digging implements were unknown there. The soil was dug by thousands upon thousands of finger-nails, and carried in the hands, in pieces of matting, and, in some instances, the tails of shirts. Frightful diseases arose from the stagnant swamps, and the slaves and criminals who toiled dropped dead by the thousand (over 100,000 slaves died in the course of operations). Others afflicted simply fell down, and, in the words of the historian, "obstinately refused to accept any assistance from the others, preferring to die." We learn that the one or two open routes through the bogs and fens to the embryo city were strewn with thousands of rotting carcasses of oxen, horses, dogs, and men—trapped by a rise in the floods which turned the pathways into treacherous bogs. Peter called it his "paradise."

Soldiers who deserted were no longer killed. They were knouted and sentenced to "assist in the building of the Tsar's city." In 1710 Peter enacted a law to the effect that the Provinces must provide 40,000 workmen per year for three years to hasten the building of his city, and that so long as it was being built no stone houses were to be erected in any part of Russia. This latter clause simply meant that skilled artisans (masons, etc.) were compelled to journey to Petersburg for work—to avoid death from hunger—the same form of coercion which today compels a "free man" to work for the enrichment of another. In 1714 the authorities in distant Archangel were ordered to contribute 3,000 slaves to work upon the fortress at Kronstadt. Think of the hideous march of these poor devils from Archangel to Petersburg! Decrees were issued compelling people of the higher classes to build stone houses and dwell in them at the new city, and one part of the city was marked off as an artisans' quarter wherein "free" craftsmen were compelled to live whether they liked it or not. This is how Peter "loved his people"; how he "strove for their advancement."

Even after the city was "completed" the wild beasts (few of them more savage than the city's founder) still frequented their invaded territory. In 1714 wolves tore two sentries to pieces and devoured them, and a woman was dragged down in the streets at midday by wolves opposite Prince Menchikov's house.

Year after year terrific floods came and destroyed not only the greater part of the city, but thousands of the inhabitants. Even in our time the Winter Palace has been half destroyed by the wild waters of the turbulent Neva. On one of these floods I shall write later. While Petersburg was being built on a foundation of human skulls and its buildings cemented by human blood and Neva slime, the peasantry were sinking into the vilest slavery ever known to Russia. Kennard tells us that Peter "brought a curse (bureaucracy) that bred nothing but corruption and reaction" in the country. Just before Peter's reign serfdom became slavery, and the serfs were bought and sold like beasts of burden. "Many ran away, but Peter had them severely flogged and sent to the mines, and the proprietors received the right to send them to the mines forever." This is how he evidenced his regard for the people—making even the slave's lot harder to bear. Read any Ukase issued in this monster's reign, and the penalties of the knout and death will be found on every page.

But if Peter was bad in this respect, Catherine was worse. It was illegal in the reign of Peter to sell slaves separately who were members of a family. Not so in Catherine's time. Besides the incredible tortures to which serfs had to submit, a father or mother could now be sold by proprietors who wished to retain the children. In short,

serfs were looked upon by the laws of Catherine as mere animals and treated as such. Writes Professor Ross: "They were among the merchandise offered at fairs." And again: "During the eighteenth century (Peter and Catherine's time) the trend was all in the direction of emphasizing the power of the master." Even in Little Russia,* where serfdom had been hitherto unknown, we find it flourishing under Catherine. Kovalevsky writes in *Ancient Laws* (p. 82): "Social distinctions remained almost unknown among the Little Russians down to the end of the eighteenth century, when Catherine the Second introduced among them the notions of a feudal nobility and serfdom." That this eighteenth century Zenobia (or Semiramis), who murdered her own husband, was incapable of feeling any of the higher instincts of humanity might be gauged from one of her letters to Grimm, the German writer. It was written on the occasion of the most disastrous flood in the history of Petersburg—September, 1777. A three-masted ship was hurled into the streets, and the waves washed the staircase of the Palace. In somewhat the literary style of Mrs. Snowden, Catherine writes:

"How many broken window panes! How many pots have been upset with flowers! This morning not a single hair-dresser will visit a lady. . . . The big window has fallen to the ground alongside the table where the dessert is standing. My wine cellar is full of water, and God knows what will happen to it."

Think of it! With hundreds of poor creatures drowned in the neighborhood, their bodies floating east the Palace windows, this "people-lover" could lament only over her window panes, flower-pots, wine cellar, and the fact that her ladies wouldn't be able to get their lousy heads attended to.

Memorable Places

There were many places in and around Petersburg I was anxious to visit, and the happy company I had fortunately become attached to were only too eager to show me round. The Nevsky Prospect is full of interesting objects despite its bleak, shopless appearance. The beautiful horse-group bronzes upon the canal bridge are themselves almost worth a visit to Russia. Near the Square opposite to them is the spot where the Countess Lopukhin was publicly punished for the dreadful crime of speaking too lightly of the amours of another sexual connoisseur, the Empress Elizabeth, daughter of a worthy father, Peter the Great. Carr's description of the public spectacle is horrible:

"The beautiful culprit mounted the scaffold in an elegant undress, which increased the beauty of her charms and the interest of her situation. Distinguished by the captivation of her mind and person, she had been the idol of the Court, and wherever she moved she was envired by admirers; she was now surrounded by executioners, upon whom she gazed with astonishment, and seemed to doubt that she was the object of such cruel prepara-

tions. One of the executioners pulled off a cloak which covered her bosom, at which her modesty took alarm; she started back, turned pale, and burst into tears. Her clothes were soon stripped off, and she was naked to the waist, before the eager eyes of an immense concourse of people profoundly silent. One of the executioners then took her by both hands, and turning half round, raised her a little from the ground; upon which the other executioner laid hold of her delicate limbs with his rough hands and adjusted her on the back of his coadjutor. He then retreated a few steps, and leaping backwards, gave a stroke with his whip, so as to carry away a strip of skin from the neck to the bottom of the back; then striking his feet against the ground, he made a second blow parallel to the former, and in a few minutes all the skin of the back was cut away in small strips, most of which remained hanging to her chemise. Her tongue was cut out immediately after, and she was banished to Siberia."

Nearby is the Anichkov Palace where the callous rulers of Russia preferred to live—every wall literally pock-marked with bullet-holes from the Bolshevik gunfire. Beyond is the Fontanka Canal, and on the other side, nearer the Admiralty Buildings, flows the Moika Canal. A great yellow palace stands upon its bank, once the home of Prince Yussupov, quite a celebrated young aristocrat, whom I possess a sneaking regard for. At any rate I paid his home a visit and found food for meditation. In the basement there is a dark room with a narrow spiral staircase. In this room on December 29, 1916, the Prince received a guest whom he had gone out of his way several times to invite to dinner. It was Gregory Rasputin. The Grand Duke Dmitry was also there. The treacherous priest had been lured here by men who hated him, and who were determined to end his rotten life. They first tried to kill him by poisoning his coffee, but the giant seemed proof against poison. In a dilemma the conspirators went upstairs leaving Rasputin to glut his enormous appetite below. They decided to try the bullet. But one bullet was not enough. The Prince came downstairs holding a revolver behind his back, and in order to secure a good aim he requested the priest to examine a crystal crucifix on the wall. As soon as Rasputin turned his back Yussupov fired at his heart and the giant fell screaming, but far from dead. Foaming at the mouth and with eyes still open, the gigantic figure struggled upward, launched itself upon the Prince, and hurling him aside rushed through the door into the garden. He was actually half over the railings when the conspirators reached the door, and was only prevented from reaching the public thoroughfare by Purishkevich who fired at him again and dropped him dead. Later they pushed his body through a hole in the ice of the Neva, but it was discovered and buried by the Empress at Tsarskoye Selo. It was afterwards removed and burnt.

Most of the other places directly and remotely associated with the Revolution were pointed out

*Ukraine.

to me by my equally interested companions. With glee they pointed out the green and yellow building, bullet-torn and shattered, which was once the dreaded offices of the secret police, the villainous *okhrana*, wherein the lives of countless men and women of the past had been sworn away by the servile creatures of tyrants. What infamies those rooms would narrate could they speak. How many unfortunate wretches have left that building to find a dreary death or an everlasting exile in Siberia, or what, strange to relate, was accounted infinitely worse—a living tomb in the horrible fortress-prison of Schlüsselburg.

The Russian Bastille

Schlüsselburg is a little village thirty-five miles from Petersburg on the shores of Lake Ladoga. Some of the peasants continue to live under the ancient "joint family" system, and to wander among them on a bright day is to taste medievalism in actuality. Over on the lake stands the hideous fortress, perhaps the most hateful spot in Russia. Horrors unspeakable have been perpetrated here, and screams have risen to heaven from tortured beings, which have never penetrated to the mainland. The prison was built on the grounds of the fortress in 1883 by the late Tsar's father, Alexander III., and between that year and 1905 the leaders of the "Narodnaya Volya," including Vera Figner and Herman Lopatin, were imprisoned therein. Of these, thirteen were executed, and three—Sophie Ginsburg, Klimenko, and Grachevsky—committed suicide; the first cut her throat with rusty scissors, and the latter burned himself to death. The low bastions, drab colored and unromantic, fill one with despair to look upon. Even before the prison already mentioned was built, Schlüsselburg fortress was a tragic spot. In 1741 the Emperor Ivan VI. (grandson of Ivan V.) was imprisoned after the intrigues which made Elizabeth the Empress. In Tooke's "Life of Catherine II." we find an account of the fate of the miserable captive:

"The wretched captive, lately the envied emperor of a quarter of the globe, was lodged (for sixteen years) in a casemate of the fortress, the very loophole of which was immediately bricked up. He was never brought out into the open air, and no ray of heaven ever visited his eyes. In this subterranean vault it was necessary to keep a lamp always burning; and as no clock was either to be seen or heard, Ivan knew no difference between day or night. His interior guard, a captain and a lieutenant, were shut up with him; and there was a time when they did not dare to speak to him, not so much as to answer the simplest question."

From 1741 until 1762 the poor wretch suffered these horrors without a spark of hope in his breast, in 1762 Catherine ascended the throne and an attempt was made to rescue Ivan from his living grave by Vassili Mirovich, an officer of the garrison. This, however, resulted in disaster, if death to a tortured man can be spoken of as a disaster:

"At the noise of the firing, Ivan awoke; and, hearing the cries and the threats of his guards, he

conjured them to spare his miserable life. But, on seeing these barbarians had no regard to his prayers, he found new force in his despair; and, though naked, defended himself for a considerable time. With his right hand pierced through and his body covered with wounds, he seized the sword from one of the monsters, and broke it; but while he was struggling to get the piece out of his hand, the other stabbed him from behind, and threw him down. He who had lost his sword now plunged his bayonet into his body, and, several times repeating his blow, under these strokes the unhappy prince expired.

"They then opened the door, and showed Mirovich at once the bleeding body of the murdered prince, and the order by which they were authorized to put him to death, if any attempt should be made to convey him away."

Escape from the island fortress was next to impossible, so small wonder it is that the people-loving Tsars selected it as the ideal spot on which to build their "stone bags," as the prison is called. All the "dangerous" politicals were sent to Schlüsselburg, for the terrors of its "casemats," its knouts and gibbets, were expected to tame the wildest spirit. Tier after tier of hideous stone cupboards, barred with iron exactly like the front of a wild-beast cage in a zoo, now happily torn and twisted to scrap and ruin, meet the eye on entering. In these iniquitous dens in 1883 were incarcerated Gellis, Voloshenko, Butinski, Orlov-Malaveski, Popof, Shchedrin, and Kobylanski—all politicals who had served a term in irons at Kara and were removed here because they were considered "dangerous." Their subsequent fate is unknown. Myshkin who escaped from Kara in 1882, was sent to Schlüsselburg when recaptured, and sentenced to solitary confinement. Fearing that the torture would drive him insane, he decided to die. His method was one he had previously tried unsuccessfully. He succeeded this time. Waiting for the visit of an official he jumped up and struck him, and was immediately court-martialed and shot. This occurred in 1885 after two years of solitary confinement. Myshkin has been described as "a born orator who only made two speeches in his life; one of them cost him ten years' penal servitude, and the other fifteen." Scores of the Tsarist victims went insane. Among the celebrated prisoners of Schlüsselburg, Vera Figner suffered twenty years detention here, and wrote many poems during her living death; Madame Wolkenstein spent thirteen years, and left it only to be shot during a revolt; Polivanov entered it a young man of twenty-four and came forth an *old* man of forty-five—to commit suicide in France (1903). The most celebrated prisoner, perhaps, that Schlüsselburg ever had, was Herman Lopatin, the translator of "Das Kapital" into Russian. His career is well known. He was born in 1845, and entered the Petersburg University after studying at the grammar school of Stavropol. In 1870 he came to London and met Marx and Engels. He returned home and later was captured at Irkutsk, whither he had

gone to try and arrange the escape of Chernishevsky, the famous exile. For three years he remained in prison and then succeeded in effecting a marvelous escape. He was caught by secret police in 1883 and again he escaped. In 1884 he returned once more to Russia and was immediately arrested, serving three years before his trial. In 1887 he was condemned to death with several of his comrades, but the sentence was commuted to "penal servitude to be followed by solitary confinement in the fortress of Schlüsselburg." During the 1905 Revolution Lopatin was released.

What spirits were these! What modern European country has produced such spirits in such profusion? One thinks of those whose names are known, and rightly revered, but one thinks too of the thousands who suffered and died unknown. Of those,

"Whose names on earth are dark,
But whose transmitted offence cannot die."

One remembers, also, the priggish A. S. Rappoport's* sneer at the "feminine mind" of the Russian, and involuntarily the mind conjures up the picture of the cages at Schlüsselburg—and the heroes and heroines once immured within them for others' sake. No poem, no drama, no painting ever more vividly or more accurately depicted the absolute mastery of the higher mind over its weaker self and body, than the little suppressed vision called "The Threshold," written by Ivan Turgenev on the spirit of Russia's revolutionaries:

THE THRESHOLD

I see a huge building, in the front wall a narrow door, which is wide open; beyond it stretches a dismal darkness. Before the high threshold stands a girl—a Russian girl.

The impenetrable darkness is breathing frost, and with the icy breeze from the depth of the building a slow, hollow voice is coming.

"O you! wanting to cross this threshold, do you know what awaits you?"

"I know it," answers the girl.

"Cold, hunger, hatred, derision, contempt, insults, suffering, even death?"

"I know it."

"Complete isolation, alienation from all?"

"I know it. I am ready. I will bear all sorrow and miseries."

"Not only if inflicted by enemies, but by kindred and friends?"

"Yes, even by them."

"Well, are you ready for self-sacrifice?"

"Yes."

"For an anonymous self-sacrifice? You shall die, and nobody, nobody shall know even whose memory is to be honored."

"I want neither gratitude nor pity. I want no name."

"Are you ready—for a crime?"

The girl bent her head. "I am ready even for a crime."

"Do you know," persisted the voice, "that you

may lose your faith in what you believe now; that you may come to feel that you were mistaken, and have lost in vain your young life?"

"I know that also. Nevertheless I will enter."

"Enter then!"

The girl crossed the threshold, and a heavy curtain fell behind her.

"A fool!" gnashed some one outside.

"A saint!" answered a voice from somewhere.

* * *

"Without 1905," says Lenin, "1917 would have been impossible." Without that long line of martyrs whose natures were purged of vainglory and whose lives were Christ-like in the practice of self-abnegation and devotion to the ideal; without this illustrious line of pathfinders who blazed the trail and wrought in the darkness before the dawn—that dawn, 1905 or 1917, would have been impossible. My companion Sergiev was sent to Schlüsselburg before being dispatched to Siberia, I shall not readily forget the expression on his face when he vehemently exclaimed, "Of all the bloody places on earth, that is the bloodiest!"

At any rate it certainly had the appearance of being one of the most revolting torture-buildings erected since

"Men first penned their fellow men
Like brutes within an iron den."

It is a bloody place no longer. The Revolution has destroyed its unholy casemates and "stone bags" as effectively as the French proletariat destroyed the Bastille. The cages have been smashed to pieces, the buildings gutted, and the instruments of torture housed in the Revolutionary Museum of Petersburg. May a similar fate soon overtake Princeton, Portland, Pentonville, Wandsworth, Wormwood Scrubs, and—Barlinnie.

Worker and Peasant Women in Russian Life

For a long time the Communist Party of Russia legally sought means for making women take an interest in the social and political life. The revolutionary parties of Russia never occupied themselves with the "feminist question" as such before the rise of the Soviet Republic. Woman was always considered as having equal rights and also took part in the same work as man, as an organizer, propagandist, agitator. Like him she fought on the barricades, and in the terrorist parties the woman bomb-thrower was a characteristic figure. Of course, in the beginning of the revolutionary movement, and in view of the illegal character of this movement in its early period, only the elite of womanhood, those who had had the opportunity of acquiring a superior education, or who possessed an extraordinary amount of courage or energy, could succeed in emancipating themselves from their environment to a sufficient extent to take part in revolutionary work. Later the circle of women revolutionists widened and attracted a

*Not to be confused with the French Communist Rappoport.—Ed. Note.

greater number of workers. But they still remained an exceptional group. After the Revolution, Russia's need of revolutionary forces became immense. Unfortunately it was impossible to satisfy the demand for such forces, and much work had still to be done in this field. As the women were the more backward part of the population, it was necessary to create a special technical mechanism for work among women in the form of the organization of special sections in the party committees. To make the work among women an independent branch of the work was an innovation for Russia, which was not achieved without friction, but required endless discussions and protests from a minority before it was approved. When the task was undertaken, it was approached in a purely practical way. For it was impossible to approach illiterates, workingwomen and peasant women who had been oppressed by years of dependence, with the use of magnificent theoretical plans. Practical living work for the improvement of their situation, and the situation of their children and families would enable even the simplest workingwoman to grasp the difference between now and formerly. Therefore the *agitation by deed* became the slogan under which the work among the broad masses of the women in Russia was carried out.

The Women's Sections organized a great number of *non-partisan* conferences, which set themselves the goal of initiating women into those questions that required their participation for solution. These conferences proved themselves to be a mass-school of Communism and a source from which the forces could be drawn for the creation of the new life.

An entirely new form of agitation propaganda was that of meetings of delegates of women factory workers and women peasants. In all cities there are such delegates. They are usually elected at the same ratio, 1 to 50, for a period of three months. They remain in contact with the workingwomen of the factories, render account to them, and take active part in various labors that are being carried out by the organ of the Soviet power. In the meetings of the delegates, a systematic series of discussions is arranged, covering questions of platform and Soviet construction. It is a characteristic fact that after the expiration of the three months many non-partisan delegates of the women enter the Communist Party.

Just as is the case in our country, the most difficult task is that of getting at the housewives. But in this field also, work is beginning, and wherever it is undertaken systematically, yields good results. Each district has its men or women organizers, who make the rounds of the houses, get the housewives together in meetings, and seek to interest them in the work of the house committees. In Petrograd each such meeting of housewives elects a woman delegate to the workingwomen's section. In October, 1920, Petrograd had one thousand such delegates. The trade unions, being mass organizations of the working class, are also made use of for political education. The work among the peasant

women is very difficult and has hitherto led to no such excellent results as have been attained among the women factory workers. The petty bourgeois psychology of the Russian peasant woman, her ignorance, her dependence on her husband and her family, all these are obstacles that must be overcome if the consciousness of the woman peasant is to be awakened. But light is gradually beginning to shine in this age-long darkness, even though it be faint as yet. In the villages as well as in the cities, non-partisan conferences are convoked. The peasant women who come as delegates to these conferences often listen to Communist speakers with distrust, overwhelm them with a flood of questions, protest, and yet finally declare their readiness to join the Communist Party and to support the Soviet power in its work. The peasant women also take active part in the organization of clubs, of reading rooms, of circles, etc. The young girls are particularly energetic in this work.

The work in the village among the female farmers and the women workers in the communes and cooperatives plays a great part in revolutionary agitation. These classes constitute a semi-proletarian element, and when united in the agricultural communes they are comparatively easy to organize.

The copy of the periodical *Kommunistka* (Woman Communist) from which I take the above material is an old one of the time (October, 1920), in which it was still necessary to fight Wrangel.

Reports are accordingly found in the periodical of work done by women for the front, of energetic participation by them in the "Communist Saturdays." In September, 1920, there were 28,215 women participating in Moscow in the "Saturdays." Most of these women were not members of any party. Housewives also participated in the "Communist Saturdays." It is hard to say how gratifying is the fact that even these least organized women are arriving at the conclusion that a communal economy is more useful than an individual economy, and that the well-being of each individual family depends on the organization of the entire national economy.—From *die Rote Fahne*, Vienna.

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AS we go to press the cable brings the news of the signing of the trade agreement with England and of the winding up of the Kronstadt affair. We have not received as yet the official wording of the final agreement, but from the tone of the British and American Tory press we infer that it constitutes a very substantial success for the Russian Government—even if not all the points upon which it insisted were agreed to by the other party. The fact that Lloyd George signed the agreement in no way proves that he and his associates are more “liberal” or “progressive” than their Conservative critics. It only shows that the Welsh politician has a deeper insight into the present situation and that the establishment of commercial relations was just as necessary for Great Britain as for Russia. With the whole of southeastern as well as central Europe plunged into the misery of abject beggary; with the continuous strengthening of revolutionary movements in all those countries—not as a result of “Bolshevik propaganda” but as a consequence of the unbearable conditions; with the uninterrupted growth of unemployment and dissatisfaction among the British workers, not to speak of the ever more menacing revolt of the subjected races; Lloyd George saw that he had to accept that “Unclean Thing,” as this historical event is called by the *London Morning Post*, the main organ of the English Junkers.

There is no doubt that the “bad example” set by powerful England will be in the nearest future followed by many other countries which up to the present, under the pressure of England and France, held aloof. The rage and the invectives of the *New York Times* which in one single editorial contrived to concentrate a whole encyclopedia of anti-Bolshevik vituperation, seem also to be an indication that the time is not so far when normal political and commercial relations will be established between the United States and Soviet Russia.

It is significant that even the smoke screen of skillfully disseminated propaganda concerning the impending fall of the Soviet Government, which, in connection with the isolated mutiny in Kronstadt, was undoubtedly organized and directed by the French financial interests from all the Finnish, Latvian, Turkish and Scandinavian centers of fabricated news, was not able to divert England from

its determination to settle this matter. This is a further proof how far the interests of the one-time Allies are now antagonistic and how deep is the rift between the powers which for so long had with touching harmony conducted and backed all the imperialistic and counter-revolutionary attempts against the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. But sooner or later even the French imperialists will find out that with all their irreconcilability, with all their intrigues and all the help which they may tender to future adventures, they will not shake the firm foundations on which Soviet Russia stands—the heroism of the Russian workers and the sympathy of the laboring classes all over the world.

* * *

AFTER a second reading of John Spargo's “Memorandum on Trade with Russia” we came to the conclusion that we were unjust to him by quoting only two passages out of the collection of gems that constitute his report to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate. The gist of the whole masterpiece is the “conclusion that it is not possible for this country to enter into trade relations with Soviet Russia, under existing conditions, without incurring serious risk of unprecedented economic disaster and revolutionary upheaval.” Poor England that has just fallen into this trap!

In his role as champion of the established order, this “Marxian Socialist” draws his sword against the former Secretary of Treasury, the Hon. William G. McAdoo, who has openly endorsed the establishment of trade relations with Russia. Mr. Spargo, of course, being thoroughly conversant with the Russian situation—for has he not written half a dozen books on that subject?—proves that as far as America is concerned “practically all restrictions upon trade with Russia have been removed,” or at least that the restrictions amount only to a “limited embargo, and not a blockade.”

Mr. Spargo goes further than that: “The fact is that instead of our Government refusing to let the people of Russia buy our products, the present Soviet Government refuses that right to its citizens. No Russian citizen is at liberty to buy goods in this or any other country and to import them into Russia.” So you see it is not Russia that is blockaded—it is the whole world that is blockaded by the Russian Government.

As the Soviet Government has forbidden individual Russian citizens to conduct foreign trade on their own account, then, according to Spargo, in order to conduct business between the two countries, either the United States would have to adopt a Communist Government, or the United States Government would have to assume the functions of a trustee and agent conducting trade with Soviet Russia on behalf of its citizens who might seek profit through such trade. The third alternative, namely, that American citizens, or corporations could, the same as German, Italian, British and other firms, conduct their trade directly through the rep-

representatives of the Soviet Government, has apparently escaped this specialist on Russian affairs, who seems to think that Mr. Martens was in this country not to conclude business transactions but to put bombs in mail boxes and blow up explosive wagons in crowded financial districts.

* * *

MR. SPARGO dwells upon the fact that the sum total of gold, platinum, and available raw material that the Soviet Government can offer in exchange for the needed machinery and railroad material amounts only to a very small fraction of the value of the goods sought, and adds that "as far as that portion of the possible trade is concerned, we are in no position to compete with Germany." This is generous. The Russian Government is ready to conclude here business for several hundred millions, but this altruistic defender of American interests declares that Russia could get the goods cheaper in Germany and should not waste her money in America.

To prove the uselessness of all attempts to conduct trade with the Soviet Government, the "Memorandum" mentions the fact that until now only a very restricted amount of trade has been going on between Russia and the other Governments. Mr. Spargo infers that this is due to the fact that the Russian representatives always tried to "fool" the parties concerned. And for this purpose he quotes the story, long ago exploded, of the "large percentage of bismuth" in the Russian gold. As a matter of fact, attempts to "fool" were made—but not on the part of Russia. On the instigation of English commercial interests the financiers of all the countries concerned wanted the Russian gold at a discount of 30 per cent.—a piece of commercial piracy that has hardly its equal in history. It is quite natural that this has greatly delayed the conclusion of commercial transactions with those countries.

* * *

THE question of concessions offered by the Soviet Government to American and other capitalists takes up a substantial part of Mr. Spargo's pamphlet. He quotes a speech of Lenin's in which he especially takes exception to the following passage: "No doubt they (the concessionaries) will attempt to deceive us and to evade our laws, but then we have with us the All-Russian, the Moscow, the Provincial and all the other Extraordinary Commissions, so we do not fear them." To which Spargo indignantly adds that "the Bolsheviki are relying upon the Red Terror to deal with our investors." According to him it is probably correct that "our investors" should deceive the Russian people and evade their laws without in the slightest incurring the responsibilities therefor. He further dwells at length on a speech of Zinoviev from which he draws the conclusion "that there is not and there cannot be, any assurance that the Bolsheviki will not confiscate the capital invested in such concessions, and cancel the concessions themselves, if and when it suits their purpose so to do.

The menace of confiscation is clearly expressed in the utterances quoted." This "menace" is in the following way "clearly expressed" in Zinoviev's speech: "We must try to remain at peace with all countries as long as possible. Concessions are one of the means to this end. It is stipulated in our treaty that the owners of the concessions lose all the rights granted to them by the agreement as soon as hostile action is taken by the respective Governments.* It should be noted that questions of war and peace are decided by big bankers. War against us would obviously be against their interests." As to the Soviet Government—which never had any intention of starting war against other countries—aside from its anti-imperialistic policy, it knows that success in repulsing foreign attacks depends greatly upon the friendly attitude of the working people of other countries, which would certainly change if Russia should wantonly enter upon the path of a provocative war policy.

But the "danger of repudiation and its disastrous consequences rests not only upon the perfidy of the Bolsheviki, but equally upon the patriotism of the democratic anti-Bolshevist forces of Russia" who would repudiate all agreements entered into by the Bolsheviki. The author of the "Memorandum" considers that those patriots would be perfectly right in repudiating these agreements, and that neither the American nor any other Government would have the right to hold them bound to those agreements. But if the Russian "patriots" would be in the right in repudiating the agreements of their predecessors, why then call "perfidious" the Bolsheviki whose main crime consists in having done the same thing concerning the obligations incurred by the Tsar? Or was the Government of the Tsar an expression of the will of the majority, and its obligations therefore binding? Or does he suppose that the American investors will in such a—let us say "unfair" way,—take advantage of the Russian concessions, that any "decent" subsequent Russian government will have to repudiate them? Else why is Mr. Spargo so much worried about what fate may befall these gentry?

* * *

HIS crowning argument is of course the most convincing one. It rests on moral grounds. The gold and the goods the Soviet Government has to offer, are "stolen," and all its representatives in all foreign countries had sooner or later to be expelled because of "promoting intrigues and conspiracies subversive to the existing government." "This they have done without a single exception, so far as I have been able to discover."

Did he discover this in the case of Mr. Martens? If so, why didn't he inform the authorities of this government about it? They seem to have been perfectly unaware of it. No indictments were brought against Mr. Martens and the Department of Labor expressly exonerated the Russian Representative from any charges in this direction.

*Since 1914 this procedure has been generally established in all countries.

The Struggle for the Russian Trade Unions

(Under this title the well-known journalist Karl Radek recently drew up a very interesting and instructive report, the essential ideas of which are here presented.)

For the third time Soviet Russia is today making an attempt to go about her task of peaceful reconstruction, regardless of the constant threat of war by capitalism. The time for the first such attempt was thought to be favorable immediately after the peace of Brest-Litovsk. The illusion under which the workers labored, that they would be able to reorganize the country by their own efforts alone were overcome by that early date, and the work of reconstruction was begun with the aid of a systematic employment of bourgeois specialists and scientists. A systematic inventory of everything that had been left over from capitalism and might be used as a basis for further Communist activity was inaugurated. The foundation for a new labor discipline was laid. This first breathing spell ended with the beginning of intervention by the Entente. In the latter part of February, 1920, after the defeat of Denikin and the raising of the blockade, it seemed for the second time to be possible seriously to go about the work of economic reconstruction.

The chief task now was to solve the question of the economic plan and the economic organization. It was necessary to destroy in the workers the delusion that a planful organization of economy was possible under the (seeming) "freedom of labor" as it prevailed under capitalism. Trotsky in his theses points out the necessity of the self-organization and the self-disciplining of the proletariat, of a planful distribution of labor forces, of the greatest possible rigor of discipline at work. The war with Poland and Wrangel prevented the program of the economic reconstruction from being realized entirely. But a portion of it was, nevertheless, carried out. The more rigid organization of labor made it possible to hold up the disintegration of the transportation system, to increase the production of coal and the yield of the harvest. (Thus the extra rations that were delivered in 1919 to only 1,500,000 workers have been delivered since December, 1920, to 2,500,000 workers.) But "everything created by the labor of the Russian proletariat and the Soviet Government was devoured by the war. And therefore Russia today is still poor, lean, and hungry."

"The capitalistic states have at their disposal all the technical means for the control of nature; millions of human beings are available for healing the wounds of the war. But the capitalistic world, torn by competition and by class struggle, is not in a position to organize these powers, to overcome all the special interests opposing the development of these powers. The proletarian world of Russia has in the dictatorship a unified will, a will as hard as steel, which will once more set right a world that has gotten out of joint."

And again we shall be concerned—once the great tasks have been accomplished which will

make it possible to bring Russia forth out of chaos, when once the electrification of Russia has become a reality,—with the question of *what is to be the nature and form of the mobilization of the labor power of the masses*. And it is around this question that today free and public discussions are being carried on in the press and elsewhere.

"It is necessary for the proletarians of the world to understand this struggle, to orientate themselves in these problems. For they are most important problems of the international working class. And the Russian proletarians, fighting for the solution of these problems are protagonists of the world proletariat, just as were the English proletarians a century ago."

In order to grasp these problems it is necessary to bear the following in mind: Russia is a country with a predominantly agricultural population. The Government is therefore obliged to consider the interests and sentiments of the peasants. The Russian workers have not only bled and starved for three years in order to maintain their own dictatorship, after an imperialistic war of three years, but in answer to the severe compulsion of war, they sacrificed a great part of the rights that the Soviet Constitution had granted them. The best champions of the labor movement have fought in the Red Army. In this way the Soviets and the trade unions have been neglected. It has frequently happened that in the place of the workers, the revolutionary and non-revolutionary bureaucracy has been able to hold the scepter, and that abuses have thus gained a foothold. Now when it is no longer necessary to postpone all other activities in the interests of the national defence, it is time to give the masses themselves an opportunity to eliminate the abuses, of themselves to alleviate need, it is necessary to restore the organs of the dictatorship. It was the trade unions which during the years of war fought by the side of the party and the Soviets for the maintenance of the dictatorship. The trade unions counting 7,000,000 workers, of which 700,000 are communists, form the most important link between the Government and the proletariat. On the question of the task which the trade unions must fulfill in the construction of the Communist society there is now a conflict of views within the Russian Communist Party. Two groups, one led by Trotsky, the other by the trade unionist Shlyapnikov, are here rather sharply opposed in their views.

Shlyapnikov's View

Shlyapnikov holds that industry can be rebuilt only by stimulating the independence of the working masses. But this can only be done by the trade unions. Therefore the management of production must be in the hands of the trade unions. They can cope with the organization of production much better than the best workers' bureau-

crazy, or the bourgeois specialists, because they possess to a higher degree the ability of properly handling the worker, of awakening the necessary enthusiasm in him.

Trotsky's View

Trotsky's position is this: The trade unions cannot discharge this task. They lack the necessary technical understanding. Their production propaganda is still in its beginnings. It is necessary to rebuild the trade unions, reorganize them, so that they may learn to fulfill their tasks. But this can only be done by taking away from them temporarily a portion of their independence and putting at their head new men who have learned in the economic organs of the state and in the Red Army how to manage great organizations with an unyielding hand. In a state in which the workers hold the governing power in their hands, the care for the material welfare of the workers is chiefly in the hands of the Government and not in that of the trade unions.

Lenin's View

Lenin does not completely agree either with the view of Shylapnikov or with that of Trotsky. As opposed to Trotsky, he points out that the Russian Government is a government of workers and peasants, and is therefore itself interested in possessing a mass organization that will be able to feel the pulse of the mood of the working masses and be sufficiently concerned with the task of getting as much as possible from the state for the working masses.*

Radek's View

The view that Radek takes of this question is as follows: In a state in which 85 per cent of the population are peasants, the reconstruction of economy without first convincing the peasants that their interests are being considered is impossible. But they will not have this confidence if production is being led, as is Shlyapnikov's view, by the trade unions alone, and the plan of production is drawn up only by the trade unions. It is therefore impossible to hand over the conduct of industry exclusively to the control of the trade unions. *The state must participate.* Specialists and engineers must be represented in the management. This is all the more necessary since the trade unions are as yet little prepared for their tasks. Trotsky presents the matter as if the trade unions had only the single task of increasing production, and as if this task could be attained by a military discipline alone. There is a great danger in this procedure. The trade unions are today still the most important educator of the masses to Communism, the mediators between the Soviet Government and the millions of non-Communist workers. If they are deprived of their influence no organ remains that can educate the workers by conviction and persuasion to

*For a complete exposition of Lenin's views see following article, "The Trade Union Movement."

labor for the Soviet State, to increase production, and only if the Government remains under the control and the pressure of the trade unions permanently can the danger be avoided that the interests of the workers constituting 15 per cent may be neglected in favor of the peasants, constituting 85 per cent of the population. The second danger in Trotsky's view is in the fact that the transformation of the trade unions as above may very easily lead to their bureaucratization and militarization, for this transformation would be conducted chiefly by two thousand comrades who during the last two years have passed through the school of the Red Army. If now, these comrades make use of the same methods (the peremptory tone of command, the disciplinary punishment) that were necessary in the field for the maintenance of discipline, in their work in the labor field, production may be more harmed than benefited by this "sharp procedure." "The chief method here must be that of conviction and propaganda, which may be slower, but which works more surely." It is Radek's opinion that the differences in the views of the leading comrades will not develop into oppositions that might serve as an obstacle in the struggle for the reconstruction of economy. For the Communist Party is absolutely agreed that the trade unions must participate more than has been the case in the work of reconstruction. But if now the workers return from the battlefield and again enter the industries, their participation in the conduct of production will automatically increase. On the other hand the party will not renounce the task of guiding and influencing the trade unions. For this work the party will need to employ specialists and qualified comrades from the Red Army. But it will say to them: You are entering the trade unions not as the wise teachers of stupid trade unionists, but in order to work and learn together with them all the new tasks that may be thus carried out. The trade unions are to carry out national functions, and the better the proletarian state and the trade unions fare in this work, the more objections to a formal nationalization will disappear, and the more will this formal nationalization become unnecessary.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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The Trade Union Movement

We print here the speeches of Zinoviev, Trotsky, and Lenin on the role of the trade unions in production, as expressing the different viewpoints on this question existing in the ranks of the Russian Communist Party.

Zinoviev's Report

The trade unions are at present the organizations in which the controversy between the Social Revolution and bourgeois social-democracy is being finally fought out, not only in Russia but on an international scale. This is especially manifest in those countries in which the bourgeoisie is in power because there the social democrats have shifted the center of the struggle on an international scale to the field of the trade union movement. It is no exaggeration to say that nine-tenths of the whole struggle waged at present by the Communist International, will in the near future be carried on in and round the trade unions. The trade union movement on an international scale is the last foothold of international Menshevism; and to conquer Menshevism in the trade union movement, will mean our final victory over the bourgeoisie. The trade unions are the largest organization of the workers that the history of the labor movement has known. That is why the struggle of the social-traitors on an international scale is waged within their boundaries.

The trade unions are the backbone of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without the trade unions, as was correctly stated by Comrade Lenin, our Revolution would not have lasted for two weeks. The trade unions are the most important element of proletarian dictatorship, but this does not mean that the unions themselves are a direct instrument of the dictatorship. No, for this purpose we have the State, we have the Soviets backed by the Party. The trade unions have other functions to accomplish; first of all, they carry out the rough work of organizing the working masses, and they begin the great work of educating the workers in the proletariat, and then in the purely Communism, in which we are to educate millions of trade unions. We must not deal carelessly with these vast organizations. We must remember that these organizations have their specific and important tasks, which consist, in the first place, in the work of directing the masses into the current of the organized proletarian movement, of attracting into that movement the millions of non-party workers. We must remember that we have at present seven million workers organized, and badly organized, in the trade unions. This is all we have in the enormous territories of our country.

In order that the seven million members of the trade unions may influence the peasantry and draw it closer to themselves, we must have the fullest unity in the camp of this trade union movement. There can be no talk of our being able to carry out the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, if we do not pay the greatest attention to the trade unions. Every one should comprehend that we must regard the trade unions as an enormous laboratory of

Communism, in which we are to educate millions of the workers, and without which there can be no talk of the serious education of the workers.

Now I shall touch upon the question of democracy of production. In my opinion, it is an empty combination of words, which conveys no intelligible meaning at all. At our last All-Russian Party Conference, we attached special emphasis to the question of labor democracy. The difficulty does not lie in the fact that we weakened our democracy while the war was going on. That was necessary. It would be bad if, now that the war is ended, our Party hesitated and waited. But the Party immediately took the course of restoring labor democracy. We say that we are revolutionists, and, as soon as conditions changed, it was our duty to be the first to put forward this question and solve it together with the Party. This is the way we put the question of democracy in work.

At the same time a new term was introduced; "democracy of production." Of course, production is the most important thing at present. None of us doubts that it is the most important problem at present. But in order to solve this economic question, it is not at all necessary to resort to tangled and vague terms. It is true that at elections we shall have to put the question: Do you understand anything about economy; are you able to organize? But we say that this will be the only question which we shall put to the candidate. We require some political traits, Party experience, and the ability to organize, etc. I maintain, that the term "democracy of production" is lacking in sense, and is a false term, only likely to breed confusion in the Party. It points to no firm course; it does not help us to grasp the situation as it is. We say that in the same way as we educated the fighter, the Red Army man, the commissar, we shall also educate the trade-unionist, the economist, the man who can accomplish something real for the improvement of the conditions of the working class.

I return to the state of things in the trade unions at present. There are very many people who say that the trade unions are going through a crisis just now. It is with this that Comrade Trotsky starts out. Of course nobody would say that in our trade unions everything is perfectly correct. On the contrary, the apparatus of the trade unions is very weak, but this is only because we have not given them sufficient attention. We should have the right to ask more of the trade unions, if we had given them as much of our attention and love, as we have given to the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic. It is true that the trade unions are weak, owing to the civil war and our inattention to them. But the trade unions exist, and during the three years of the dictatorship they have rendered us great services. However it may

have been they held together the masses, the non-partisan and semi-partisan masses that were feeling their way to us, they held them together, kept them in their organization, and, in one way or another, they contributed to the fact that these masses are for us. We should consider the trade union movement in its present state as a result of three years of war strain, when the Party could not sufficiently care for them. We are dealing with transitional forms of the trade union movement, and we should see not only its weak points, but its great and strong aspects as well, assets which have proved a support for the proletarian dictatorship during the past years. We shall now start out to refine this apparatus and to strengthen it. I will quote figures to show what the trade unions have accomplished, in spite of the difficult conditions under which they were obliged to work. In 1919, when a special mobilization, beside all other mobilizations, was made of the members of the trade unions, 79,368 men came forward. The number of the members of the food-supply detachments mobilized by the trade unions during the first year exceeded 80,000, and all this was accomplished while the number of all the responsible administrative workers in the trade unions, including the All-Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions, was, according to latest data, not more than 1,313.

We now approach the basic and most important question, which is the main point in the controversy. Our trade unions have been little engaged in production—this is true. Our trade unions should increase their participation in production—this is also true. Our trade unions should start out to become more fused with the State organs—this is true, too. But everything following this is absolute confusion, an absolute misunderstanding of what the trade unions could and should be at the present moment. Fusion is certainly necessary. We do not oppose fusion on points of principle,—it is the decision of the Party Congress. The question is how this fusion is to be carried out. The Ninth Congress of the Party pointed out the way of fusing the trade unions with the Soviet organs. In the resolutions of the Congress there is a special chapter devoted to the forms of the participation by trade unions in production. This chapter dwells at length on these forms, beginning with the shop committees and ending with the councils of public economy. Practical methods for accomplishing this fusion, and the way in which the trade unions should participate in working out the programs of production are also pointed out. But if you understand by fusion, that the unions should be completely welded and fused with the organs of the State, we do not want it, and the trade unions do not want it, and they are perfectly right. They do not want this kind of fusion, because it would mean the absolute destruction of the trade union movement, which we must keep up in order to accomplish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

I declare openly that I am against the immediate turning of the trade unions into organs of the

State, and a great part of the Central Committee is also against it. We have more State organizations than we want. We have organizations for compulsion and for everything you can think of. We know that we have not yet cleared our State organization of bureaucracy.

What is the position of the working class in Russia? We have 700,000 members of the Party and 7,000,000 members of the trade unions. It is an enormous mass of non-partisan workers still connected with the villages. When are we going to educate them? Why should we turn the trade unions into State institutions? I have seen a leaflet about illegal trade unions which the Right Social-Revolutionists intend to organize. I have no doubt but that they will fail. But don't you think that by turning the trade unions into State institutions we should only assist the Right Social-Revolutionists? I am sure that such would be the case. Every comrade will confirm the statement that by such a policy we should only assist them.

It is in our power to give the trade unions an opportunity to play a greater role in production. Comrade Trotsky maintains that the essential traits of the trade unions in bourgeois society have become superfluous. This is not quite right. The necessity for striking has become superfluous. But there is still the necessity for educating the workers in the spirit of Communism, there is still the need to maintain the revolutionary organization of the wide non-partisan masses.

We should never forget that the trade unions represent 7,000,000 workers, and only when the relations between the trade unions and the Party are based on a mutual understanding of the tasks of the trade unions, shall we be really in a position to accomplish the dictatorship and build up our economy.

Trotsky's Report

The role and significance of the trade unions should be considered in the light of the developed and strengthened Communist Revolution, and it is evident that the definition of the trade union, the definition of its tasks, is different now from what it was before. The old definitions are not sufficient to embrace and determine the tasks of the trade unions in the workers' State, in a society which is passing from bourgeois to Communist relations.

"The trade unions are a school of Communism"—no doubt. But what of the soviets, of workers' meetings, congresses, non-partisan conferences of workers and peasants—are these not also schools of Communism? It would be very bad if the various organizations and the soviets, while carrying out their regular work, did not at the same time serve as schools of Communism. Perhaps the trade unions are a broader school of Communism. But what is the qualitative difference between them and mass-meetings, clubs, non-partisan conferences, etc.? What is the primary difference between them? Why are the unions constructed as unions of production? The definition "a school of Com-

munism" is a very valuable, theoretically and practically correct definition, but we should take care not to turn this definition into an empty commonplace phrase, which people use without realizing its real significance.

What should be the difference between my work in the trade unions and my work at any meeting of workers? We have heard no answer to this.

We have to face the question: what are the workers to do who are in the trade unions and are called upon to manage them? In the report of Comrade Zinoviev there was not a single word about this. There was not a single word about what a Communist should do in his trade union, what work he is to carry out, what contents he should put into his propaganda work.

I am reminded of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the Party. If you would only consider these decisions from the standpoint of the experience of our work during the past year, there should be no differences between us. The essence of the problem is that the decisions of the Ninth Congress, which were an important step as compared with the previous decisions, should be subject to revision now. On the one hand we should make a new step forward, and on the other, we should deal with the problem of the trade unions along broader and more concrete lines and on a basis of principle.

There was much talk about the fact that the trade unions participated in the mobilization for the front, and for the food-supply campaigns, and statistical data have been cited to this effect.

Comrades, it is quite evident that, since the working class is the basis and the support of the dictatorship of the Soviet State, every organization and institution which has need of workers, must get them from the ranks of the trade unions, which enclose, theoretically at least, the whole working class. And it is quite evident that, when the Party had need of 500,000—700,000 workers, only the trade unions could give them. The unions expended their forces to create the different military and food-supply organizations, and so they weakened themselves. But was this the role of the trade unions; was this their destination? During the period when the trade unions mobilized their members, the whole attention of the Soviet State and of the Party was directed to the front. During that period the unions were becoming weaker, they were deprived of their best workers, the apparatus became exceedingly poor, because everything was given for the front.

Now, can we determine the work of the trade unions by their mobilization for the front, for the food-supply work? This is absolutely incorrect.

No doubt, we must preserve the unity of the trade unions. My standpoint is, in my opinion, an expression of the development of the primary postulate of this problem, the postulate of our Party program as to the role of the trade unions, which should master the whole of production, and become fused with the corresponding organs of the workers' State. From this standpoint the problem is so

great, that it should be made the work of a whole historical epoch. It is a problem of educating every worker of the Party, of the trade unions, and every worker in general to the full consciousness of the new role, the new attitude of the working class to production itself, and to the main task at present before the working class—the organization of production on Communist bases.

And here we approach the question of the role of the trade unions as such. What is a member of a trade union? Comrade Zinoviev has made no reply to this question. What was a member of the trade union in the bourgeois society and what is he all over the world? He is a worker who joins the union individually because he has learned by the experience of his life, by the experience of some strike or lockout, how necessary it is for him to have a collective organization. The joining of a trade union marks an epoch in the life of the individual worker; it introduces him to the collective struggle for his class.

I ask, do we observe this fact in our present conditions? Nothing of the kind. With us, every one who is working at a factory becomes a member of the trade unions by the mere fact of his so working.

I ask, what are our present day trade unions? On the whole they represent not subjective but objective groups. A subjective group we call one which everybody joins consciously, after having come to the conclusion that it is necessary. Such were the trade unions before the Revolution. But since then the trade unions have been made to include every worker. As soon as a man or woman starts to work at any industrial enterprise, he or she automatically becomes a member of the trade union. They have become members of the union not consciously, not from any subjective motives.

We ought clearly to understand what is going on. There is a certain small *cadre* of leading workers in the trade union movement. They enjoy the confidence of the older members of the trade unions. Then there are three-quarters, or a half, or quarter, and in some places even nine-tenths of so-called members of the unions who are not connected with the unions personally, subjectively. Previously, we used to be connected with the trade unions through the strike-committees. The strike-committees managed the strikes, which were the greatest event in the life of every particular group of workers. It would be the greatest disaster if the workers thought that this connection, which was created during the fight against bourgeois society, is the very connection which should determine the sense of the movement and its work under our present conditions too. No, Comrade Zinoviev himself and others have pointed out that during the period just concluded the trade unions became merely enlistment bureaus for the front. It was a great work; it corresponded to the need of the moment. In connection with this work, a general class propaganda was carried on, which had nothing to do with the special problems of production.

What should be the basis of the trade unions in a workers' State? Nothing else than participation

in production, the organization of the workers for production itself. In the midst of the working masses, a new productive atmosphere must be created. The same exertion and interest which was manifested in regard to the fronts, where, as we know, the fate of Soviet Russia depended on the steadiness of each section of the line,—the same exertion and interest should be manifested in regard to the economic front. It is only in this sense that we talk of an atmosphere of production. This atmosphere must be created. What we are doing now is, in its essence, only a first instalment of the work, the educational activity that we must develop, if we want to change, at every factory, the attitude of the workers toward their work.

And here we come to the essence of the problem. Have the workers this productive education? No. Previously, the task of both the revolutionary and opportunist unions was limited to the necessity of exerting a certain pressure on capital, for higher wages and a shorter work day, for a larger share in the sum total of the wealth produced. This was the practical work of the trade unions in bourgeois society, and it was also the basis of the work of the revolutionary trade unions, which also developed an agitational-educational activity. And I ask, what should replace these bases now? We should say at every factory that, in a workers' State, there is no more need to exert pressure on the State. In order to protect the interests of the toilers, we should increase the productivity of labor, improve the technique. And now I ask: has our working class acquired the habit of thinking not of how to defeat capital, but of how to use its time at the given machine or in the given factory in the best way, in the interest of higher production? Of course, some individual workers may have acquired this habit. But we want to make it the habit of the whole mass of the workers.

If we try to find what it is that fills up the life of the trade unions, we must admit that the whole work going on in Soviet Russia is being accomplished outside the trade unions. We have arrived at the conjunction of the economic Commissariats for the sake of this systematic economy. But do we observe in the trade unions a development corresponding to this apparatus? The trade unions are staying outside of the work, and they are satisfied with being a school of Communism.

We must have fusion. We should accomplish this seriously and systematically. Fusion means that the organs of the trade unions should gradually become welded together. What does the Council of Public Economy represent at present? It represents Communists who have specialized in the work of production, but we have no workers connected with the organizations of the producers, which should be represented by the trade union. On the other hand, we have representatives of the trade union movement, which is still to be turned into a mass organization of production. These two groups should become fused together.

Of course, this would not give us an immediate solution of the problem. But it would give us the

direction in which the trade unions should develop in their relation to the soviet economic organs. Otherwise we shall only be allowing disunion to develop. It is not a matter of nationalizing the unions in twenty-four hours. This is nonsense. It is only a matter of taking our course toward nationalization. But what should be the basis of our work? We ought to work on the basis of direct productive construction, on the basis of turning the workers' democracy into a democracy of production. These are not phrases only. What is our State? It is not a permanent organization. Our State must become a Commune. During the transitional stages, political democracy and workers' democracy which includes both is gradually turning into a democracy of production, in the degree that we apply these terms to the Party and trade unions.

The Party will always correct the work of the trade union worker. Comrade Zinoviev says that this should not be done in a sudden manner. Certainly. But the task of which I speak: productive education, fusion of the trade unions in their leading links, construction of trade unions along the lines of productive problems, the education of every single worker with a view to the new attitude toward production,—all this is a task for a very long period.

Lenin's Speech

The trade unions are not only an historically necessary but an historically inevitable form of the movement of the industrial proletariat, a form which, under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, includes almost the whole proletariat. This is the primary postulate, and from this we conclude that the trade unions play an essential role in the accomplishment of the dictatorship by the proletariat. But what is this role?

On the one hand the trade unions, including within the limits of their organization the industrial workers, are an organization of the ruling class, of the class which has accomplished its dictatorship, the class which accomplished State compulsion. But the trade unions themselves are not a State organization, they are not an organization of compulsion. They are an educational organization,—a school, a school of managing, a school of economy, a school of Communism. It is a school of an uncommon type, because in it we have to deal with the odd combination of remnants of capitalism, with new forms and new features born out of the dictatorship of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. When we talk of the role of the trade unions, we should always bear in mind this particular nature of theirs, otherwise we shall always be in danger of arriving at false conclusions.

We are at present confronted with the problem of how to approach the masses, how to become connected with them. Now, where does the divergence of opinion come in?

According to Trotsky, the defence of the material and spiritual interests of the working class is not a task for the trade unions in a Workers' State. Comrade Trotsky talks of a "Workers' State." But

this is an abstract idea. When we wrote about a Workers' State in 1917, it was quite justified. But when you say: "Why and against whom defend the working class, if there is no bourgeoisie, if we have a Workers' State?" then we reply: "Not quite a Workers' State." As a matter of fact, our State is not of the workers, but of the workers and peasants. This is the first thing. And this means a great deal. But it is not all. The very program of our Party shows that we have a Workers' State with too much bureaucracy. It was a disagreeable necessity for us to put this label on our State. This is the reality of the transitional period. Now, would you say that there is no need for the trade unions to defend the material and spiritual interests of the working class in this bureaucratic State?

In reality the State is such, that the fully organized proletariat is in a position to defend itself, and we should make use of these labor organizations for defence against their own State, by a peculiar blending of our State measures and by agreement and fusion with the trade unions. This word "fusion" shows, that it would be a blunder to make an enemy of soviet trade-unionism; because there are different kinds of fusion, and the idea of fusion implies also something which should still be made use of by the State Government, viz., the defense of the material and spiritual interests of the fully organized working class against this State bureaucracy.

Now, I shall dwell on "productive democracy." The more I think of this "democracy of production," the more I see the theoretical faultiness of it.

Production is always necessary. Democracy however, is a category of thought and a political one at that. We can have no objection to using this term in a speech or a newspaper article. But it sounds quite strange, when you attempt to make a thesis out of it, or put it forward as a slogan to unite all those who do or do not agree. Production is always necessary. Not so democracy. "Productive democracy" leads to ideas which are absolutely faulty.

Then comes the question of fusion. The best thing would be to keep silent on this point of fusion just now. "Speech is silver, silence is golden." For we have tried fusion. There is not a single provincial council of public economy of any importance in which fusion has not been tried in one way or another. But did it prove useful?

We should learn from experience how fusion was worked and what was accomplished by it.

We entered the course of fusion, and I do not doubt but that it was a correct step, but we had not studied the experiment well enough. Therefore it is the wisest policy not to talk at all about fusion just now.

We should learn from experience. We have no doubt made many blunders. In the same way the greatest part of our decrees should, perhaps, be changed. I agree with this and I am not especially in love with decrees.—*Russian Press Review*, January 19, 1921.

THE GROWTH OF LABOR UNIONS IN RUSSIA

We take the following figures from a report on Trade Unions which was submitted to the Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party by the Petrograd Committee of the Party and its Trade Union Committee. The report was signed, among others, by Lenin and Zinoviev and was published in the Petrograd *Pravda* of January 18.

The aggregate membership of the Labor Unions at present is 6,970,000. Immediately after the overthrow of the Tsarist regime in 1917 the unions comprised mainly the industrial proletariat. In 1918 they attracted new groups of workers, such as clerical employees, physicians, artists, etc. During the following two years, 1919 and 1920, the technical and administrative personnel of industrial establishments was also drawn into the ranks of organized labor. Lately the unions have begun to draw into their organizations the independent craftsmen and peasant elements, such as agricultural workers, lumbermen, and so forth.

In this connection illuminating data concerning the personnel of the administration of nationalized industrial establishments have been compiled by the Supreme Council of National Economy. The administration of Russian nationalized industries, from the Supreme Council of National Economy down to the local management of government factories, was distributed as follows:

"Specialists" (Engineers, Chemists, etc.)	30.07%
Clerical employees	7.07%
Manual workers	61.06%

STATEMENT BY CHICHERIN

SOVIET RUSSIA has received the following radio message from George Chicherin, Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Moscow:

"Moscow, March 14: The Kronstadt situation is daily changing in our favor. Our deliberate action corresponds to a strictly predetermined plan to preserve the fortress and avoid unnecessary bloodshed. Our actions against Kronstadt are rather of a demonstrative character. Information which we have received confirms previous reports of the constant disintegration of the Kronstadt garrison. The feeling at Moscow and Petrograd, as everywhere else, is quiet and fully confident of a speedy end of the adventure. The unprecedented campaign of lies in the European press deserves attention. It was a real orgy of daily falsehoods and fantastic stories. Alleged risings have been reported in at least a dozen towns where in reality complete quiet prevails. This campaign of lies is obviously a preconcerted plan. Such an attack by a campaign of falsehood is a form of aggression against Soviet Russia. It is necessary for us to indicate the responsibility of foreign governments for this campaign, which was evidently inspired from above and planned by an invisible center without. We consider it a hostile act.

(Signed) "Chicherin,
"Commissar for Foreign Affairs."

The Reform of the Mode of Life and Rebirth of National Economy

By A. KOLLONTAY

THE execution of the general economic plan for the rebirth and the development of the productive forces of the country is unthinkable unless all the productive forces of the republic are utilized. The women form more than half of the entire working population. The unproductive loss of their labor power in the process of housekeeping, of child rearing, in overcoming a number of difficulties occasioned by our transition period, lowers the total labor energy of Soviet Russia.

In order to stimulate production, in order to increase the general sum total of productiveness of labor, it is necessary and inevitable to proceed immediately to a reform of the mode of life, and to an improvement of the conditions of work and life of the entire working class, and especially of the working women. It is necessary to include in the general economic plan all those changes that will free woman from all unproductive, socially useless work. It is necessary to work out plans and construct community-houses, organize public laundries, develop and further improve the system of public feeding; it is necessary, not by decree only, but in practice, to protect motherhood, improve the working conditions in the shops, thus protecting the working-power from being used up; it is necessary to improve the education of the children in city and country. It is necessary to create shops for mending, *artels** of scrub-women, etc.

The strongest incentive for the intensification of work and for the increase of its productivity in the present transitional period is to get the workers interested in the immediate practical improvement of the conditions of life. The economy ought to be organized in such a way that a certain part of the labor of working men and working women should be destined for the further production of national wealth, for the work in the factories, plants, workshops, offices, and that the other part should be used on the very spot for bringing about a change in the mode of life according to Communist principles. Only under such conditions will the work go on successfully and give a maximum of efficiency in the industrial field as well as in the field of transforming life on new, more rational principles.

For this reason, the Woman's Section of the Communist Party submits to the Congress a proposition that working and peasant women should be invited into all the organs that are concerned with the elaboration and development of the constructive work of the national economy, that there should be an increase in the number of working women in the factory committees, in the industrial administration, in the administration of the trade unions, etc. The Soviets in the centers, as well as in the provinces, should assist and encourage the initiative and the self-activity of the masses of proletarian

women of the cities and the country. The main activity of the Soviets will then immediately concentrate upon the execution of economic tasks.

In connection with the question of the reform of the mode of living, the introduction of women into the activity of the Soviets will strengthen our economic life and hasten our victory on the labor front.

THE UTILIZATION OF WASTE IN RUSSIA

The war has directed the attention of engineers to the possibilities of reclamation of waste products of modern industry. "Millions from Waste" is the title of a book written on that subject by Mr. Frederick A. Talbot and recently published in England. The chemical experts of the Soviet Government have given their attention to the same problem.

The recent Convention of technical directors of the factories of the "Centro-Fat" considered various technical measures which would tend to improve the quality of soap. In view of the scarcity of inedible oils the convention carefully considered the problem of finding new supplies of fats or of other substances out of which a soap substitute could be made. A report, received with great interest, described the production of a new kind of soap, "Bevos," made out of decayed albumines. Dr. Voskresensky, of the Moscow City Sanitation Division, made this report and presented to the convention a number of samples of various soaps made by him out of completely decayed eggs, decayed cheese, fish, and even out of old hempseed meal. The theoretical calculations leading to the foundation of such soap production may be summarized as follows:

No matter what bio-chemical process the decay of eggs depends on, it is primarily the result of the decomposition of the albumines, followed by the evaporation of certain elements. The fat, however, usually decomposes a long time after the food product containing the fat is disposed of, having become unfit for use. The relative weight contents of fat in a substance increases with the rapidity of the decaying process and with a greater amount of water evaporation and the volatilizing of the elements of albumen.

It was proved by research work on this subject that decayed eggs contain about 25 percent of fat, and even more. The method of soap-boiling is quite simple, and does not require any complicated apparatus or other adjustments.

After a lively exchange of opinions, the convention resolved that experiments in the production of "Bevos" soap should be made on a larger scale. Should satisfactory results be obtained, one of the Government soap boiling factories in Moscow will undertake to produce soap, in accordance with Dr. Voskresensky's method, out of decayed eggs, cheese, and perhaps later on, out of animal corpses.

*Cooperatives.

England and Soviet Russia

(Now that the Trade Agreement between Russia and Great Britain has been signed, it will not be without interest to read the notes exchanged in December and January between Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and Lord Curzon of Kedleston, British Minister of Foreign Affairs, concerning the mutual relations of the two Governments in question. These notes have been retranslated from the Russian version.)

I

Note of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of December, 1920 sent to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord Curzon.

The Russian Government, while anxiously awaiting an answer to its notes of November 9 and December 4, and constantly affirming that it is ready at any moment, with duly empowered representatives as intermediaries, to enter formal negotiations concerning the political questions mentioned in the agreement arrived at through the exchange of notes of June 30 and July 7, has today, to its great astonishment, learned from radio-telegraphic information, that in the statement made by Sir Robert Horne in behalf of the British Government in the House of Commons, the blame for the adjournment of the commercial agreement is placed upon the Russian Government from which, as a proof of good faith, it is requested that it should accept the enlarged and extended reading—as suggested by the British Government—of the political preamble to the above-mentioned temporary agreement.

This statement is to such an extent at variance with the facts, that the Russian Government is compelled to direct its attention to it and express its most emphatic protest against it.

It states that the refusal on the part of the Russian Government to accept, without due and satisfactory deliberation, any interpretation which the British Government may deem necessary to attribute to any theses of the aforesaid preamble, or that the refusal on the part of the Russian Government to recognize as proper and satisfactory the point of view that may be taken by the British Government, forms, in the opinion of the British Government, an act of obstruction and bad faith.

The Russian Government is the representative of millions of toiling peasants and workers and strengthened by the unanimous vote of three thousand delegates of the Eighth All-Russian Soviet Congress just adjourned, it declares that it is an independent and sovereign nation, and that neither by the juridical nor by the *de facto* relation of forces, is it obliged to accept without deliberation and discussion, the opinion of the British Government concerning questions that are deliberated by both parties.

Taking into consideration the necessity of repeating what was said in the preceding notes, the Russian Government must again call attention to the fact that all responsibility for protracting the negotiations falls entirely upon the British Government which began with finding in the Russian-Polish conflict a pretext for the non-fulfillment of the June-July agreement, and, later on, removed the political section of the Russian Delegation. These facts which are known all over the world, and also a long sequel of conspiracies and intervention acts, accomplished by the Allied Governments under breach of all international laws, give, of course, not to the British Government, but rather to the Russian Government, the right to ask for proofs of good faith. But the Russian Government has over and over again expressed its readiness to forget the past and to inaugurate a new era of peace and commercial relations with the whole world.

While refusing to accept any changes or additions to the agreement of June and July, or to accept any new conditions without preliminary and duly organized negotiations, the Soviet Government even now, in spite of the changed situation, reaffirms its readiness to execute the above-mentioned agreement on condition that its political aspect will subsequently be elaborated by a special conference of representatives of both parties.

CHICHERIN.

II

Note of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, British Minister of Foreign Affairs to Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, of January 7, 1921.

The Soviet Government, in the last of its numerous polemical notes which it publishes broadcast for transparent reasons, repeats the assertion that all responsibility for the protraction of the negotiations falls entirely on the British Government. This assertion is so decidedly at variance with the facts that the British Government considers it necessary to refute it for the last time.

The first decision to renew commercial relations with Russia was taken by the Supreme Council on January 26. Immediately after that there took place an exchange of telegrams between the Russian cooperatives in Europe and their central management in Moscow, and there was some hope for a quick success of the negotiations if it had not been for the telegram of the *Centrosoyuz* (Central Bureau of the Cooperatives) from Moscow, of February 25, which informed his Majesty's Government of the changes that had taken place in the organization of the *Centrosoyuz*, and of Litvinov's appointment as their main representative abroad. The Soviet Government knew perfectly well that the British Government, after its previous experiences with the activities of Mr. Litvinov, would not be in a position to receive him in England. Nevertheless, the Government of His Majesty sent a special delegation to Copenhagen with the aim of using every effort for the purpose of reaching with him a certain *modus vivendi*. The result was the second decision of the Supreme Council of April 26.

The short interruption between this decision and the arrival of Mr. Krassin in England was also occasioned exclusively by the Soviet Government, which persistently requested the admission of Mr. Litvinov. The subsequent negotiations with Mr. Krassin were concluded by the note of June 30 in which were mentioned the conditions upon which a trade agreement could be concluded and the acceptance of these conditions by the Soviet Government on July 7 should have led to a quick conclusion of the agreement. Unfortunately, then the Polish episode occurred, and the stand taken by the Soviet Government which more than once was an object of deliberation, bore such a character that it rendered a renewal of peace negotiations temporarily impossible.

Some weeks later, as soon as the British Government placed a warship at the disposal of the Russian Trade Delegation for its return to England and the continuation of the negotiations for arriving at a friendly agreement on an even larger scale, His Majesty's Government not only accepted Mr. Kamenev but also proposed to provide him with full power for the negotiations of the preliminary agreement concerning the peace conference. Nevertheless, Mr. Kamenev, apparently, was more interested in the internal politics of Great Britain than in the matter of Russian-English relations. More than that: at the critical moment, Mr. Kamenev grossly deceived the English Prime Minister in the question of the peace terms proposed to Poland by the Soviet Government, and this in spite of the fact that His Majesty's Government took pains to convince Poland that it should accept reasonable terms. The behavior of Mr. Kamenev led to his removal and to further interruption of the negotiations.

These successive lengthy interruptions have been entirely caused by the attitude of the Soviet Government towards British citizens in the territories that are under its administration or in the sphere of its influence. The facts relative to this side of the matter were specified in my telegram

of last October and in the subsequent correspondence. But as soon as the exchange of prisoners was arranged, the negotiations referring to the Trade Agreement were renewed with Mr. Krassin, and the fact that the agreement has up to the present remained unsigned was caused mainly by the extremely ambiguous attitude of the Soviet Government towards the conditions that it accepted on July 7. The question concerning the interpretation of the agreement of June 30 and July 7 was the subject of numerous deliberations with Mr. Krassin who was very well acquainted with the reasons that compelled His Majesty's Government to insist on including in the preamble to the proposed draft a special reference to the geographical territories in which the many-times stated obligation of the Soviet Government to refrain from propaganda or hostile activities directed against British interests or the British Empire, should especially apply. A mere general assurance without a special enumeration would be without any substantial value and would lead only to lengthy and perhaps useless discussions about each separate territory of which it will consequently be stated that it is included in the above-mentioned obligation. In the opinion of His Majesty's Government it would be preferable to prevent these disputes from the very start than to transfer them later to a political conference which, obviously, would be an excuse for a further protraction of the debates and for endless adjournments. If the Soviet Government is ready to execute its assurances in good faith, then not the slightest objection could arise against the statement that an exact specification of the territories to which these assurances mainly apply, corresponds to the interests of both parties. As far as it is concerned, His Majesty's Government expressed its full readiness to take into consideration any analogous geographical definition of territories concerning which the Russian Soviet Government could in justice request the recognition of its special interests as a basis for a corresponding obligation on the part of Great Britain.

In consideration of this, His Majesty's Government expresses the hope that instead of continuing useless polemics the Soviet Government will empower Mr. Krassin to sign the Trade Agreement after his return, and that the accomplishment of this may be not only a guaranty of the sincerity of both parties, but also the first step to the restoration of the economic welfare of Eastern Europe.

CURZON.

III

Radio of the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of January 9, 1921 to Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Foreign Office, London.

We have received your telegram of January 7 in which you endeavor to remove from the British Government the responsibility for the protraction of the negotiations concerning the Trade Agreement with Russia. Nevertheless, the Russian Government is compelled to persist in its affirmation that the responsibility for the fact that these negotiations have so long remained without concrete results, rests exclusively on the British Government.

The nomination of Litvinov as representative of the Russian cooperatives abroad did not in the least impede the opening of trade negotiations between Russia and Great Britain, if it is taken into consideration that already sojourning in Copenhagen he immediately proceeded to a conclusion of commercial transactions in behalf of Russia. The assertion that his preceding activity in Great Britain could have furnished any reasonable basis for not admitting him into this country, does not entirely correspond to the facts. In fact at that time he remained in Great Britain as long as the British representatives remained in Russia, and left London at the time when the Russian Government was compelled to ask for the recall of the British representative, Mr. Lockhardt, who was implicated in plots against the Russian Government and its most important members. We must categorically state that the Russian Government has not received from the British Government any single complaint concerning the activity of Litvinov at the time of his sojourn in Great Britain. The whole question of refusal to accept his

appointment can be viewed only as a conscious endeavor to obstruct and to create obstacles to a resumption of normal and peaceful relations between Great Britain and Russia which would benefit both parties. Up to the present time the British Government has not succeeded in offering a single concrete, positive proof for the justification of its unfounded objections against the appointment of Litvinov, objections that are perfectly unusual as far as participants in peace or trade agreements are concerned.

We must state, further, that the delay in the departure of Krassin for Copenhagen occurred entirely as a result of the endless delay on the part of the British Government in accepting the technical and commercial experts who were to accompany him. After the British Government had sent to Copenhagen a special delegation for these negotiations, they suffered again an interruption because of new obstructionist measures of the British Government. No reasonable person can believe that the British commercial representative, Mr. Wise, arrived in Copenhagen with a large staff of experts and many office employees only with the aim of informing the Russian delegates that the British Government intended to conduct the negotiations in London and not in Copenhagen. The reason for the sudden departure of Mr. Wise from Copenhagen, a couple of days after the beginning of the negotiations, has remained unexplained up to the present day. At the moment when the British Government asked that Krassin should proceed to London, the British Government stated officially that the negotiations in London would bear an exclusively commercial character; since the presence of Litvinov was indispensable for conducting negotiations of a political character. In spite of these statements, the British Prime Minister in his negotiations with Krassin put forward his well-known political demands thus creating new difficulties in the execution of a trade agreement.

Afterwards, as a result of the conciliatory attitude of the Soviet Government, the agreement of June 30-July 7 was concluded; the latter again, through the fault of the British Government, could not enter into force. Not a single point of this agreement gave any cause for the postponement of its execution by the British Government in connection with the Polish question, and only thanks to new concessions made by the Russian Government, granted in spite of this new obstructionist policy of the British Government, was the Russian Delegation able to proceed to London where, nevertheless, the negotiations were again postponed.

The Russian Government is again compelled to protest against the baseless charges raised against the chairman of our Delegation, Kamenev, which were used as a pretext for a further postponement of an agreement with Russia. The Russian-British disagreement concerning the interpretation of one of the points of the Russian armistice terms with Poland, which in the final draft, of course, would have been made known with all the details which were not available in the first summary, has finally been settled through an exchange of notes at the beginning of the Polish-Russian armistice negotiations, and only a month later the British Government suddenly discovered that this difference of opinion was sufficient reason for breaking up the negotiations and for expelling the head of our Delegation. As for the relations of Kamenev with the Council of Action, they were begun on the request of the British Government itself, which in this way tried to influence our decisions concerning the question of the peace with Poland. Kamenev had no relation whatever with the subsidies which were offered to the newspaper, *The Daily Herald*, by the Executive Committee of the Third International nor with the sale of valuables, and the Russian Government stated officially at that time that the British Government had become a victim of mystification and dishonorable machinations of petty agents. We have every ground to suppose that former officials of the Tsar's Government have grossly deceived the British Government and have been the main culprits in the misinformation of the British Government about the part played in this matter by our Delegation.

Several months after this, the British Government found a new pretext for further delays in the fact that there were British prisoners in a third country not under the authority

of Russia, namely the independent Republic of Azerbaijan—a circumstance that is not devoid of irony, since, at the present time, the British Government is using the diplomatic assistance, which was at that time offered to Great Britain by Russia for the settlement of that dispute with Azerbaijan as a justification for the delay in concluding an agreement with Russia, by putting the blame on Russia for the doings of a third party, i. e., Azerbaijan. At the present moment the British Government declines the terms of the Agreement of June-July, and is thus responsible for the fact that the trade agreement has not been signed up to the present time.

The Russian Government has many times declared that it stands by its decision put forward in its note of July 7 and after the conclusion of the trade agreement, it is ready to repeat every word of the agreement that was formulated in the notes of June and July. But it does not see any reason why one-sided additions should be made to this agreement against the interests of Russia. The fundamental point of the note of July 7 was the fact that Russia approved the principles of the June note as a basis for further negotiations, and all the happenings of the last six months are only apt to confirm the Russian Government in the conviction that only negotiations of such a nature will prevent conflicts between Russia and Great Britain, and keep those opposed to an agreement with Russia from accomplishing their sinister aims. It is clear that a settlement concerning the mutual interests of both states can be achieved only through political negotiations, and such a conference is provided for in the agreement of June-July, confirmed by our notes of November 9 and December 4. We hope that the British Government will not take upon itself the initiative of a break of the negotiations with Russia by withdrawing from agreements which have already been concluded between these two governments. As for Russia, it is animated with the most sincere desire to establish trade and peaceful relations with Great Britain.

The People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs
CHICHERIN.

STATEMENT BY CHARLES RECHT

As certain representations have appeared from time to time in the newspapers and otherwise that an authorization has been granted to organizations and individuals to charter a steamer or to make arrangements for the transportation of Russian citizens into Russia and as at times it has been stated that such representations were made by some authority of mine, in order to dispel any misunderstanding that might exist, I am constrained to inform all those who may be concerned that, so far as I know, no one in this country has any authority to issue or vise any passports or make arrangements for transportation to Soviet Russia or organize people for that purpose.

The Soviet Government has granted no authority to any person or organization to make arrangements for the transportation and all such representations are erroneous and are apt to mislead.

If in the future the Soviet Government grants an authorization to any organization or any individual, a public announcement to that effect will undoubtedly be made.

Persons who at this time purchase passage to Russia, do so at their own peril. All Russian citizens likewise should be careful in their dealings with steamship agencies against misrepresentation and fraud.

CHARLES RECHT,

110 West 40th Street, New York City.

March 19, 1921.

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The Peasants and Three Years of Revolution

By V. KALININ

(The author of this article is the Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—a position corresponding somewhat to that of president of a republic. He presents, so to speak, a personification of the present system in Russia—being himself at the same time a peasant and worker, whose life up to 1917 was divided between his farm, metal factories and the Tsar's prisons. His name was signed to the recent Russian note to President Harding.)

THREE years in the life of a government is a very short period of time, but nevertheless, in the course of these last three years, the Russian peasant has matured more, politically, than during the last one hundred years.

Three years ago the peasant of Great Russia particularly, gave an attentive ear to the Bolshevik watchwords defending his interests: the expropriation of the big land holders, the end of the war—these were alluring watchwords which always attracted the peasant.

It was the first period of the revolutionary development of the village population.

The second period may be termed the equalizing period. It began in the middle of 1918, when the peasants, having expropriated the land, the estates, and the implements and live stock of the land holders, began to proceed to an equal distribution of the land within the villages. The division of the land began. The important personages of the villages were assessed with contributions, their implements and live stock were confiscated. In a word the poor peasant and the middle peasant aimed at the liquidation of the rich landholders. The so-called "committees of the poor" were the external manifestations of these tendencies.

But the class of rich peasants resisted more than the landed proprietors and struggled against the seizure of its property. Each resolution of the "committee of the poor" or even of the needy population of the country, and the least requisition or confiscation, (unjust from the point of view

of the old code of laws), resulted in violent protests from the rich peasants. These complaints unnerved the middle peasant who began to fear that he in turn would be expropriated. These protests led to the belief that the poor peasant robs and violates the toiling middle peasantry in general. After all, the rich peasants in many places were stronger than the poor peasants combined, if not numerically, at least they had the better of them owing to the fact that they were accustomed to give orders and that they had administrative ability.

What is actually taking place, namely the division of land with a view to its best possible use, may be called the third period of the revolutionary development of the village. It is in this period that one can observe among the peasants the tendency to divide the land into parcels, the limits to coincide with the maximum profit of their exploitation.

The policy of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture corresponds entirely to the indicated periods of the revolutionary renaissance of the country. First the struggle for land, then its best exploitation, the tendency to organize the possessions of individuals from the economic point of view in the most rational manner for production.

It must be acknowledged that the forms indicated for the cultivation of the land—the division into equal parts, and the more or less rational rounding out of a piece of land did not convert the peasant masses to Communism.

The organization of the communes and economic councils alone brings us to the socialization of agriculture. But the conditions of their development were very unfavorable. That is why, if the Communist organization of the country had been based only on the organization of the communes and the economic councils, it would have been dragged along for many years. But the Soviet regime always blazes new trails and opens up new possibilities for the village and the peasant masses which henceforth will have to be taken into consideration. If, on the one hand, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture regards the peasant commune from the point of view of its territorial organization in order to improve production, the People's Commissariat of Food Supply considers it from the opposite angle in taking from the commune the results of its production. In that sense the People's Commissariat of Food Supply has radically transformed the peasant's point of view. The contact of the organs of the People's Commissariat of Food Supply with the population of the village on the questions which interest it profoundly, as for example: The expropriation of the excess of grain, the contribution in meat and eggs, the receipt of things of vital necessity from the organs of the People's Commissariat of Food Supply, finally the contact of the peasant cooperatives with the same organs of the People's Commissariat of Food Supply, all these are sure to have a tremendous effect in awakening the political consciousness of the population of the village.

At first the peasant masses were openly opposed to the People's Commissariat of Food Supply: the peasant sought in every way possible to refuse the levies assessed against him; he complained that the Commissariat disorganized his economic life. In fact, the organs of the People's Commissariat of Food Supply—often not very satisfactory from the technical point of view—weigh heavily on the rich peasant. But this negative side is compensated, thanks to the policy of the People's Commissariat of Food Supply, by the fact that the peasant is beginning to take cognizance of the Soviet organization. The peasant adds a good deal to the price of his products setting on them a price above the real value; that is why, obliged to submit to levies, he is beginning to question with zeal where and how his products are going.

The more he desires to find a moral justification for his conduct, the less he succeeds. The more deeply he looks into things the more he is impressed with the necessity of firmness on the part of the Government in questions dealing with the food supply.

And having recognized the moral justice of his contributions toward the State, he begins to take account of the malpractices of agents of the Commissariat of Food Supply, a thing which is very desirable.

It is in this way that the Commissariat of Food Supply inculcates the scattered mass of small producers with an understanding of the interests of the State. In fact, no institution, no establishment,

has to such a degree directed the thought of the peasant toward the interests of the State as the Commissariat of Food Supply. This is quite evident, if judged by the results obtained in the course of these three years during which the quantity of bread and other products has increased considerably.

The organs of the Commissariat of Food Supply cover the rural districts with a thick network of their institutions, and more and more encourage an exchange of products.

It is evident that only the pressure of the organs of the Government forces the peasant to carry out the orders of the Commissariat of Food Supply, for the Commissariat is almost entirely lacking in manufactured articles. But the more merchandise the Commissariat will have for exchange, the more its influence over the producing peasant will increase. This influence will be shown not only in the larger contribution of the peasants, but also in the progress made in production.

In summing up the three years which have passed, it can be affirmed, without danger of being deceived, that the political consciousness of the peasant has made more progress than during the last one hundred years. The Russia of the Soviets is very great, and its development goes on gradually from the center to the periphery. The Socialist consciousness of the peasant masses is awakening section by section. It is the peasant of Great Russia in the industrial provinces of the North and Center who is ahead of the others. He is in closer contact with the organs of Soviet Power; he is in contact with the working masses who work for the State.

The region which follows is that part of Great Russia where the peasant has to deal with the Soviet Power as an independent producer of food products particularly,—a domain where he has entirely recognized the power of the Soviets, where he seeks only to sell his products, in the most advantageous manner, to the organs of the Soviet power. And finally, the third region, that of Ukraine is in the psychological condition of 1917, and is passing through the first period of revolutionary development. It is quite evident that Ukraine will traverse the road of revolution with fewer steps and less mistakes due to the experience accumulated by the Russia of the Soviets.

It can be said that the three years past have strengthened the Soviet Power not only on the war front, but also on the peasant front, on the interior front. They have given a solid basis to the Soviet Power with which to promote the new principles and to fuse into one the economic life of the peasant masses and the Communist life.

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The Crime of Anatole France

[The following amusing parodies, on the style of three prominent Berlin newspapers, were apparently suggested by the effort to connect the fact that the author of "Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard" had joined the Communist Party with "Bolshevik" influence, more specifically the influence of Zinoviev. The parodies originally appeared in the Berlin "Rote Fahne."]

IN order to show that at least the feuilleton of *Die Rote Fahne* serves not only the purpose of lashing up the feelings of its readers, but also of aiding their general orientation, we are printing together three reports of Anatole France's joining the Communist Party of France, all taken from the daily press.

Freiheit, the leading organ of the Independents writes this:

A NEW ATROCITY OF ZINOVIEV

WHAT the Knout Heroes of the Third International are capable of has recently been shown by them, and not only by the division that has taken place in the French Social Democracy, but also by an act of violence which must make even the last honest Communist, if such there be, blush with shame.

In a peaceful little villa, in a suburb of Paris, there lived the great and aged French author Anatole France, the friend of Jaures, the benevolent mild thinker, who in spite of his skepticism and in spite of all the horrors of war had preserved his faith in the social democracy and its mission to liberate the nations. It is clear that in this joyous spirit of France, whom even the French bourgeoisie, in spite of its hatred against people-liberating social democracy, could not deprive of his dignity as a member of the French Academy, the barbarous terroristic theory and practice of the Asiatic Socialists in Moscow could arouse only the profoundest abhorrence. But when the Communists were obliged to renounce the attempt to gain our great friend Longuet, the bodily grandson of Karl Marx, because he had courageously declared that he would stand faithfully by Renaudel,* it was of the utmost importance for them to win Anatole France, in order to conceal the hollowness of their program with the prestige of his name. An emissary of Zinoviev slunk into the cozy home of the great poet in the time-honored manner of the conspirator. Anatole France sat unsuspecting, bent over the collection of articles and speeches that our great theoretician Rudolf Hilferding has given to the German and to the international proletariat. Zinoviev's emissary first attempted to ingratiate himself with Anatole France by telling him that he was sure that France was an even greater stylist than Hilferding himself. But Anatole France noticed the intent and instead of being offended merely smiled ironically. Then Zinoviev's emissary drew forth from the pockets of his coat, bundles of bank notes. Anatole France waved him aside with a single motion of his hand, a motion that he was all the more impelled to make by the crudeness of the attempt of this missionary, in attempting to foist

*Leader of French Social Patriots.

these absolutely worthless Soviet banknotes upon him. Thereupon Zinoviev's emissary took out a hand grenade, laid it upon the desk and declared:

"From our great master Bakunin we learned to have consideration for no one: You will sign your application or die."

"My dear friend," answered Anatole France, "if you explode this hand-grenade, we shall both die. I am old and do not fear death, but I am sorry for you, my young friend. For if you should continue to live you might acquire sense."

The Moscow emissary made wild and fanatical motions with the hand grenade and answered:

"We are not less fanatical than our Osmanli friends, the Young Turks. I shall go to death with you, if you do not sign." From his pocket he drew forth portraits of Lenin and Enver Pasha, the famous murderer of the Armenians, made obeisance before the pictures and said: "Make your choice quickly!"

While Zinoviev's emissary was fortifying his fanaticism with the aid of a bottle of vodka, Anatole France signed the application and said: "It is on your account, my young friend, and not on my account that I do this."

Zinoviev's emissary made off, grinning at his own misdeed. Anatole France remained long in the quiet of his villa, thinking! Attila also once existed, and no one knows where he is buried. Zinoviev's tyranny also will not last forever, and he continued reading the articles and speeches of our great theoretician, Hilferding, which he then placed in his bookcase among the other books of great philosophers. . . .

• • •

Vorwärts has the following to say:

BECOMES A COMMUNIST THROUGH SENILITY?

THE seventy-six year old French novelist, Anatole France, has become a member of the Communist Party. No one who has really followed his works during the last few years will be surprised at this act of a senile old man; for these works show this writer, formerly so brilliant, has been gradually subsiding into a condition of idiocy. The great scoffer toward the end of his life was reading nothing but medieval chronicles, whose style he sought to imitate. And the fact that, in spite of this inclination toward the Middle Ages and toward Christian mysticism, he could simultaneously write novels in which he preached revolution even to the angels, already showed clearly enough that his intellect was sufficiently confused to enable him to become a Communist. If Anatole France today openly confesses his Communism, this again shows not only that Communism has

nothing in common with real life, but is a vagary of weak-minded old men, who vacillate between the mystical belief in God and a mystical belief in Revolution.

* * *

The *Deutsche Zeitung*,* the leading organ of the German spirit, writes:

A JEWISH COMEDY

A well-known Jewish-Russian Bolshevik, Chaim Rappaport, a relative of the Jewish Bolshevik leader Apfelbaum-Zinoviev, who wrote lubricious novels for many years under the name "Anatole France," deriding the sacredness of faith, embracing Lucifer, has now publicly taken up Bolshevism. We hail the unmasking of this Jewish destroyer of souls and moral poisoner, who thus far succeeded in concealing his descent so well that he was even admitted as a member of the French Academy. If "Anatole France," in other words M. Chaim Rappaport, has thus far been able to

mislead the French, it is for the reason that he was able splendidly to manipulate the French language with the well-known Jewish dexterity. The German Jewish papers, such as *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Berliner Tageblatt* which elevated him to literary fame were impressed by him by reason of their similarity in spirit to him, for they also are daily undermining the foundations of every Christian state. This comedy is now to end. But should "Anatole France" deny that he is identical with Chaim Rappaport, he would thus only be following in the footsteps of his relative Apfelbaum-Zinoviev, who denies just as stubbornly that his name is Apfelbaum. *Der Apfel fällt eben nicht weit vom Baum.**

P.S.—We have just learned that Henri Barbusse, the author of "Under Fire" has joined the Communist Party. Senility will not exactly work here, but there must be some Bolshevik indecency behind it.

The Execution of Count Mirbach

By VICTOR SERGE

(Victor Serge was one of the most brilliant stylists among the younger generation of those Paris Anarchists who, averse to any labor movement, believed only in "individual action." After serving a five-year sentence in France, he went to Russia, where the November Revolution made him a complete convert to Communism. His real name is Kibalchich—his family, although of Belgian nationality, being of Russian descent.)

(Moscow, June 6, 1918)

TWO great revolutionary parties have for more than twenty years been bearing the burden of the struggle against the autocracy. These hostile brothers—immutably hostile, resemble each other in no respect. In the rival organizations of the *Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party* and the *Social Revolutionist Party*, and the anarchist groups, all the energies, all the varieties of temperament that existed in Russia were believed to find place. This multiplicity of forms of the revolutionary activity was the cause of its richness and its invincibility.

The Social Democratic Party, which was Marxist, which had fed on the science and on the method of Marx, Engels, Bebel, Kautsky, and was directed by a theorist** who was simultaneously a brilliant publicist, perhaps the most dogmatic spirit of the Russian intellectuals of his epoch, basing all its hopes on the proletariat of the cities, occupied itself in a tireless work of propaganda, devoting its forces simultaneously to political (parliamentary, in the three Dumas) and economic struggles.

This party seemed far from the fiery and active revolutionary aggressiveness of the Social Revolutionists, the heirs of the liberal Socialism of Lavrov and of Mikhailovsky, for whom the role of the individual was of greater importance than that of the masses. The Social Revolutionists, a party of intellectuals basing themselves on the other hand

on the peasantry, to whom they refused to apply the Marxist formulas, conspirators of an imposing daring, continued the traditions of the great terrorists of the *Narodnaya Volya*. From their fighting organizations there issued forth men like Gregory Gershuni, Ivan Platonovich Kalayev, the executor of the Grand Duke Sergius, Yegor Sazonov, who gave his life twice,** Maria Spiridonova—and some of the others! The fighting organization has hundreds of terrorist acts to its credit, and each time a man, a woman, or a boy or girl, chosen among the most trusty and most firmly grounded militants went voluntarily to the sacrifice. For months the act would be prepared by the militants, who lived only to accomplish their terrible work. Boris Savinkov one of these heroes—and who alas has since fallen to become the accomplice of the Kornilovs and the Kolchaks,—has set down the experiences of terrorists who were disguised as coachmen or traveling peddlers, with the task of executing a minister who had been condemned to die. Psychologists will discuss at a later date the mentality of these idealists, these intellectuals, who in their self-denial and bravery may be compared with the great mystics—but who, fed on science and on modern literature, and

* The apple falls not far from its tree, a pun on the name Apfel-Baum.

**The first time on the occasion of the execution of Minister von Plehve; the second time in the Akatoui Prison when he poisoned himself a short time before the date fixed for his liberation, as a protest against the sufferings inflicted upon his fellow prisoners.

*An anti-Semitic paper of the Black-Hundred type.

**Plekhanov.

scorning the old beliefs were matured by a profound sense of social duty, and by ideas of which it is impossible to deny a vision of a new faith.

History has been merciless to the Russian Revolutionary Socialist Party. Corrupted by too easy an accession to power with Minister Kerensky, swelled by the numbers of all the political and military adventurers of the crumbling period which followed the autocracy, intoxicated by its rule, beset by the chancelleries of the Entente and hounded by the revolutionary masses which were demanding peace and the social revolution, it proved itself powerless to bring about its own ideal even after it had been attenuated and impoverished to the proportions of a democracy,—that called itself officially a Socialist Republic. Its most energetic leader, Savinkov, compromised himself with reaction, in the pitiable adventure with General Kornilov, an improvised dictator who was defeated three days afterwards. The party was cast out from power by the storm of November, 1917, and replaced by the Bolshevik People's Commissars. Its most visible champion, the man who lasted for an hour, Kerensky, was only a violent and grandiloquent but mediocre orator*; the well-known, the great leader Chernov, who for a moment spoke in the name of the majority of the Constituent Assembly, was able neither to have the party's social reform program carried out, nor to defend it against an early parliamentary gangrene; Avksentiev, an elegant and distinguished orator, compromised himself stupidly with the directorate which permitted Kolchak to elevate himself to power, and which Kolchak in turn caused to be arrested; the heroic grandmother of the revolution, Breshko-Breshkovskaya, who has fallen into a sort of an anti-Bolshevist hysteria, was destined to be hooted in America by angry and disappointed Russian workers. How sad all this is! The Social Revolution in November was destined to be carried out against "these revolutionists" of the day before, to sweep them aside, to throw them into the worst reaction, to cause even their names to be shamed, even the name of the very party for which the Kalayevs and Sazonovs had died.

Brest Litovsk and June 6, 1918.

It was on June 6, 1918, that the Russian Social Revolutionary Party tragically put an end to its career. It had long before divided into two opposing groups, the party of the right, clearly reactionary, advocate of parliamentary democracy, which was gladly supported by the armies of the Allies themselves; and a party of the left which is ardently pro-Soviet, and which after November shared with the Bolshevik Communists the responsibility of power.

It was a terrible moment: one of the hours of history in which the destiny of nations seems to hang by a single hair. The Revolution was being strangled in a noose. The peace of Brest Litovsk, signed a few days before, left it demoralized, ruined, dejected; and only its most farseeing and

most stoical sons were still free from doubt. The victorious Germans were advancing, nevertheless, toward Voronezh, Kursk, Briansk, without a possibility of opposing any force to them. The Allies were disembarking at Murmansk and executing people at Kern. M. Noulens, Ambassador of France, and Savinkov who had become his accomplice, caused the insurrections of Yaroslav and Kazan to blaze forth, and produced the revolt of the Czecho-Slovaks. In the press of two worlds there was no question except that of Allied, Japanese and American intervention. The future was black. Lenin had said: "We must have a moment of respite." And such a moment really was necessary. There was among the few men who desired this moment and who paid for it stoically with a historical humiliation, a sort of cold, lucid, resolute heroism. The Fifth Congress of Soviets approved of them, but it was impossible to bring about this approval without a great internal struggle. Under other circumstances, in view of the complete disaster of the country, the revolutionary proletariat rebelled against the "capitulation" and caused the Red flag of the Commune to wave over Paris. An action in a contrary, purely national direction, was apparently the result in Russia. And the Social Revolutionist Party of the Left, until then allied, suddenly became a mortal enemy. And as a matter of fact, in times where compromise is dead and fanaticism supreme, in other words, in times of revolution *two* parties, the Girondist and the Mountain, The Commune and the Convention, cannot exist side by side. The mentality of men is such that the dissenter, the one who opposes our ideas, first a suspect, in a short time becomes a traitor, a treacherous enemy, the foreigner's stool pigeon, the possible murderer. The best of the Social Revolutionaries (Spiridonova) went so far as to repeat the base calumny that had been trotted out by the Allied newspapers: Lenin and Trotsky are agents of Germany. The Bolshevik press could not afford to delay reproaching the Social Revolutionists for playing the game of the Entente.

On June 6, about three o'clock in the afternoon, two terrorists, acting in the name of the Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionist Party, Andreyev and Blumkin (Jakov Gregorievich), executed Count Mirbach, the German Ambassador. Moscow was in great excitement, for it might mean war. Yet all that came of it was street fighting, executions on the street corners, and cannon thundering in the squares. And it was in this street fighting that the Social Revolutionist Party of the Left perished.

. . . When they left the small mansion of the German Embassy, on Denezhny Pereulok, the two terrorists got away in an automobile and reported to the Central Committee of the Party, where they placed themselves under the protection of Popov's army contingents. Dzerzhinsky, President of the Extraordinary Commission for Combating the Counter-revolution, appeared without companions and demanded the surrender of the guilty ones

*Compare the picture by Sukhanov on this in his "Notes on the Revolution."

whose act was an open breach of the clearly expressed will of the Congress of Soviets. He was answered that the Committee would assume the entire responsibility for the act, and the Committee was arrested. A few hours later the battle opened. On June 8 at four o'clock it was over. For a moment the Social Revolutionists had been in control of the post office and the telegraph office. Their artillery had fired on the Kremlin where the Council of People's Commissars was in session. A few cannon balls had been enough to demolish the General Staff of the rebellious party, and 400 men in all were arrested. A contingent arriving in great haste from Petrograd was disarmed. And this adventure cost the life of the workman Alexandrovich, one of the fine characters of the early days of the Revolution, one of the leaders of the first Soviet of the pre-November days—who, now an assistant to Dzerzhinsky in the Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) had there prepared the uprising, the papers, the forged documents, which it would need in its course. He was executed.

Could this adventure have been avoided? It seems on the contrary that it was predestined by fate, in so far as we are the instruments of fate. Ambitions to govern, revolutionary fire, revolt against the odious peace of Brest Litovsk, the terrorist traditions and the organization of the party, all these are psychological factors that sufficiently explain their actions. The gravest of their consequences was the end of Russian political life. From now on only one party governed; a single party existed. There was no longer any rivalry, opposition, or discussion. The last rival of the Communist Party had committed suicide in the uprising of June 6, 7, and 8. And the eagerness of the Bolsheviki to remain exclusive was justified by their bitter experience: their only ally had at the most critical moment turned against them.

At present this is ancient history and almost forgotten. Many people no longer know how one of the great parties in the revolution met its end. Many heroes are consigned to oblivion, many are victims. But a number of them still survive and the future still may appreciate them at their proper value. Of the leaders of the June 6 movement, Maria Spiridonova, sick and poor, is now somewhere in hiding in Moscow; Kamkov,* lean, irritable, is imprisoned. Of the two men who killed Count Mirbach, one lives at Moscow with his wife at the Hotel Metropole, the Second Soviet House, and is therefore the neighbor of Bukharin and Chicherin.

* * *

A room in the Metropole opening on a gray court, so gray that in the scant daylight that comes in through the window it would be impossible to work without turning on the electric light. The moisture creeps along the walls of which the paper bulges and hangs loose in places, for the entire hotel is in a condition of advanced dilapidation.

*Concerning Kamkov, see Editorial in this issue.

The water pipes have burst in several places, flooding certain apartments. This room is one of the poorest in appearance in spite of its regular furniture, its divan and chairs burdened with books, two desks on which manuscripts and documents are accumulating and the large curtains cutting off the alcove. On the walls are several portraits.

Jakov Gregorievich Blumkin is rather tall, his face of a yellowish pallor, surrounded by a fringe of black beard, which is rather abundant, but short. His aquiline nose, his somewhat large mouth and thin lips are expressive and mobile. His black eyes are somewhat elongated, and look you straight in the face with energy. The head is handsome and regular. It may be that it is his hair or his beard; but you would say that he was a Romanticist of 1820 or 1848, one of those insurgents who were simultaneously poets, cavaliers, and gallants. He is at the prime of life: hardly more than thirty. His wife, a simple young woman of regular features, with black hair, listens to our conversation without apparent interest.

Jakov Gregorievich, now recovering from several wounds he received in the Ukraine—his former companions in arms had made up their minds to kill him because he was working with the Bolsheviki—is at present studying Oriental languages, and preparing a work on terrorism.

For terrorism is the great interest, the master idea of this man. He speaks of it deliberately, with learning, with conviction, with the persuasive tone of one who is not touched by any doubt. He is of the race of those who think that acts of revolution maturely reflected, conceived in cool blood, executed with daring self-denial may have a decisive effect on the course of revolutionary periods, or at any rate in social struggles.

We spoke of the act of June 6. I mentioned what joy had broken out among us, who were exiled and imprisoned in a foreign land, on the occasion of the execution of Count Mirbach, which proved after the execution of Marshal Eichorn, that the Revolution had lost nothing of its inner forces; but I also mentioned that we had understood this act as playing the game of the Entente, which desired a new war between Russia and Germany.

Jakov Gregorievich answered me as follows:

"This is one of the tragic sides of our situation. We never were in the pay of anyone. Do you think that people do things like that for anyone for anything?"

And, his head thrown back, he looked at me questioningly, with a tranquil pride in his eyes.

"One does such things because one must, because one's conscience, one's revolutionary conviction, dictate that imperatively. This act was necessary. The events in the sequel have proved that we were right. And immediately after, whatever might have been the anger against us, the atmosphere seemed purified. The Fifth Congress of Soviets had ended in a sort of collapse—and it was well understood later that we had washed a blot from the Revolution.

Why not take a position above considerations of party and tactics? History makes a game of all the forces and the greatest results in revolutions are sometimes attained by such unforeseen reactions. I remember at this moment that at the time when the drama was being accomplished, I marvelled at the fact that even in their most tragic contradictions the two great Russian parties were serving the revolution to which both had devoted themselves. While the Bolsheviki in signing the peace at Brest Litovsk were sidetracking all the plans of allied imperialism, the irreducible Social Revolutionists were turning against German imperialism the redoubtable army of terrorism.

"We wanted at first", says Jakov Gregorievich, "to clear the air after the shame of the treaty, to show to the world that our revolutionary vigor remains intact. And besides we know perfectly what was the internal situation of Germany."

Blumkin picked up from the table a small miniature photograph framed in brown wood, the portrait of a young man with the open countenance of a worker, a clear-cut, somewhat odd chin, doubtless a blond type—"Andreyev", he said to me. "My companion on June 6. He has since been killed in the Ukraine, where he was working in the General Staff, I think of the army of the anarchist partizans of Makhno.

Jakov Gregorievich is anxious to tell me in a few words about the tragic 6th of June. I can call up in my mind the little mansion on Denezhny Pereulok which was then the German Embassy. The street bordered with gardens, quiet and gay, the summer atmosphere, the rich houses, little palaces for the most part of one story only, where formerly the very rich lived, the Embassy with the wrought iron fence of its garden, topped with a border of green foliage, its elegant little building of cut stone, its austere balcony, its marble vestibule, than the splendid antechamber in a style half Gothic, half ancient Russian, recalling certain old apartments of the Kremlin: somber carvings of wood, a high gallery, tapestry and near the gate of the hall of honor, the tambour whose duty it was to announce visitors. (To be concluded)

PROTEST TO THE "CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY"

Mr. V. I. Tyomkin, who was elected to the Constituent Assembly from the Province of Kher-son on the ticket of the Jewish National Election Committee, declining to participate in the conference of the members of the Constituent Assembly at Paris, addressed to them a communication in which he took occasion to protest against their indifference to the anti-Jewish massacres perpetrated by the various counter-revolutionary chieftains. His protest reads in part as follows:

"We must not forget that all actual attempts at an armed overthrow of the present Russian Government have resulted in more than the ordinary horrors of civil war as far as the Jews are concerned; heaps of Jewish corpses and an unceasing series of Jewish massacres have marked their way. His-

tory will not forget the gruesome deeds of the perpetrators of these latest massacres. With all the power at its command the Jewry will brand the names of those who led in the total destruction of great numbers of our people; who let loose their passions of hatred against the Jewish masses; who spread calumnies against our people throughout the world; and it will indict those who failed to repudiate the active or spiritual abettors of the annihilation of our nation...

"During the past two years massacres have been the principal event in the life of the Russian Jewry . . . Varying in time, place and guise, bestial counter-revolutionary bands, devoid of all sense of humanity, attacked Jewish homes, butchering thousands upon thousands of the Jewish population, assaulting Jewish women, and murdering Jewish infants. Like a devastating hurricane, they swept across our settlements, transforming what was once the 'Pale of Settlement' into a mass of ruins, where streams of fresh human blood have as yet not dried out, where frenzied people, hungry and naked, are wandering in wild despair, having lost their kinsfolk and homes, shattered to the very depths of their souls, by the horrors which they have survived.

"Nor are these tribulations of the Jewish nation at an end. The panic in which millions of the Jewish population are living, has never been known by any people in the world. As one day follows another, a single thought consumes them: will they still exist tomorrow, or will they be made the objects of brutal humiliations and extermination. The Jewish population against which the principle of joint liability has been proclaimed without immunity for old age and childhood, is placed in an exceptional condition which would seem to demand the special attention of every conference concerned with the fate of Russia. It is impossible to talk of a civil war for a new Russia, without voicing, in no ambiguous terms, a vigorous protest against the recurrence of such acts as were perpetrated against the Jewish population in Russia . . .

"I am unable to banish a certain feeling of doubt concerning the present conference of the members of the Constituent Assembly which is taking place at Paris at this time . . .

"How far removed from reality must be this conference of the members of the Constituent Assembly, how faint its anticipation of the spirit of the genuine future Constituent Assembly, if to this day no voice of protest has been heard within its walls against the atrocious massacres, which threaten to annihilate the Russian Jewry."

AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS IN RUSSIA

There are at present 272 agricultural schools of all grades in Russia. Of that number 77 were established by the Soviet Government since 1918. Of the total number there are 16 agricultural colleges and 13 agricultural departments of universities, 63 agricultural high schools, 44 schools of horticulture and vegetable gardening, 16 schools of stock-breeding, 26 forestry schools, besides 16 lecture courses in forestry in other institutions.

An Interview with Kerzhentsev

(The Petrograd "Izvestia" of Jan. 12 reports that the Imperial Russian Embassy in Sweden, closed its offices with the beginning of the year. This "Embassy," headed by K. N. Gulkevich, successively represented the interests of Kolchak, Yudenich, Denikin, and Wrangel. The last hope of the White Guards being blasted, the "Embassy," which probably had not as much money at its disposal as the Russian "Embassy" in the United States, disbanded. The Swedish Government should therefore find no difficulty in recognizing the Representative of the Soviet Government M. P. Kerzhentsev, although it may still plead an embarrassment of riches in the presence of the old "Russian Consulate General" at Stockholm, who is reported to be still at his "post." The following interview with Kerzhentsev is taken from "Folkets Dagblad Politiken," Stockholm, of February 14, 1921).

The Chairman of the Soviet Russian Commercial Delegation, Kerzhentsev, as the Rosta office has already announced in its morning bulletin of Saturday, Feb. 12, arrived in Stockholm that morning from Moscow by way of Reval. On the same day Rosta already had an interview with him.

"In the first place I must begin, as usual, by refuting lies," said Mr. Kerzhentsev. "The Swedish Press in the last few days is more than filled with fantastic reports about Russia. It is very unfortunate that certain Swedish papers cannot take a more critical attitude towards untrue reports, based on forged documents, circulated in western Europe by the enemies of Russia. I need hardly say that as for circulars of Dzerzhinsky or decisions of the Council of People's Commissars signed by Lenin, in the struggle against counter-revolution in foreign countries, there are no such documents in existence. It is peculiar how this provocative report has succeeded in getting itself circulated in Europe. About a month and a half ago the Esthonian press printed a report that the Bolsheviks were preparing an assassination of French ministers. Somewhat later this version began to assume larger and larger dimensions which emphasized more and more the unreasonableness and impossibility of the report. I am surprised that our enemies should not be able to think out anything more clever than a return to the long since abandoned period of forged documents about Soviet Russia; you will remember that a few years ago a whole set of such documents was circulated in America and England by a few enterprising journalists.

"You may imagine how we laugh in Moscow when we read reports in the European bourgeois press concerning revolts of sailors in Kronstadt,* uprisings of the peasants, or exhibitions of Lenin bound hand and foot, to the Soviet Congress, etc. You would think that the Western European press would have had sufficient occasion to convince itself through eyewitnesses who have visited Russia how false any reports of this kind are, no matter how energetically they may be circulated from

Helsingfors. The serious press should long ago have given up the custom of lending an ear to the testimony of nervous ladies who represent a lack of automobile tires as an attack on Lenin with the aid of dynamite.

"It is entirely erroneous for certain press organs to represent the discussion at present in progress within the Russian Communist Party, as a sign of a schism in the Party or even of the fall of the Soviet. Anyone who speaks thus is either consciously lying or has no idea at all of the Russian Communist Party. We are strong enough to be able to bear the most outright and far-reaching discussion on the questions of the day in our own ranks. We are sufficiently disciplined to be able to defend and carry out a policy that is adopted as a result of our Party Congresses. I fear that after the 9th of March, when the Party Congress meets, *Social-Demokraten** will be very much disappointed to find not a coffin with a corpse in it, but a more vigorous, more fresh and more united party than the world has ever seen before.

The Russian People Now the Most Peaceful in the World.

"Completely idiotic are the reports of any aggression on the part of Soviet Russia. Our entire people is impregnated with the desire for peaceful work. The latest Soviet Congress** has clearly shown this. The only military question that was treated there was the question of demobilizing the army, and this question was decided in the affirmative. The entire attention of the Congress was turned to the work of economic reconstruction, the question of the electrification of Russia, and that of the regulation of commercial relations with foreign countries. I venture to say that the Russian people at present is the most peaceful people in the whole world, but this by no means signifies that we should not vigorously defend our interests, no matter by whom or in what way they might be menaced.

Russia's Commercial Relations with Western Europe, Particularly with Sweden.

"I believe," Mr. Kerzhentsev continued, "that the present year will be a year not only of vigorous

*This took place on February 12, when the Kronstadt mutiny had not yet started. A cable from Moscow, published in No. 12 of *Soviet Russia* referred to the fact that the French press was printing fantastic stories of revolts of the Baltic fleet—at a time when no unrest whatsoever existed in Kronstadt—a proof that the whole affair was prepared in France.

**Social Demokraten* in this case is the Stockholm organ, one of the most reactionary Socialist papers in Europe, and not the *Social-Demokraten* of Christiania, from which we frequently have occasion to quote in our columns.

**The Eighth Congress of Soviets began December 22, 1920.

work, a year of Russian economic reconstruction, but also a year of active commercial relations with western Europe and particularly with Sweden. Our economic bonds with Sweden, it appears to me will be strengthened particularly in three directions: (1) by the commercial relations and large orders placed by Russia, here in Sweden; (2) we have a common interest with Sweden in the matter of bringing about the most advantageous conditions for exporting forestry products from Russia to the other countries, in which matter we must work out a common policy; (3) I do not doubt that persons

can be found in Sweden who will be ready to draw up with us some of the concessions that Soviet Russia is now ready to grant to foreigners under certain conditions.

"Finally, may I correct a few errors I have noticed in the Swedish press? Litvinov is now filling the post of Representative Plenipotentiary of Soviet Russia in Esthonia. All questions touching Finland are taken care of by our Representative in Finland, Mr. Berzin, and all questions touching Sweden have been assigned to me to be disposed of here."

Clara Zetkin's Speech

In the course of the discussion of an interpellation in the German Reichstag on January 25, Mrs. Clara Zetkin, a Communist member of the Reichstag said among others the following things:

The relations between Germany and Soviet Russia are extraordinarily unstable, vacillating, and full of contradictions. Big industrials and mine owners would like to come to an understanding with the Entente, in order to create a great pool with the prototypes of Stinnes on the other side of the Rhine, on which all European manufactured products would depend. (*Shouts of Very Good! from the Communists.*) The manufacturer of finished products are demanding commercial relations with Soviet Russia. The necessity of obtaining a market for German goods made it necessary to seek economic relations with Soviet Russia. Mr. Kopp is here not only for the regulation of the war prisoners' question. He is the recognized economic representative of the Soviet Government. The speaker for the German Nationalist Party, whom you have just heard, said that certain idiots were carrying on commercial business with Russia. The number of such idiots is pretty big (*Very good! and hilarity among the Communists.*) Mr. Kopp has already arranged for about 200 to 300 million marks of business, and at the moment that the German Government declined to admit the specialists sent to Germany, Mr. Kopp threatened to cancel commercial deals amounting to a quarter of a billion (*Hear, Hear! from the Communists*) that had already been concluded (*Hear, Hear! from the Communists*), including 65 millions for agricultural machines and implements—what unemployment has been brought about by this cancellation!—31 millions for electrical supplies, 20 millions for pharmaceutical and chemical supplies.

The German foreign trade convention has come out with absolute definiteness for a resumption of economic relations with Soviet Russia. Are these people all idiots?

Specialists must be admitted without limitation. (*Shout from the Volkspartei:* Has that not yet been done?)—No, sir, the specialists were turned back. Such shameful deportations as that of the Technical National Commission must be stopped; they do not in any way provoke emigrations of German workers to Russia, but on the contrary regu-

late the emigrations.* The first batch went off without the knowledge and against the will of the Commission. Soviet Russia is now prepared to receive skilled workers.

Other actions also illuminate the anti-Soviet policy of the German Government.

The speaker reads a document in "Die Rote Fahne," Berlin, of December 29, which shows that the National Commissioner for Maintenance of Public Order had informed the Vienna Police Department that Kopp's work of mediation was not officially recognized. (Shouts of Hear, Hear, from the Communists.)

What right did the National Commissar for Public Order have to make such a denunciation? (*She also reads a document in which the National Commissioner for the Maintenance of Public Order is accused of having made a denunciation to the German Embassy in France, in other words to the Paris authorities, on the basis of Latvian detective work. She asks whether the German Embassy in Paris has not more important duties.*)

As late as this summer the German authorities were still recognizing a private association of counter-revolutionists, the Russian Delegation in Zelten 16 (Berlin address). They permitted these delegates to carry out international functions, draw up and visé passports, etc.

On the subject of the shootings of Red Army men, in violation of international law, I must say that these unhappy men were murdered on the basis of an ordinance not fully understood by them. The Russian text of the ordinance does not contain the passage which tells of the use of firearms if a challenge to stop is not heeded after repeated challenges as is stated in the German text (*Hear, hear! from the Communists*).

Before he was murdered, Count Mirbach had abused to an unheard of extent the courier service and the Red Cross in order to protect the property of Russian aristocrats and bourgeois from confiscation. Of course this is not to be considered an intervention in the internal affairs of Soviet Russia. (*Loud protests from the Right.*) This accusation

*Evidently objection had been made to the presence of this commission on the ground that the German workers, desirous in increasing numbers of emigrating to Russia, might find this ambition stimulated by the statements of the Commission.

was made by Germans to whom I spoke in Petrograd. They were the more indignant at his action, since Count Mirbach had declined to protect the small holdings of poor Germans. The murder itself is politically disposed of entirely by the measures which were immediately undertaken by the Russian Government.

Now let us take up the arguments as to the fact that the dislocation of Russian economy makes economic relations with Soviet Russia impossible. Side by side with the wretched peasant economy described just now by bourgeois speakers, there exist in Russia 500 great Soviet enterprises. In addition there are thousands of communal organizations, the greater part of which are developing very favorably. Besides, there are thousands of co-operative agricultural enterprises. The delivery of grain increased from 18 million tons to 120 million tons, between 1917 and 1920. (*Hear, hear!*)

I must emphasize the increasingly voluntary nature of the deliveries. In 1920 eighty percent of the obligatory deliveries were handed over voluntarily. The quality of the bread has improved and the highest bread ration is now given to two and one-half million workers instead of one and one-half as formerly. (*Hear, hear! from the Left.*) Is agriculture flourishing in our country? (*The speaker adduces examples to show the decline of German agriculture.*)

Every few weeks we read that in Bavaria or Upper Suabia villages refuse, with arms in hand, to deliver their grain. Of course these must be Russian villages that were smuggled over the German boundary in the dark of night by the infamous Bolsheviks in order to bring Germany into disrepute. (*Very good! from the Communists.*)

Russian industry before the war was not yet very highly developed. It suffered from the cutting off of raw materials, and by a succession of wars, civil war, and the great Revolution. But its development now is again proceeding favorably. The same is true of transportation conditions. The trains are running on schedule on all the lines. Since Baku and the Northern Caucasus have been freed, Russia has acquired great quantities of naphtha, exceeding the normal yield three-fold. Russian industry may be proud of the gigantic accomplishment of having clothed, equipped and kept victoriously in the field the great Red Army of two million men. The doubts of Mr. Wels* as to the Red Army arise from the ardor of his old Prussian servile faith in the indomitable quality of Mr. Ludendorff, veneered though it may be by a Social-Democratic surface. (*Very good! from the Communists.*) And yet he who has witnessed the defeat of Ludendorff, cannot believe in the victorious power of the Red Army!

(*The speaker describes in detail the social welfare activities for war invalids in Russia, comparing them with the gratitude shown to soldiers by Germany. She then takes up the question of the misery of the German children, on which subject*

she quotes extensive material from the pamphlet of Stegerwald, a Zentrum representative. The German Nationalists interrupted her with the shout: Why do you not go to Russia?)

We consider it our duty to remain here in Germany to fight and prepare the revolution, without your blessing, with your curse, and against all your objections! (*The speaker then takes up the creative work of education under Soviet Russia.*)

In 1920 there were 26,000 libraries in 32 provinces. The schools are open to all children free of charge, and each child receives food and clothing up to the age of 16.

Minister Simons is disappointed with the fact that the electrification project for Russian agriculture and industry was not carried out in one year. I should never have expected to find so much revolutionary impatience in the breast of a German bourgeois minister. The Russians themselves assign a period of ten years for the realization of the plan. (*Hear, hear! and hilarity from the Left.*) The Social Democrats should not deride the Russian concessions. These concessions merely express the fact that Soviet Russia is as yet an isolated island closely surrounded by capitalist states, depending on world capitalist relations, as does any other state. The Russian state must unfortunately assume relations even with capitalist states. This necessity is the shame of the proletarians of the other countries and not least of the German proletarians, who still drag along under the yoke of capitalist exploitation.

We behold a disorganized economy in Russia and in Germany. But the difference is this: In Russia there is a free workers' and peasants' society creating a new, higher social order, while in Germany, on the other hand, we witness a brutal effort to reerect the capitalist order by violence, with the aid of machine guns and White Guards. And at present a worse serfdom is threatening Germany's proletariat. Germany is to become an economic exploitation region, the political mercenary of the Entente, which is to force Soviet Russia to her knees. The German bourgeoisie is not unwilling to become a slave-driver in the employ of the Entente imperialists. The German empire of the rich collapsed in the world war. But Germany's national existence is by no means forever destroyed. The hour in which the German proletariat will take its place in the revolutionary front of the world proletariat, the hour in which it will seize the power and erect its dictatorship as a Soviet Republic, will be the hour of birth of the German nation. On that day a German people will arise that will be no longer a disunited mass of masters and serfs.

An alliance with Soviet Russia for revolutionary defence and offence would be a decisive step in this direction. This step will be taken, no matter what the Government or the Reichstag may decide. We shall call upon the masses to take this step. It means not only an act of international fraternity with Soviet Russia, but the achievement of our own liberation.

*One of the leaders of the German Social Patriots.

The Kronstadt Incident

The following dispatch from the official Russian Telegraph Agency was received at the office of SOVIET RUSSIA.

Moscow, March 19.—The Kronstadt adventure was ended the day before yesterday. By a smashing whirlwind attack, unparalleled in the annals of warfare, the Soviet troops captured this most formidable fortress in spite of violent machine-gun fire sweeping through their ranks as they advanced over the ice. One fort after another was taken with the rapidity of a motion picture battle. The Communist leader Kuzmin, imprisoned by the Kronstadt rebels, was set free immediately and joined in the command of the attacking forces, contributing by his valuable advice to the speedy victory. The mutinous warships "Petropavlovsk" and "Sevastopol" soon raised the white flag, begging for mercy. General Koslovsky with his staff succeeded in escaping over the ice to Finland.

The Kronstadt victory was a fitting contribution to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Paris Commune, now in progress all over Russia. It marks a week of notable diplomatic victories for Soviet Russia which have made her position stronger than ever. On March 16 an important treaty was signed between Russia and Turkey, forming a new link in the bond of friendship between Russia and Asia and putting the lid on imperialist intrigues in the Near East. On March 16 the British trade agreement was signed. Today the Polish-Russian peace treaty was concluded. Yesterday the Rumanian Foreign Minister announced the departure to Reval of delegates to negotiate an agreement between Russia and Rumania. The representative of Soviet Russia arrived in Italy on March 17, thus opening a new avenue of Russian international relations. All this is the appropriate answer to the international birds of prey who wanted to celebrate Soviet Russia's funeral. Nevertheless, the supply of American journalists who write fancy alarmist news about Russia is not yet exhausted. For instance, our wireless today caught a message sent by Gibbons to the *Chicago Tribune* from Bucharest, stating that Odessa had been bombarded by anti-Bolshevik forces and that violent fights were in progress around Odessa in Southern Ukraine. All that is an absolute lie.

The Soviet Government has granted Isadora Duncan permission to come to Russia and establish a dancing school for one thousand children.

The recently ended convention of the Communist Party of Russia resolved, as a temporary measure of relief and an inducement to peasants, to re-establish free trade in surplus agricultural products and to introduce a fixed tax in place of requisitions. This will necessitate important measures for stabilizing Russia's monetary system.

(Signed) RUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY.

REPRINTS FROM SOVIET RUSSIA

Periodicals desiring to reprint any material appearing in this weekly may do so if they will give proper credit.

AMERICAN TECHNICIANS AND RUSSIA

Plans are being made by the Soviet Government for the employment of technical aid from America in the construction of the workers' state, according to the following cable received by Mr. Charles Recht from Mr. L. Martens:

"Moscow, March 19, 1921.

"Inform the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia that a Committee has been formed here by order of the Council of People's Commissars to utilize technical aid from America. I belong to the same and will soon send full details and instructions. Keep on working. Soviet Russia needs and welcomes technical aid.

"(Signed) L. C. MARTENS."

As soon as the details promised by Mr. Martens are received they will be published in SOVIET RUSSIA for the information of all technical forces in America interested in bringing their services to the aid of Russia.

AMERICAN WORKERS THANKED

The following cable has been received by SOVIET RUSSIA from the People's Commissariat of Education in Moscow:

The Russian children have learned of the fact that the children of American workers are sending them a steamer with a million pencils, pens and copy books, and that the Jewish Workmen's Circle is sending a fully equipped children's hospital of 200 beds. The Russian children, their teachers and the People's Commissariat of Education wish to convey to the New York papers which have taken the initiative and to their readers who have responded to the appeal and to their young American brothers their warmest thanks both for the gift and for the expression by this act of the solidarity of the workers of the world.

(Signed) PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF EDUCATION.

In Next Week's

Soviet Russia

A PETERSBURG ARCADIA, by John S. Clarke. In a new article by the editor of the *Glasgow Worker*, an open-air performance of *I Pagliacci* at a Worker's Home near Petrograd is described, as well as a number of incidents from the life of Kropotkin.

PROSTITUTION AND COMMUNISM, By Alexandra Kollontay. The former People's Commissar for Social Welfare, in a special article, shows that the chief cause of prostitution is poverty, and how this cause is being eliminated in Russia.

RUSSIA CRUCIFIED. Professor Vanov, the statistical scholar, contributes an account of the depletion of Russia's resources brought about by the imperialistic war and intervention.

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION, by Preobrazhensky. Explains why the seizure of power by the Bolsheviki was successful.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street

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This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

IT has become a standing habit of all adversaries of the recognition of the Soviet Government to point to its lawlessness and its disregard of all established notions of personal rights, respect for life and property and common decency. Its enemies are, of course, supposed to be quite different and to be imbued with a deep respect for all these prerequisites of civilized intercourse. The Russian Government has never concealed that in its struggle against foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution it has had to use extraordinary measures such as are always taken in revolutionary periods. But in the face of the general moral indignation against its dictatorial and terroristic methods, it had at least the right to expect that its opponents would try to live up to their own high moral standards. These expectations were unfortunately not always realized. The affair of the Sisson documents, forged in order to prove that all the Bolshevik leaders were German agents, and spread broadcast in all languages, all over the world; the British conspiracies in 1918 for the purpose of bribing the commander of the Moscow garrison for the sake of arresting the People's Commissars, and publishing forged documents finally exposing them as tools of Germany; the plebiscite in Upper Silesia, the most important part of which, namely the mining part, is going to be awarded to Poland, in spite of the outcome of the vote; the organization of Russian White Guards, recruited from among Russian war prisoners in Czecho-Slovakia, to be employed against Czech workers; the reference to—Turkish law (!) on the part of the French commissioner in Constantinople in order to prevent American ships from entering the Black Sea with coal for Batum; the organization of gangs of murderers in Spain and Italy, which, with the tacit approval of the Government are assassinating labor leaders, destroying all labor papers and institutions and taking by force all the City Halls after the elections have returned a Socialist or Communist majority; the tortures and executions in Hungary at the sight of which the members of the British and French missions enjoyed a kind of special pleasure; the fact that forged issues of the Moscow *Pravda*, containing anti-Bolshevist propaganda, were printed and distributed with the connivance of the British Government—as was irrefutably disclosed the other day by the London *Daily Herald*—all this proves that

honor, decency, respect for law, consideration of the will of the majority, humanity,—are exclusively the monopoly of “recognized” governments with whom therefore commercial relations are possible. . . .

* * *

“ON EST toujours le reactionnaire de quelqu'un.” The Russian Bolsheviks, although execrated and fought by the whole capitalist world, had to share this common fate of revolutionary parties of all historical epochs—to be attacked as standpatters and reactionaries by other factions that were or claimed to be more revolutionary, more extremist, more consistent in their movement to the left than they were.

Among their adversaries on this head there were especially two currents worth mentioning—the Anarchists and the Left Social Revolutionists—which themselves were subdivided into different varieties.

The Anarchists form a class by themselves. No revolution is good enough for the “irreconcilables” among them, if it does not aim immediately at the destruction of every form of government—even if it be a dictatorship of the working class. Every organized authority is anathema to them—even if for everybody who has not lost his senses it is absolutely clear that it is indispensable for the safety of the Revolution and the suppression of counter-revolutionary attempts. They would rather not make any revolution at all, or keep aloof from it, or even fight against it arms in hand and thus prepare the ground for pogroms by the “Whites” or the “Greens” as did those who joined the bands of Makhno or some of those who recently seem to have joined the Kronstadt mutiny—than recognize the necessity of a revolutionary governmental organization with its more or less inevitable evils. But aside from these “irreconcilables,” who are “consistent” to the point of helping unconsciously their own worst enemies—there are a number of real revolutionists among them. With the advent of the Social Revolution in Russia they understood that the realization of their beautiful ideal might be possible only at the end of the revolutionary transition period, after the total disappearance of all class differences—on the economic as well as the educational field—when the whole of humanity will be one family of freemen who, from the earliest childhood, equally enjoy all the material and educational advantages of civilization. And consequently they gave their whole-hearted support to the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

The Left Social Revolutionists took from the very beginning of the November Revolution quite a different stand. During the first four months of the Soviet Republic that followed November 7, 1917, they were closely united with the Bolsheviks, and a number of important cabinet posts (People's Commissariats) were in their hands. When the Constituent Assembly convened in Petrograd in January 1918, Maria Spiridonova, a member of their party, was the joint candidate of the Left

Social Revolutionists and the Bolsheviks for the chair in that body as against Chernov, the candidate of the Right Social Revolutionists. Their coalition with the Bolsheviks continued after the dissolution of the Assembly—until the signing of the peace of Brest Litovsk. When that peace was signed, in accordance with a majority decision of the Soviet Congress, they withdrew their members from the Council of People's Commissars and began a bitter struggle both against the German invaders and the Bolsheviks.

Brought up in the heroic tradition of the great terrorists of the eighties and of the "Maximalist" faction of the Social Revolutionary Party in 1905-1906 that had startled the world with its incredibly daring terroristic attacks against the Tsar's Government—they saw in the revolutionary struggle only the romantic side. They could not understand that there were moments when the higher interests of the Revolution demanded not only the courage of heroic death but also the courage of accepting temporary humiliation in view of obtaining a breathing space for a future revenge. And on their fateful day, June 6, 1918, they killed the German Ambassador Mirbach in Moscow and at the same time started a revolt in the capital in order to wrest the power from the Bolsheviks and continue a hopeless war against Germany. Their attempt failed. The party suffered heavily, but some of its leaders—especially the famous and heroic Maria Spiridonova—continued, even after the Kaiser's downfall, and in spite of Allied intervention, the most embittered struggle against the Bolsheviks. At that time the cities were starving and the peasants were unwilling to deliver the grain to feed the workers. The workers had to take the grain by force. Maria Spiridonova furiously attacked the Communists for "robbing the peasants." The Allies were pressing from all sides—the Soviet Government was ready to pay ransom and to buy peace even at the cost of very hard concessions. "You are selling out Russia to the Allies" cried the same romanticists who a year before were attacking the Bolsheviks for "selling Russia to the Germans"—and if the French or British Ambassador had come to Moscow, they would have killed him just as they killed Count Mirbach—to save the honor of the Revolution. They preferred their own death and the death of the Revolution—only to save their romantic conception of revolutionary honor.

The Bolsheviks are not romanticists. In spite of their admiration for Maria Spiridonova's splendid past and sincerity, they had to treat her and her associates as dangerous hysterical who, with their extravagant notions, threatened to wreck the Revolution. It was a pity that severe measures had sometimes to be taken against them, because they could by no means be placed on the same level with bourgeois counter-revolutionary elements, such as the Mensheviks or the Right Social Revolutionists.

But now news comes from Moscow that the "Left Social Revolutionists, with Kamkov, Ivanov-

Razumnik and Steinberg at their head who had changed the name of the party to the *Revolutionary Communist Party*, have decided to dissolve their party, to transmit all party archives and all party property to the Communist Party, and to join the Bolsheviks." As the above-mentioned names are the most brilliant in the party—Kamkov was one of its most important leaders, Steinberg was Commissar of Justice in the first Soviet Cabinet, and Ivanov-Razumnik is one of the most brilliant publicists in Russia—it may be taken for granted that this whole sad episode of internecine strife within the Soviet front has come to a conclusion. The Left Social Revolutionists have finally grasped that the path of Revolution is not only thorny but sometimes muddy too, and that the hand that brandishes the liberating sword does not necessarily soil itself if for reasons of expediency it has sometimes to shake the hand of a Mirbach or even of a Lloyd George.

ACCORDING to the counter-revolutionary *Novaya Russkaya Zhizn* (New Russian Life), published in Helsingfors, the defeat of Wrangel has brought gloom into the ranks of the counter-revolutionaries. Reviewing the events of the past year the paper records "a decay of the psychology and the will to fight among the rank and file of the Russian emigrés."

In another editorial the same paper utters a pessimistic note on the hope of the Entente that the Soviet Government will in the course of time be overcome by internal forces: "On what that hope is based is a riddle; why should the internal forces conquer now after they have been unable to conquer the Bolsheviks with the support of foreign fronts?"

The Cadet paper *Rool*, published in Berlin, has also lost all hope of a successful overthrow of the Soviet Government. Says the paper editorially:

"How often did it seem and was it predicted that tomorrow or the day after the end of the Bolsheviks would surely come, but all prophecies proved false, and now, after the defeat of Wrangel it is no longer good form to talk of the fall of the Bolsheviks—they must be reckoned with as any other existing government."

The best comment on these confessions of defeat is the recent announcement that the French Government has withdrawn its support from the 100,000 or more White Guards who fled to Turkey after the defeat of General Wrangel.

"France," says the *New York Times*, March 28, "has expended more than 200,000,000 francs caring for these refugees, and in view of the failure of other nations to shoulder part of the burden she feels she can do no more."

"In the last three months French agents undertook to scatter these refugees in different countries. Some 10,000 were placed and Brazil engaged to take 20,000. But recently it has been found that officers of General Wrangel have been working against this effort and trying to keep his army intact. Therefore the French Government is now considering means of obtaining the disbandment of a force of 45,000 men in the environs of Constantinople, considering an eventuality by which it might become a danger for the allied forces in Turkey.

"The fate of the refugees when French aid is cut off promises to become desperate."

The Paris Commune and Soviet Russia

By LEON TROTSKY

(Conclusion)

Democratic Commune and Revolutionary Dictatorship

COMRADE LENIN has already pointed out to Kautsky that to attempt to depict the Commune as a form of democracy is nothing less than theoretical charlatanism. The Commune, both in its traditions and in the intentions of those directing it—the Blanquists—was the expression of the revolutionary dictatorship of one city over the entire country. This was the case in the great French Revolution; it would also have come to pass in the Revolution of 1871 if the Commune had not fallen so soon. The fact that in Paris itself those in power had been elected on the basis of universal suffrage did not exclude the other fact which is much more important: military action of the Commune, of one city, against peasant France, in other words against the whole country. In order to satisfy Kautsky in all reason the revolutionists of the Commune would have had to question in advance, by way of universal suffrage, the entire population of France in order to find out whether or not war should be waged with the bands of Thiers. Finally, in Paris itself, the elections were carried out after the flight of the bourgeoisie, which favored Thiers, at least of its most active elements, and after the evacuation of the policing armies. The bourgeoisie which remained at Paris, in spite of all its impertinences, was none the less afraid of revolutionary battles, and it was under the impression of this fear—a presentiment of the inevitable Red terror to come—that the elections took place. To console oneself with the idea that the Central Committee of the National Guard under whose dictatorship—unfortunately a flabby and formless dictatorship—the elections of the Commune were being carried out, meant no violation of the principle of universal suffrage, is in fact like dealing blows with a sword to the waves of the ocean.

In his accumulation of sterile comparisons Kautsky is taking advantage of his readers. At Petrograd, in November, 1917, we also elected a Commune (the municipal Duma) on the basis of the same "democratic" suffrage, without restrictions of the bourgeoisie. The elections, as a result of boycotting by the bourgeois parties, gave us an overwhelming majority.* The democratically elected Duma voluntarily submitted to the Petrograd Soviet, in other words, it placed the fact of the dictatorship of the proletariat above the "principle of universal suffrage"; and some time later it dissolved, of its own initiative, in favor of one of the sections of the Petrograd Soviet. In other words, the Petrograd Soviet—the true father of the Soviet power—has for the latter a divine grace, a halo of formal democracy, which in no way is second to that of the Paris Commune.

At the elections of March 26, 90 members had been elected to the Commune. Among them were fifteen members of the Government Party (Thiers), and six radical bourgeois, who, although they were adversaries of the Government, none the less condemned the insurrection of the Paris workers.

"The Soviet Republic," Kautsky tells us, "would never have permitted such counter-revolutionary elements to enter even as candidates and certainly not as elected members. The Commune, out of respect for democracy, placed not the slightest obstacle in the way of the election of its opponents" (pp. 55-56). We have above witnessed Kautsky blithering over all the field in every direction. In the first place, in the parallel phase of the development of the Russian Revolution, the democratic elections for the Petrograd Commune were inaugurated, the elections during which the Soviet power allowed every liberty to the various parties, and if the Cadets, Social Revolutionists, and the Mensheviks, who had a press of their own, who were openly inviting the population to overthrow the Soviet power, boycotted these elections, it was for the sole reason that they were at that time still hoping to dispose of us swiftly by force of arms. In the second place, there was not in the Paris Commune any democracy which rallied all classes to it. For the bourgeois deputies, conservatives, liberals, Gambetists—there was no place.

"Almost all these persons," writes Lavrov, "either immediately or very soon left the Councils of the Commune; of course they might have been representatives of Paris—of the free city under the administration of the bourgeoisie—but they were totally out of place in the Commune, which fortunately or unfortunately, consciously or unconsciously, completely or incompletely, but none the less really embodied the revolution of the proletariat, and the attempt however feeble it may have been to create forms of society that might be harmonious with this revolution" (pp. 111-112). If the Petrograd bourgeoisie had not boycotted the Communal elections, its representatives would have entered the Petrograd Duma. They would have remained there only until the first insurrection of the Social Revolutionists and the Cadets, after which, with or without the permission of Kautsky they would probably have been arrested if they had not left the Duma in time, as by the way at a certain moment the bourgeois members of the Paris Commune really did. The course of events would have remained the same, except for the fact that

*It is not without interest to note that in the communal elections of 1871, there were 230,000 voters. In the municipal elections of November, 1917, at Petrograd, in spite of the boycotting of the elections by all parties except ours and that of the Social Revolutionists, who had hardly any influence in the capital, there were 400,000 voters. Paris in 1871 had 2,000,000 inhabitants; Petrograd in 1917 had 2,000,000. We must take into consideration that our electoral system was incomparably more democratic, as the Central Committee of the National Guard had carried out the elections on the basis of the electoral law of the empire.

certain episodes would have taken place in a different manner.

Glorifying the democracy of the Commune, and simultaneously accusing it of having lacked in courage toward the Versailles troops, Kautsky does not understand that the Communal elections that were carried out with the participation, in a double sense, of the Mayors and of the "legal" deputies, reflected the hope for a conclusion of a peaceful agreement with Versailles. Yet, this is the very foundation of the matter.

Class Harmony or Class Struggle?

The directing spirits wanted an understanding and no struggle. The masses had not yet exhausted their illusions. The revolutionary pseudo-authorities had not yet had the time to go to pieces lamentably and the whole business was called "democracy."

"We must rule our enemies by moral force," Vermorel put the matter. "We must not encroach upon the liberty and the life of the individual." Vermorel, whose aspiration it was to ward off "civil war", was inviting the liberal bourgeoisie which he had once so pitilessly branded, to form "a power that would be regular, recognized, and respected by the whole Paris population." *Le Journal Officiel* published under the direction of the Internationalist* Longuet, said: "The regrettable misunderstanding which in the June days (1848) armed two social classes one against the other,—can no longer be reproduced. The antagonism of classes has ceased to be" (March 30). Further on we read: "From now on all discord has disappeared, for never was there so little social hatred and antagonism" (April 3). In the session of the Commune of April 25, it was not without reason that Jouade boasted that "the Commune had never invaded the rights of property." It was thus that he thought he would capture the good opinion of bourgeois circles and move towards an agreement with them.

"These assurances," Lavrov very justly says, "by no means disarmed the enemies of the proletariat, who perfectly understood how much they were threatened by its triumph; on the contrary such assurances deprived the proletariat of all its fighting energy, blinding it as if intentionally in the presence of its immutable enemies" (page 137). But these enervating assurances were indissolubly connected with the fiction of democracy. The pseudo-legal form that had been adopted made one believe that the question might be solved without a struggle. "As far as the masses of the population were concerned," writes a member of the Commune, Arthur Arnould, "they believed, and not without reason, in the existence of a tacit understanding with the Government." Powerless to attach the bourgeoisie to themselves, the conciliators led the proletariat into error, as they always do.

The fact that in the inevitable civil war which had already begun, parliamentarism could reflect

nothing more than the conciliatory impotence of the directing groups, is evidenced in the most striking manner by the senseless procedure of the complementary elections to the Commune (April 16). At this moment "one had only to cast a ballot," writes Arthur Arnould. The situation had become tragical to the extent that there was no longer the leisure nor the presence of mind necessary to enable the general elections to do their work. "All the men faithful to the Commune were on the ramparts, in the forts, in the outposts. The people attached no importance at all to these complementary elections. At bottom it was a mere matter of parliamentarism. The hour was no longer one in which to count voters, but to get soldiers; it was no longer necessary to learn whether we had gone up or down in the opinion of Paris but to defend Paris first, to defend Paris against the Versailles troops." These words might have made it clear to Kautsky that it is not easy to unite in real life a class war with a democracy embracing all classes.

"The Commune is not a Constituent Assembly," Millier, one of the clearest brains of the Commune, wrote in his publication, "it is a Council of War. It can have only one object: victory; only one weapon: force; only one law: that of the public weal."

"They have never been able to understand," cries Lissagaray, in his accusation of the leaders, "that the Commune was a barricade and not an administration." They did not begin to understand this until towards the end, when it was already too late. And Kautsky has not understood it yet. There is no reason to believe that he ever will understand it.

"Democratic" Elements and Capitalist Restoration

The Commune was the living negation of formal democracy, for in its development it emphasized the dictatorship of Paris over the peasant nation. This fact outshines all others. Whatever were the efforts of the political routiners in the bosom of the Commune itself, to cling frantically to the appearance of a democratic legality, each action of the Commune, insufficient though it was to bring about victory, was sufficient to convince us of its illegal nature.

The Commune, in other words, the municipality of Paris, abolished national conscription. It entitled its official organ: *Journal Officiel de la Republique Francaise*. Although it was a timid invasion, it invaded the Banque de France; it proclaimed the separation of Church and State, and suppressed the budget of the religious denominations. It entered into relations with foreign embassies, etc., and all this it did under the name of the revolutionary dictatorship. The democratic Clemenceau, who at that time was still in his prime, would not recognize its right to do this.

In the Assembly with the Central Committee Clemenceau declared: "The insurrection has an illegal motive. The Committee will soon become ridiculous and its decrees despicable. Furthermore Paris has not the right to rise in rebellion

*Member of the First International.

against France and must formally accept the authority of the Assembly."

The task of the Commune was to dissolve the National Assembly. Unfortunately it did not succeed in doing this. Kautsky is now investigating in order to find extenuating circumstances for these criminal designs. He argues from the fact that while these Communards had Monarchist adversaries in the National Assembly, we had against us in the Constituent Assembly—Socialists, of the Social-Revolutionist and Menshevik brand. Astronomically speaking this might be termed a total eclipse of the mind. Kautsky speaks of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists but he forgets the only enemy of importance, the Cadets. It was precisely they who constituted our Russian "Versailles" Party, in other words, the block of owners united in the name of property, and Professor Milyukov parodied as well as he could the *petit grand homme*. Very early in the game, long before the November Revolution, Milyukov had been looking for a Galliffet, believing successively to have found him in the persons of General Kornilov, Alexeyev, Kaledin, Krassnov; and after Kolchak had forced the political parties to the rear and dissolved the Constituent Assembly, the Cadet Party, the sole bourgeois party of importance, essentially monarchistic in its nature, not only did not refuse him its support, but even went so far as to regard him with an ever-increasing sympathy.

The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists did not play any autonomous role in our country, as seems to be the case with the Kautsky Party in the revolutionary occurrences in Germany. They had erected their entire policy on the basis of a coalition with the Cadets, thus assuring them a situation of preponderance which in no way corresponded to the alignment of political forces. The Social Revolutionist and Menshevik parties were nothing more than an apparatus of transmission destined to gain in the meetings and in the elections the political confidence of the awakened revolutionary masses, in order that the counter-revolutionary, imperialist Cadet Party might benefit—regardless furthermore of the outcome of the elections. The dependence of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionist majority on the Cadet minority was only a poorly disguised irony on democracy. But that is not all. In every part of the country, wherever the "democratic" regime existed long enough, it inevitably ended with a counter-revolutionary coup d'état. That was what happened in the Ukraine, where the democratic Rada, which had sold the Soviet power to German imperialism, found itself cast out by Skoropadski's monarchy. That was what happened in the Kuban, where the democratic Rada disappeared under the heel of Denikin. That is what happened—and this is the most important experience of our "democracy"—in Siberia, where the Constituent Assembly, officially governed by the Social Revolutionists and the Mensheviks, because of the absence of the Bolsheviks—but actually controlled by the Cadets, led to the dictatorship of the Tsarist Admiral Kolchak.

That is what happened in the North, where the members of the Constituent Assembly, personified by the Government of the Social Revolutionist Chaikovsky, were nothing more than the figureheads behind whom the Russian and English counter-revolutionary generals were the real protagonists. In all the small border Governments things took place in this manner, or are still so taking place: in Finland, in Esthonia, in Lithuania, in Latvia, in Poland, in Georgia,* in Armenia, where under the formal banner of democracy the rule of the landed proprietors, capitalists, and of foreign militarism is consolidated.

The Paris Worker of 1871—The Petrograd Proletariat of 1917

One of the crudest parallels, and one in no way justified and politically an outrage, in Kautsky's comparison between the Commune and Soviet Russia, is the one as to the character of the Paris worker of 1871 and the Russian proletariat of 1917-1919. Kautsky depicts the former as a revolutionary enthusiast, capable of the greatest self-denial, while the latter is represented to us as an egoist, a profiteer, a frenzied anarchist.

The Paris worker has behind him too clearly defined a past to have any need of revolutionary recommendations—or to make it necessary to defend him against the praises of the Kautsky of today. Nevertheless the Petrograd proletariat has not and cannot have any reasons for refusing to be compared with its elder brother. The three years of the struggle of the Petrograd workers, first for the conquest of power,—then for its maintenance and the consolidation in the midst of sufferings that have never been paralleled before, in spite of hunger, cold, continual dangers, constitute an exceptional chapter in the annals of the heroism and self-denial of the masses. Kautsky, as we have pointed out elsewhere, in order to compare them with the elite of the Communards, chooses the most backward elements of the Russian proletariat. In this way he differs in no respect from those bourgeois sycophants in whose eyes the dead of the Commune are incomparably more sympathetic than the living. The Petrograd proletariat seized power forty-five years after the Paris proletariat. This lapse of time has conferred an immense superiority upon us. The petty bourgeois and craft character of the old Paris, and partly of the new Paris, is entirely absent in Petrograd, the center of the most concentrated industry in the world. This latter circumstance has made much easier for us our tasks both of agitation and of organization, as well as the establishment of the Soviet system. Our proletariat by no means holds the rich traditions of the French proletariat, but to make up for this, at the beginning of the present revolution, the great experience of the failure of 1905 was still living in the memory of

*But Georgia (as well as Armenia) now, as was reported in "Soviet Russia" two weeks ago, is entirely in the hands of its own Soviets.

the older generation, which did not forget the duty of revenge that had been bequeathed to it.

The Russian workers did not pass, as did the French workers, through a long schooling of democracy and parliamentarism, a schooling which in certain periods was an important factor in the political education of the proletariat. But, on the other hand, the bitterness of their deceptions, and the poison of skepticism, which has chained the revolutionary will of the French proletariat until an hour which we hope will be soon—had not had the time to gain a foothold in the soul of the Russian working class.

The Paris Commune suffered a military defeat before economic questions had arisen to face it in all their proportions. In spite of the splendid warlike qualities of the Paris workers, the military situation of the Commune very soon became desperate; the indecision and the conciliatory spirit of the higher circles had created a disintegration in the lower ranks. The pay as members of the National Guard was issued to 162,000 plain soldiers and 6,500 officers, but the number of those who actually went into battle, especially after the fruitless sortie of April 3, was only between twenty and thirty thousand.

These facts in no way compromise the Paris workers, and give no one the right to deny their courage or to designate them as deserters, although cases of desertion were not absent among them. The warlike capacity of an army requires above all the existence of a regular centralized directing apparatus. The Communards had not even an idea of this.

The Department of War of the Commune, according to the expression used by one author, had its office in a dark room where everyone was in everyone else's way. The office of the Minister was filled with officers, of National Guards, who were demanding military perquisites, supplies, who were complaining that they were not being relieved. They were referred to the Commandant of the place. "Certain battalions remained in the trenches from twenty to thirty days, while others were constantly being held in reserve. This carelessness soon killed all discipline. The most courageous no longer wanted to depend on any but themselves; the others ran away. The officers acted similarly; some left their post to go to the aid of others who were under the enemy's fire; others went to town to have a good time" . . . (The Paris Commune of 1871, P. Lavrov, page 100).

Such a regime could not continue without retribution. The Commune was drowned in blood. But Kautsky will furnish you with a peculiar sort of consolation: "The conduct of war," he says, shaking his head sadly, "is not as a rule the strong point of the proletariat" (page 76). This aphorism worthy of a Pangloss is fully on the level of another apothegm of Kautsky, namely this: that the International is not an instrument for the time of war, since by its very nature it is an "instrument of peace." The Kautsky of today may be summed

up completely in these two aphorisms: and his value is hardly superior to that of an absolute zero. "The conduct of war, you see, is not as a rule the strong point of the proletariat; all the more since the International was not created for the period of war!" The vessel of Kautsky was built to navigate the peaceful waters of ponds and not to face the open sea and ride the storm. If it is now beginning to take water and sink, the trouble is evidently due to the storm, the elements, the immense size of the waves, and a great number of other unforeseen circumstances for which Kautsky did not construct his magnificent instrument.

The international proletariat has set out to seize the power. Whether civil war is or is not "in general" one of the indispensable attributes of revolution "in general" it is nevertheless incontestable that the forward movement of the proletariat, in Russia, in Germany, and in certain parts of what was once Austria-Hungary, has taken on the form of civil war to the bitter end. And that not only on internal fronts but also on external fronts. If the conduct of war is not the strong point of the proletariat, and if the Workers' International is good only for peaceful periods, we must inter the revolution and Socialism with it, for the conduct of war is a pretty strong point with a capitalistic Government which will never permit the worker to take the power without a war. The only step remaining is to consider what is called "Socialist Democracy" as an accessory of capitalistic society and bourgeois parliamentarism, in other words, publicly to sanction what is being done in politics by the Eberts, the Scheidemanns, the Renaudels, and that against which Kautsky, it seems to us, is still objecting.

The conduct of war was not the strong point of the Commune. That is why the Commune was crushed. And how mercilessly it was crushed!

"We must go back," writes the liberal historian, or rather the moderate liberal historian Fiaux, at the time, to the proscriptions of Sulla, of Anthony and of Octavius, to find such assassinations in the history of the civilized nations. The religious wars under the last Valois, the night of Saint Bartholomew, the period of the Terror were child's play as compared with this slaughter. In the last week of May alone 17,000 corpses of insurgent communards were taken up. The killing was still in progress on June 15."

. . . "The conduct of war is not as a rule the strong point of the proletariat" . . .

It is a lie! The Russian workers have shown that they are capable of mastering also the "machinery of war." And we behold here an immense progress over the Commune. This does not mean that we renounce the Commune—for the tradition of the Commune is not to continue its impotence, but to continue its work. The Commune was weak: we, to complete its labor, have made ourselves strong. They put down the Commune. We are dealing blow after blow to its hangmen. We are avenging the Commune and executing its mission.

Of the 160,000 National Guards who received regular pay 20,000 or 30,000 went into battle. These figures serve as interesting material for inferences to be drawn as to the role of a formal democracy in a revolutionary period. The lot of the Paris Commune was not decided in the elections, but in its struggles against the armies of Thiers.

But as a matter of fact 20,000 or 30,000 men, the most devoted and most aggressive minority, decided the destinies of the Commune in battle. This minority did not stand aside, it simply expressed with more courage and self-denial the will of the majority. But it was nevertheless only a minority. The others, who hid at the critical moment, were not hostile to the Commune; on the contrary they actively or passively supported it, but they were less conscious, less resolute. On the stage of

political democracy, the inferiority of their social sense rendered possible the deception practiced by adventurers, impostors, by petit bourgeois parliamentarists, and honest blockheads who were fooling themselves. But when it was a question of an open class war, they followed more or less the devoted minority. This situation still found its expression in the organization of the National Guard. If the existence of the Commune had been prolonged, this reciprocal relation between the advance guard and the masses of the proletariat would have been more and more strengthened. The organization that would have been formed and consolidated in the process of the outright struggle, being an organization of the working masses, would have become an organization of their dictatorship, the Soviet of the delegates of the proletariat in arms.

Prisons in Soviet Russia

By PIERRE PASCAL

(Translated from "La Vie Ouvrière," by Eden and Cedar Paul.)

CAPITAL punishment no longer exists in Russia, except on the fighting fronts and in the disturbed regions where a state of siege prevails. Even here court martials are not empowered to carry out any death sentence without the sanction of the Supreme Army Council and the Supreme Court of the Republic.

I must refer once more to the Extraordinary Commissions which have been such a nightmare to the foreign world. Despite all the verbiage of the journalistic romancers, and of persons with a taste for the horrible, these commissions are orderly institutions which work in the most prosaic fashion in accordance with prescribed regulations. Nor is their name legion, as the capitalist press would fain have us believe. There is one such commission in each administrative district, so that there are forty-four in the whole of Russia, including the Siberian Commission and the All-Russian Commission. Their total staff comprises 6,290 persons, of whom a considerable proportion are engaged in perfectly inoffensive clerical work as copyists, classifiers, etc., and as messengers from one office to another. Furthermore, the Extraordinary Commissions have nothing in common with the police system of the Tsarist régime. Their members never exhibit the servile and bestial characteristics of the ordinary police. Nor will you ever find among them the callousness of the professional policeman, whose sensibilities have been blunted and whose reason has been stultified by habit.

I have been personally acquainted with several commissars of the Extraordinary Commissions. Their manners towards those with whom they had to deal as offenders were like their manners towards other men. They showed no brutality and used no abusive language. They were all characterized by the same earnest desire to fulfill their

duty, to be just even towards an enemy, and to defend the Revolution. Nowhere in the Republic, except in the Red Army, is discipline more strictly preserved. For a long time any abuse of power, any dereliction of duty on the part of an agent of an Extraordinary Commission was punished by death. The punishment now is penal servitude for life.

I do not deny that malpractices may have occurred from time to time, and here and there, in the huge territories of Russia. The Soviet Republic is not the kingdom of God on earth. It is realizing its possibilities slowly and painfully, feeling its way amid infinite suffering and in the face of enormous difficulties. Nevertheless, I have had ample experience to justify my assertion that the Extraordinary Commissions are amazingly well conducted. There is nothing haphazard about their procedure. I can hardly repeat too often that everything is done in accordance with carefully considered regulations, and that there are checks and counter-checks to prevent abuses of power and miscarriages of justice.

The case against those charged with offences is conducted with scrupulous care. Proper records are kept of all the evidence. Each prison has to make a return every morning at eleven, stating the number of persons kept under lock and key. There is an enquiry office where the public can procure all necessary information concerning the prisoners. The latter are allowed to receive visits from their relatives. The prisoners enjoy the same dietary as the warders, but are allowed in addition to eat anything that is brought them by their friends.

So much for the repressive functions of the Commissions. But they likewise have positive functions, which are far more momentous. Now (February 27, 1920), that the Republic has tri-

umphed over its enemies, the repressive functions pass into the background, and the positive functions are of increasing importance. The Republic has to face the problem which the collapse of capitalism has imposed or will impose upon all the nations.

The most important task of the Commissions is to assist in promoting economic recovery. They enforce the rights of the state monopolies. They confiscate the goods hoarded by speculators and profiteers, adding these to the stocks available for communal distribution. For example, at a time when a great many factories had been compelled to stop work for lack of silk, the Moscow Extraordinary Commission discovered more than 4,000 yards hidden away in the storehouses of an ex-shopkeeper.

Another way in which the Extraordinary Commissions contribute to the industrial recovery of the country, is by promoting labor discipline, both among the managing engineers and among the workmen. It will be remembered that in the early days of the Soviet régime there was a concerted sabotage among the higher grade employees. Now most of these have put their specialized knowledge at the service of the Soviet Republic. But a certain supervision is requisite for all grades, and this is carried out by overseers in the service of the Extraordinary Commissions. These men have the power of effecting arrests, but only upon a warrant from the Factory Committee. Moreover, arrests are extremely rare. A comrade who spent six weeks in the great factory at Sormovo, where from 7,000 to 8,000 workmen are employed, said that during that time only two or three arrests had taken place. The work of the overseers is preventive far more than punitive.

A similar corps of overseers secures the efficient working of the railway service; and under present conditions the rôle here is even more important than in the factories. The railway overseers are specialists familiar with all the conditions of the railway service.

Thanks to these peaceful, positive labors of the Extraordinary Commissions, the power of the Soviet Government has been coordinated throughout the immense domains of Russia. The organization of the Terror (improperly so called, as I have shown) was necessitated by the attacks of the counter-revolution from within and from without. Under the new conditions, however, the Extraordinary Commissions are able to devote themselves to the organization of production and transportation.

Since the death penalty has now been abolished, you will be wondering how the Soviet Republic deals with the dangerous criminals who would formerly have had to suffer capital punishment. Let me describe my recent visit to a labor camp, where such people are now being cared for.

Starting from the idea that criminals are the victims of capitalist society, and must therefore not be punished but reformed, the republic places these unfortunates in surroundings which will teach them to work, and where they will acquire

the elements of education. Those who are convicted are selected and placed in various categories, so that each may receive the special attention he needs. This particular work is done in the famous Butyrki prison in Moscow, and from here the condemned are sent to suitable establishments where they are to be taught how to become useful citizens.

There is a dearth of suitable buildings, so that the Republic is unable to carry out the scheme in all its magnitude. But, as far as the work goes, it constitutes a veritable revolution in the penal system.

Prisoner Camps

The different camps are arranged as follows: There are labor camps with internment, labor camps with no curtailment of liberty, a woman's camp, an agricultural colony; a special camp for young persons, an asylum for abnormal individuals. The old-fashioned prisons, those plague spots of capitalism, have been transformed; the fresh air has swept through them, making them clean and sanitary. Such places are reserved as asylums for professional criminals who are considered hopeless cases. The main object is to allow the criminal to lead as normal a life as possible, and to regenerate him by labor and education.

A typical establishment is the labor camp. To give an idea of how such a place is run I will quote a clause from an instruction, dated May 1 of last year. "Each camp must be furnished with baths, washhouses, and disinfecting chambers. The day's work shall not be more than eight hours; if overtime proves to be necessary, such overtime shall be worked in strict accordance with the labor code of the Republic. Wages shall be the same as those fixed for the ordinary trade in a given locality. The prisoners shall elect their own foreman, who shall act as intermediary between themselves and the administration. All complaints shall be entered in a book, which shall be placed in charge of the foreman, who shall see that the complaints are carried forward to the authorities. Any prisoner who shall display eagerness for his work shall be eligible for remission of sentence, etc."

Of course, I was well aware of these regulations, and yet I must say I was surprised to find how scrupulously and intelligently they were carried out. The camp which made the deepest impression on me was the Camp of St. John. Here the prisoners are subjected to a severer rule than elsewhere. For instance, they are not allowed to go and work in the neighboring town, a privilege that is granted in all the other camps. I spoke to practically all the prisoners who are living in this old monastery. As it was Sunday, the prisoners were not at work. They were in their rooms chatting, reading, writing, playing chess or dominoes, gathered round the fire. Not one complained of the food. Indeed, they receive a ration equal to the Red Army ration, when the soldiers are not actually on the fighting front. Bread, potatoes, oatmeal, cabbage, herrings, lentils, and fats, not to mention salt, sugar, and tobacco.

There are 424 prisoners in this camp, of whom

43 are women. The women have their own quarters. The governor was kindly to all; his manner, though not lacking in sternness, was very good-natured, I might say paternal. In fact, his pensioners say as much themselves. How lovingly and proudly he showed me the workrooms, smithies, the soldering, tinning, carpentering, book-binding, and tailoring shops. His main idea is to interest the prisoners in their work, and to set them to tasks for which they have a special liking.

I visited the bathrooms. Every day a medical inspection takes place. At the least sign of ill-health the invalid is placed in a hospital. I saw the library, which the prisoners themselves are responsible for, and which the Ministry for Education supplies with books. There is a theatre where the prisoners act plays, and the prisoners' dramatic society has been allowed to give per-

formances in other camps and also in town. The only thing lacking were warders! The prisoners within the camp enjoy absolute freedom.

Freedom combined with work; that is the method employed by the Soviet Republic to redeem these people. Very rarely have there been desertions. There is a punishment room, it is true. But it is always empty!

These are the conditions in St. John's Camp and in every other camp I visited. The only difference is that there is more freedom in the other camps. The prisoners may work in town, and may visit friends and relatives; they may receive delicacies in the way of food. I could tell much more about the prison system of the Republic, but you have now heard enough, I feel sure, to be convinced of the revolution that has taken place in this sphere as in so many others.

The World and Russia

The following editorial, appeared in the February 3 issue of "The Japan Weekly Chronicle," a periodical appearing at Kobe in English. In spite of the fact that the Trade Agreement between Russia and England has already been signed, the presentation of the value of relations between all the countries and Russia is nevertheless full of interest.

A TELEGRAM appeared two days ago concerning a new Anglo-Russian treaty which ushered in an event of enormous importance in a very ambiguous and casual manner. It spoke of the treaty as if it had already been concluded, and the comment of the *Times* and the *Daily Herald* seemed to refer to something done conclusively rather than to a mere proposal. If this be the case it only indicates something greatly wanting in the sense of news possessed by the principal news agencies, which gave us with wearisome repetition infinite detail on much less important matters. Yet such news ought to have preceded the making of peace with Germany, and it is now considerably over two years overdue. It might, indeed, be said to be more than three years overdue, for such a treaty would have prevented the shameful capitulation at Brest Litovsk—a compact far more disgraceful to the Allies than to the Russians upon whom it was forced. The promise in the new treaty in regard to treating Russia honorably and not seizing her goods and money like any highway robber is an illustration of how far we have sunk in honesty of international dealing. Six years ago it would have been considered insulting to mention such terms. Now it is the first and most necessary precaution. And this, along with the mention of Brest Litovsk brings to mind that by the terms of the Brest Litovsk Treaty there was a large sum in gold handed over to the Germans. By the terms of the Versailles Treaty this gold was handed over to the Allies. We hear a great deal about the Bolsheviks having stolen the gold and of how impossible it is to take such stolen wealth in payment for goods. It is curious that the immorality of taking it for nothing has never occurred to any Allied statesman.

The shameful sophistries and subterfuges by

which the blockade of Russia has been maintained have been duly noted from time to time in these columns. At the beginning of the winter of 1919 Mr. Lloyd George stated that the only blockade of Russia was the blockade of ice, and he hoped that the winter would bring serious thought to the Russians. Two winters have brought disease and death to the Russians, and at the end of the second we have a treaty promising to clear away the mines in the Baltic Sea! So there was a blockade of mines as well as of ice. Yet Mr. Lloyd George is, among prominent members of the British Government, the one most inclined to give Russia proper treatment. The mutual clause regarding propaganda is illuminating. We hear a great deal about Bolshevik propaganda in foreign countries, though it is strange that the only pro-Bolshevik propaganda we ever come across is published quite independently by the British Left Wing, which takes up the Soviet cause not because it likes Soviet methods, but from the natural British disposition to take the part of the unfairly treated side. But of British propaganda in Russia there has been a great deal, and it has done rather less than no good at all. It was started in Tsarist days, in order to keep war-weary Russians properly convinced that it was to their interest to go on fighting. Mr. Hugh Walpole was one of the propagandists, and the Russian novels that have resulted are about all the residue left that is of any value. The propaganda has continued functioning during both revolutions. It has even extended to the Far East. The *Vladivostok Echo* was a local symptom. We wonder how many British taxpayers know that many thousand pounds of their hard-earned money were spent on starting a newspaper in Vladivostok, with fine new rotary presses and plant complete—a

paper all very nicely printed, with the last page in English. The way in which it was handled brought discredit on several people, as we described in a leading article soon after it was suppressed by the British Commissioner himself (Sir Charles Eliot, now Ambassador in Tokyo), and it subsequently passed into the hands of the Japanese, and is now used, among other things, for disseminating their own propaganda. The story of the *Vladivostok Echo* is one that might well be made the subject of some searching questions in the House of Commons, as it was an entirely unwarrantable waste of British money and only helped to bring Britain into discredit in Siberia. Unless we are free to argue that British propaganda in Russia must be good while Russian propaganda in Britain must be bad, we shall find little to justify the complaints that have been made regarding the Bolshevik efforts to convert Britain. In the one case we have a newspaper established in a foreign country by the power of an invading military expedition, and in the other the surreptitious introduction of a few pamphlets seeking to set forth a case which is absolutely suppressed by the news agencies.

However, if the new Treaty has really come into being, we may hope that all this has passed into the region of history. Politically and economically the new arrangement, as set forth in the telegram, is an excellent and equitable one. It makes trade possible for the first time, and the only handle still left for the obstructionists is the provision that the new relations may be terminated if either side commits a breach of the agreement. This will lead, of course, to all kinds of manufactured charges about Bolshevik propaganda being carried on from St. Helena to Samoa, but if trade is once started it will not be easy to stop it. The possibilities of trade are considerable. Those who oppose reopening trade say that, after all, Russia has nothing to export. It is to their own shame if she has not. But their machinations have not altogether stripped the country. There is, for instance, a considerable sum in gold, the receipt of a portion of which in exchange for British goods would give a much needed help to exchange. An article on the Vanderlip Concessions published in the *Times* a list of the commodities with which Mr. Vanderlip was to supply Russia. His venture having been side-tracked, many of the orders for these will be transferred to Britain, and they will do a great deal to relieve the present unemployment and trade depression. Barter and concessions will also pay for much, and, impoverished as Russia has been by over three years of inhuman blockade and subsidized war, she still has resources, and her needs are so urgent that they will relieve the present paralysis of trade. Of course, there will be loud cries of "Perfidious Albion!" but the world really cannot be ruined for the sake of a few infatuated bondholders. It will be interesting to see what course the United States adopts in the matter. Past history makes it possible to minimize the importance of Russia to America, but business men there would be very quick to seize the opportunity of

handling Russian trade if it offered. There have been several announcements, not very much more sincere than previous British announcements, concerning the freedom of Americans to trade with Russia if they so desire, but the fear of dangerous thoughts is considerably more pronounced in America than it is in England, and the attitude of capitalist America towards Socialism is that of the mediæval monk towards the devil. While business interests have urged an opening of relations with Russia, fears of "redness" have checked action. But if Britain starts trading the sight of the profits going to England instead of to America will work an instantaneous cure, and there will be a demand for the resumption of relations. The throwing open again of the enormous area of Russia to the world's trade will not only help to relieve the present universal depression, but will make possible a real effort on the part of the League of Nations to adjust the world's financial situation. The greatest creditor countries will probably be asked to take some compensation for their debts, and the present impossible conditions may be set aside. The agreement, which seems inevitable now if not actually completed, is the most important since peace was signed as Versailles.

Krassin's Reply to the Labor Party

(The *Anti-Bolshevik weekly "Pour la Russie"* printed in Paris publishes on February 2, 1921, the following item concerning the "persecution" of Mensheviks and Trade Union leaders in Soviet Russia.)

We published in our last issue the letter addressed by the Labor Party to Krassin. Below is the answer of the latter. Krassin writes on December 28, 1920.

Dear Comrade: In your letter of November 19 you asked if it is true that the Soviet authorities have applied reprisals against persons and groups who furnished information to the British Workers' Delegation on the occasion of its stay in Moscow. You asked whether it is true:

1. That the Printers' Union at Moscow was disbanded by the Government and that this act was connected with a meeting held by the printers of Moscow on July 23, at which meeting three members of the British Delegation were present.

2. That as a result of opinions expressed in this printers' meeting, the Executive Committee of the Printers' Union was dissolved, a number of its members were arrested and imprisoned, and a new committee appointed by the Government, without obtaining either the consent or the cooperation of the printing workers;

3. That after the departure of the British Delegation, Abramovich, a member of the Social Democratic Party, was relieved of his functions by the Moscow Soviet, as a result of a speech delivered by him in the session of the Moscow Soviet, a session at which the British Delegation was pres-

ent; that two other members of the Social Democratic Central Committee were arrested, and that Dan, another member of the Central Committee was exiled from Moscow to Perm.

In answer to these questions we herewith state:

1. That it is impossible to confine ourselves to precise answers to these precise questions. The cases cited by you afford us an opportunity to illuminate one of the fundamental questions now engaging the attention of the Socialist world: the measures taken by the Soviet Government against persons and groups calling themselves Socialists;

2. The fact is that the Soviet Government, without ever concealing it, has always followed and is still continuing to follow unconstitutional methods in its struggle against actions of the counter-revolution, without consideration of the groups or persons taking part in them;

3. The Soviet Government, publicly carrying out in the eyes of the entire world, a struggle against counter-revolution, has often publicly explained the reason it considers certain groups as counter-revolutionary, in spite of their Socialist raiment, and the very painful necessity of occasionally taking repressive measures against former friends and revolutionists;

4. The Soviet Government is responsible to the working masses of Russia and to the world proletariat for the maintenance of the success of the Russian Socialist Revolution. This responsibility imposes upon it duties which are sometimes extremely painful and disagreeable, for instance, the necessity of arresting and imprisoning persons who call themselves Socialists, some of whom are comrade workers, or misled workers who have fallen into the meshes of the counter-revolution;

5. These duties imposed upon us by necessity awaken astonishment and disapproval in various sections of the foreign Socialist parties which are in these matters influenced by Russian citizens living abroad, claiming to be Socialists and revolutionists. We believe that this is the influence at work, up to a certain point, in the matter of the present letter of the British workers party. Now, neither the Russian citizens abroad, nor the British Labor party, have any responsibility for the success of the Russian Revolution;

6. The Soviet Government is not particularly concerned with the opinion of Russian citizens living in foreign countries. As for the opinion of the British Labor Party, or other foreign Labor and Socialist Parties, the Soviet Government cannot take them into consideration unless these opinions are expressed in the form of friendly advice or of a sincere surprise over certain facts. However, it refuses absolutely and categorically to accept any expressions of rebuke or censure that may be addressed to it from these quarters, as well as any attempt to exert an influence on the internal policy of the Soviets;

7. The Soviet Government is extremely desirous to maintain the best relations with the British Labor Party, and with other proletarian or semi-proletarian organizations. The Soviet Government is

extremely grateful to them for the support they have given to the cause of the Russian Revolution. It simultaneously considers that this support as far as the Soviet Government is concerned is not due to any measure that might for one reason or another not meet with the approval of these parties and organizations.

In any other case, the Soviet Government would not consider itself authorized to receive such support, since it considers, as is the case at present, that the sole organ having any right to impose conditions upon the Soviets and to make any complaints to them is the Russian working masses and the revolutionary organizations of the proletarian world.

To them, and to them only, the Soviet Government is responsible for its acts and measures, however great or slight may be their importance;

8. Now, as for your questions alleging that in the course of our relations with certain counter-revolutionary manifestations, we had deceived the members of the British Delegation.

To be sure we think that on this point you have a right to ask for explanations in order that you may be able to refute these allegations more energetically. We are convinced that you yourself have not given them any credence;

9. This being assumed we desire to inform you:

(a) That the reorganization of the Printers' Union and the arrest of several of the members of their executive committee has no relation at all with the visit of the British Delegation, but was due to a series of events going back a number of years;

(b) The dismissal of Abramovich by the members of his committee was due to the initiative of these members themselves, without any pressure or intimidation on the part of the Government. At bottom Abramovich's speech had the entire approval of the Government;

(c) The arrests were also entirely without any connection with the opinions expressed to the British Delegation. The same is the case with regard to Dan who was sent to Perm on sanitary service as a mobilized physician, at the same time that many Communist physicians were sent to the front.

(Signed) KRASSIN.

SEND US NAMES

SOVIET RUSSIA asks its readers to send the names and addresses of those who would be interested in receiving sample copies, with a view to subscribing.

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 West 40th St.,

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Books Reviewed

TRADE UNIONS IN SOVIET RUSSIA. Published by The Rand School.

The Russian trade unions have developed along distinctly original lines, both before and after the November Revolution. They have always insisted upon the fullest possible measure of political and economic freedom. They recognized no distinction between Tsarism and capitalism, seeing in both only different aspects of oppression. As a result they constituted a most effective and unwavering revolutionary force. After the seizure of power by the proletariat the unions were, of course, confronted with many novel and unprecedented problems.

An excellent summary of the forms and achievements of Russian trade unionism is contained in this collection of documents, compiled by the British Independent Labor Party Information Committee and the International Section of the Labor Research Department. The volume includes a historical sketch of the progress of labor organization in Russia up to the present time, by A. Lozovsky; a summary of the proceedings of the Third General Congress of Russian Trade Unions in March, 1920; Lenin's speech at this Congress; and data on the organization of several individual unions.

Under the Tsarist regime trade unions were proscribed and persecuted as revolutionary associations. Consequently they were unable to function effectively on a large scale, except for a short time during the 1905 Revolution. As usual the autocracy employed spies and provocateurs in its effort to crush the workers. The fearful massacre of "Bloody Sunday" was brought about by the activities of Father Gapon, who founded a number of unions at the instigation of the notorious Von Plehve.

Russian industries were rapidly and spontaneously unionized after the March Revolution. The organized workers soon became disillusioned with the vacillating, sterile, compromising policy of Kerensky and his various "coalition" cabinets; and, with very few exceptions, they cooperated heartily with the Soviets in the repression of the Kornilov mutiny and the establishment of the Soviet Republic.

As Lozovsky points out, the objects of the trade unions underwent a profound alteration after the November Revolution. The strike, formerly the chief weapon of labor in its struggle against oppression, now became an instrument in the hands of the dispossessed bourgeoisie, who attempted to undermine the workers' state by a consistent policy of sabotage. Such regulations as payment on a piece-work basis and the establishment of production standards, fiercely opposed by the workers under a capitalist regime, became recognized as legitimate and necessary emergency measures for the restoration of productivity under the Soviet system, where the workers receive the full value of their labor.

The trade unions have been practically transformed into organs of the Soviet Government. They have been given full power to fix and regulate wages, a function which they have certainly never before acquired in any country in the world. They are charged with the enforcement of labor discipline and the maintenance of production standards. They have steadfastly supported the Soviet Government in its struggle against counter-revolution and foreign invasion.

Membership in trade unions is now compulsory for Russian workers; and, according to the latest figures, the unions now include about five million members. The principle of industrial unionism is firmly established; and, according to the decision of the Third General Congress of Trade Unions, there are only twenty-three unions, uniformly organized in accordance with the principle of democratic centralization.

It is evident, both from Lozovsky's historical sketch and from the other information included in the book, that the Russian trade unions, under the most difficult and discouraging material conditions, have splendidly performed their task of liberating the workers and helping to establish the Soviet state upon a firm and enduring basis.

A. C. F.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A FOREIGN MINISTER. Memoirs of Alexander Iswolsky. Translated by Charles Louis Seeger. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co.

Mr. Iswolsky, by his own account, is a rather anomalous political figure: he is a Tsarist Liberal. He speaks with affectionate regard of the late Tsar; and his admiration for Mr. Stolypin is unbounded. He looks upon the Cadets as dangerous radicals; and relates as an instance of his own political courage that he once risked the Tsar's eternal disfavor by driving out with that mighty rebel, Mr. Milyukov.

But he hastens to assure us that he is no reactionary. On the contrary he was regarded with grave suspicion in Court circles on account of his bold ventures in liberalism. And, when the Tsar was compelled to form a Cabinet, Mr. Iswolsky tells us that he (in conjunction with Stolypin) constituted the left wing.

The author's constant and complacent representation of himself as a champion of advanced liberalism is not very flattering to his intellectual faculties. Yet occasionally he lets fall a word of shrewd and enlightening comment. So he blames Count Witte for stimulating Russian industry, on the ground that this policy was certain to lead to the creation of a revolutionary urban proletariat. On this point Iswolsky shows himself capable of a Marxian thought. Again he censures the officials who supervised the elections to the First Duma for admitting a large number of peasant delegates, on the mistaken theory that the peasants were loyal and devoted subjects of the Tsar. He observes that the peasants were chiefly interested in securing possession of the land; and in this comment he shows himself wiser than the romanticists who still profess to believe in the possibility of the subversion of the Soviet power by an uprising of peasants bent upon restoring monarchy and landlordism.

There are striking banalities in the book. Nicholas II, organizer of Bloody Sunday, murderer and torturer of thousands of his subjects, is depicted as a lovable and sympathetic character. The author tells how the Tsar showed great concern after an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate his chief hangman, Stolypin. And, without a trace of irony, he appends the following comment:

"Having been a witness of the attitude of Nicholas II on this occasion and several others of the same nature, I am able to qualify as absolutely false the accusations that have been made against him as being strangely insensible to the sufferings of others."

Mr. Iswolsky boasts of his work in helping to construct the Triple Entente, an imperialistic alliance whose chief fruits, for Russia, were enslavement by French capital and the slaughter of millions of her ill-equipped soldiers in the War. It is with a feeling of deep relief and thankfulness that one turns away from Iswolsky's record of Court gossip, scrambling for places, and diplomatic intrigues, and views the new Russia, so splendidly typified in the Eighth Congress of Soviets, an assembly of workers and peasants which has neither the time nor the taste for sterile political contests, which singlemindedly devotes itself to the great and noble task of building up the free Russian Socialist Commonwealth.

A. C. F.

WINNIPEG, LONDON, MOSCOW. — A STUDY OF BOLSHEVISM, by Wallis Walter Lefaux (Assistant to Defense Council Winnipeg Seditious Conspiracy—General Strike Trials 1919—1920). Published by the Canadian Workers Defense League, Winnipeg, Canada, 1921. 77 pages.

A note on the cover of this pamphlet informs us that "Mr. Lefaux visited Europe and Soviet Russia entirely on his own initiative and at his own expense in order to obtain some truthful information upon Bolshevism." His visit apparently covered the summer and early autumn of 1920, and followed closely upon a stop in London, made in order to

present the case of the Winnipeg strikers to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The relation between the visits to London and Russia is not clearly brought out, with the result that the letter is left somewhat without motivation in the pages of the pamphlet.

Separate chapters are devoted to impressions of Petrograd and Moscow, and attention is called to the frequently recorded superiority of local organizations in Petrograd to those of Moscow. The population of the former "has dropped to about 800,000, owing partly to the elimination of a non-productive element which is not altogether a loss to the community, partly to the withdrawal of a number of the best men for the army." An interesting note that we have never seen before is the following:

"An Englishman, Clare, Professor of Languages at Petrograd University, suggested to the Municipal Service Department of the Petrograd Soviet that every house should be compelled to install an electric light over the street number plate. The suggestion was adopted. I saw no houses without it. Maybe London and New York will some day follow the example of Petrograd."

The pamphlet of personal observation always gains much from concrete statements of this kind, and it is in this kind of definite data that Mr. Lefeaux's pages excel. In fact, we are so well impressed with the newness and the importance of information he gives on one subject (that of medical education in Soviet Russia), that we shall reprint in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA the few paragraphs covering it.

J. W. H.

NEW HYGIENIC EFFORTS

Moscow, March 8.

In the province of Moscow 53 sanatoria with 1000 beds are in operation. Of these sanatoria, 19 are for tuberculosis patients, while the others are for patients suffering from other diseases. 12 sanatoria are for the treatment and care of convalescent children. Eighty per cent of all accommodations are at the disposal of the trade union organizations; of these three-quarters are for manual workers; 15 per cent for the families of workers organized in trade unions, with eventually vacant accommodations to be allotted to the families of non-organized workers; 5 per cent are reserved for the rest of the population. The assignment of free accommodations is made by the Medical Commission under the supervision of the trade unions. On the average 500 patients are received each month in these sanatoria. In addition a number of new institutions are being established, and those already in existence, extended.

From the Vienna Edition of *Rosta*.

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Prostitution and the Young Proletarian

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY

(The following clear and able discussion of the causes of prostitution, differing in its interpretation from the works of professional sociologists who have treated this subject before, and who very often overlook the important economic element, appeared in a recent issue of "L'Internazionale della Gioventu", published at Rome.)

PROSTITUTION is without doubt one of the most important problems for the Soviet Republic and for youth in general. Prostitution is the evil heritage of capitalist society and no one has a greater interest than has the youth of the proletariat in abolishing this curse.

Some young comrades are of the erroneous opinion that prostitution weighs only on women and girls, but this is not entirely true.

While it is true that prostitution has as its chief victims the female sex, it is also nevertheless a source of suffering for men too. The existence and spread of venereal diseases—with their destructive influence on body and mind—is intimately and indissolubly connected with prostitution.

These diseases find their victims among women as well as among men. There is nothing more terribly impressive than to see a young man who only yesterday was physically strong, proud of bearing, and full of a high youthful idealism, and who today, because of contact with a prostitute, is physically contaminated and deprived of all his ideals.

Prostitution is not only a great peril for the body, but stronger and more pernicious still is the venom it leaves in the souls of those that serve it. What thing is more humiliating than the traffic in love? It exercises a pernicious influence both on the individual who sells herself as well as on him who purchases. How correct was the feeling of those working women who during a demonstration

at Moscow held aloft banners with the inscription: "The women, the free and equal women citizens of the Soviet Republic, must not be objects of purchase and sale!" The same slogan should also be raised by the proletarian young men, who should see to it that this terrible blot of the old capitalist world shall disappear absolutely in Soviet Russia.

But, we may be asked by many proletarian young men: how shall we struggle against prostitution, how annihilate it? To answer this question it is necessary to know the cause of prostitution.

Capitalist society tolerates prostitution. With its Christian morality, it explains that there always must exist young men with innate criminal inclinations, and that it will be in vain to expend any energy attempting to prevent certain women from seeking the vice which will render them perpetually enslaved. "There exists no remedy against this evil," said the pharisees of the school of the Italian scientist Lombroso, "prostitution has always existed and always will exist."

This bourgeois interpretation of prostitution contradicts all the experience of history and life. The bourgeois interpretation suggests to us a number of questions, for example, these: How is it that so great a number of these perverse and criminal "individualities" appears just at the moment when a country is under the influence of war, of unemployment, of poverty, and hunger? How is it that under the Tsarist regime the agents of the white slave trade found the greatest number of "licentious creatures"

precisely in those provinces of Russia in which the crops had been poorest and hunger was therefore greatest? How is it that the number of prostitutes increases with the increase of unemployment? And finally, how is it that you find among prostitutes so many orphans, so many deserted women, who are unprotected, and very rarely daughters of well-to-do people? What is the cause of the existence of prostitution? These hundreds of thousands of young women in the capitals of Europe—Berlin, Vienna, Paris—are they so constituted that they are predestined to serve the caprices of the male sex? If this were the case, you ought to find among prostitutes a proportionate number of women of all social classes. But such is not the case. Statistics show that 80 per cent of the prostitutes are daughters of poor parents, most of them daughters of workmen, themselves young working women or poorly paid employees. The cause of prostitution is therefore not in the peculiar nature of the sexual tendencies of certain young women—it is necessary to bear in mind that prostitution means the sale of the body—but in the unjust, oppressive, and hard conditions of society. In most cases the prostitutes sell their bodies, just as the workmen sell their productive power, for the purpose of obtaining means of subsistence. The white slave trade and prostitution are intimately related with the supply and demand of labor, in other words, with capitalism.

Another cause of prostitution is also connected with the injustice of capitalist society, namely, the lack of interest shown in the moral and intellectual development of the young working woman. The third cause must not be forgotten. It is the corrupt and hypocritical bourgeois morality which considers a certain line of conduct as a manifestation of vigor in a man and of crime in a woman. Once these causes have been understood, the Communist proletarian youth will be able to wage the struggle against prostitution.

The economic causes have for the greater part been eliminated in Soviet Russia, thanks to the transformation of labor and the substitution of Communist modes of work for those of capitalism. They will disappear absolutely once the war is liquidated and the internal conflicts disposed of. Russia will be able to create such riches and to produce generous portions of so many varieties of commodities as will satisfy the needs of all citizens.

The elimination of the remaining causes of prostitution is incumbent upon the Communist young people. The Young Communist organization should above all, by means of its propaganda activity, awaken in general an intellectual interest on the part of the young people, and particularly an interest in political questions, and work with all its strength for the education of the mind. The same great energy should be devoted to the struggle against the hypocritical bourgeois morality. The proletarian youth should and will bring about a condition in which the same demands will be imposed both on women and on men, and the same rights granted to women that are now asked by men for themselves.

The struggle against prostitution is incontestably one of the most important tasks of the Young Communist organization. The struggle against prostitution above all involves the elimination of the remnants of the capitalist period. The struggle against prostitution is the struggle against all inequality and consequently against inequality between the sexes. As soon as healthy relations of companionship can be established between young men and young women their reciprocal confidence and esteem will be greatly augmented, to the great advantage of their common revolutionary activity, and the dreadful plague of prostitution will disappear more rapidly in Soviet Russia. The complete victory of Communism is the surest method to cause the disappearance from human society of prostitution, that baleful spectre of the cursed past.

The Social Basis of the November Revolution

By E. PREOBRAZHENSKY

(The author of this article is one of the theoreticians of the Russian Communist Party whose name has become well-known outside of his native country owing to the fact that, together with N. Bukharin, he is the author of the much translated "A. B. C. of Communism.")

ONCE the November Revolution was accomplished, all the opponents of the Soviet power agreed in declaring that the Bolsheviks were only a very small minority of the population, that their success, due only to accident, would be of short duration, that moreover the new government would fall in less than fifteen days. Three years of Soviet Power have sufficiently revealed the lack of seriousness, the fundamental weakness of the sociology of the Cadets and the Mensheviks. Henceforth it will be useless to contradict the so-called "scientific analysis" of the Martovs, the Chernovs, and Kautskys, as well as the optimistic prophecies of the news-manufacturers of Paris.

They have sufficiently expiated their thoughtlessness. But for our own purposes, we should get before us a very clear idea of the social factors to which we owe the victory of the forces which occasioned the downfall of the counter-revolution.

Aside from the workers, it was the soldiers who took one of the most active parts in the November Revolution. By the soldiers, we mean the peasants mobilized by Tsarism. The peasants at that time had not yet divided along class lines. The poor peasants as well as the middle and rich peasants, all participated not only in the overthrow of the big land-holders in the villages, but also helped to bring about the fall of the power of the

bourgeoisie of the cities. It is thus that during the first stage of the struggle—the most important—the Soviet power was based not only upon the whole proletariat, but further upon all the peasants. It is this which conferred to the movement the powerful force of a hurricane, which swept away all the organized elements of the regime of the big landholders.

This peculiarity of the Russian Revolution will not be encountered in the West. There, in the first phase of the Revolution the peasantry will participate, but in conflicting directions. On one wing it will support the proletariat which attacks the present system, and on the other, probably the larger wing, it will support the counter-revolution.

Now comes the second stage in our struggle. The class of rich peasants breaks away from the Soviet power. The grain is to be divided among the population; there is the necessity of repulsing the attacks of the Cossack generals and of the Czecho-Slovaks. The middle peasant, the largest part of the working population, had not chosen which road to follow. The summer of 1918 was the most critical period in the existence of the Soviets. The course of the Revolution depended upon the decisions which the middle peasant would make. The working class and the poor peasant at one pole, the rich peasant, the officers, and the bourgeoisie supported by foreign capital at the other pole, were two forces of equal weight, or rather the second force surpassed the first. The middle peasant of the famine-stricken provinces and the peasant of Central Russia went over to the side of the Soviet Government; the middle peasant of the regions of the Volga and of Siberia followed his example, profiting by his hard experience with the Kolchak regime. This fact decided the issue of the struggle in favor of the Revolution. Consequently the downfall of Denikin is sufficient proof that the worker-peasant state, based on the union of the proletariat with eighty per cent of the peasants, can no longer have a competitor for power within the limits of Russia.

If we examine the military force of the Revolution, the Red Army, we will see that it is based on the union of the proletariat with the poor peasant and the middle peasant, a union in which the proletariat leads.

This union of the workers and the middle peasants was at the same time an economic union. Without the bread of the peasant we would never have been able to conquer our enemies, nor would we have succeeded in restoring our disorganized industries. After the rich peasants had been expropriated to a great extent, after the greater part of the poor peasants had been transformed into middle peasants at the expense of the rich peasants, the middle peasants became the basis of our supplies of provisions in wheat and other grains, the basis of mobilization for work. To preserve this union on an economic basis, is a question of prime importance for the Soviet Government.

The union of the worker and the middle peasant

which assured the victory of the Soviet power in the three years of Civil War, this union will also assure the victory of the November Revolution on the economic front where great struggles are still to be expected. We realize that foreign capitalists, who finally understood why our peasants did not join Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel, will do their utmost to separate the peasant part of the population from the proletariat with the help of the Social Revolutionists of the Right (Savinov and others); they will seek to organize an alliance of the peasants with European capital after the defeat of Wrangel. These efforts will not succeed; the paying off of foreign debts amounting to sixteen billions in gold, considering the disorganization of our industries, would fall on the shoulders of these same peasants. The union with the proletariat exempts the peasant from this obligation; union with the Social Revolutionists and European capital presupposes this obligation.

As long as capital will rule in the countries of Europe, as long as it will threaten to transform Russia into one of its colonies, to seize our bread and raw material, and to rob the peasant of the results of his toil, the November Revolution will have a strong foundation in the union of worker and peasant under the direction of the proletariat.

In Next Week's

Soviet Russia

LITERATURE AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, by Lebedev-Poliansky. Shows how rich has been the productivity of Russian writers since the Revolution, as well as how complete the effort to circulate the literary treasures of the past.

THE LAST SLAVE, by Alexandra Kollontay. The author of "Prostitution and the Young Proletarian" (in this issue) discusses the social liberation of the Oriental woman as a result of the influence of the Soviet Government.

LEONID KRASSIN ON THE RUSSIAN-ENGLISH TRADE AGREEMENT; followed by the complete official text as signed in London.

THE FRENCH PROLETARIAT AND THE NEW ONSLAUGHT, by Pierre Pascal. Addressing his fellow-workers from his present home in Moscow, Pascal points out their duty to the Russian proletariat in view of France's new efforts to crush Soviet Russia.

A Petersburg Arcadia

By JOHN S. CLARKE

THERE are something like forty islands between Petersburg and the Finnish Gulf, breaking the Neva up into a delta of delight. One of the most beautiful is called Kamenny Ostrov, immortalized in the music of Chaikovsky, a dream-island of green foliage, flowing water, and white palaces. Before the Revolution the quiet of Kamenny Ostrov was disturbed only by the whirr of the aristocratic and bourgeois automobiles, or by the boom of the solitary one o'clock gun fired from the battery of Peter and Paul. As a residential reservation it was more inaccessible to the working class than the interior of a Park Lane mansion is. Now it belongs to the workers, and the cream and white palaces, winter gardens, flower and vegetable beds, orchards, and recreation grounds are cared for in the interests of the toilers of Petersburg. This was Zorin's idea, to make the island into a "Home of Rest" whereon at least three or four hundred workers, men and women, are privileged to enjoy a month's, or at the very least a fortnight's, holiday every year.

We drove there by road, returned by steamboat, went back by boat and returned again by road. This in order to visit the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul which stands upon "Hare" Island, and because our food was already prepared for us at our home in Petersburg.

Kerensky's war minister, Savinkov I believe, had a large imposing white palace on the island. We were taken through it. The walls decorated with tapestry of heroic design, the statuary, library, and paintings all spoke too eloquently of the reason for the feverish desire of its owner to crush the proletarian movement. How anyone can imagine for one moment that such luxuries will be relinquished to the people without their possessors showing determined fight, is a problem I have never been able to solve. Here every fortnight during the summer months seventy-four workers are housed, nursed, fed, waited upon, and entertained. The food, under present conditions, is superior to the everyday food of the city. It is also well varied. I asked the keeper of the palace how the guests behaved themselves, unaccustomed as they were to living under such luxurious circumstances. "At first," he said, "they forgot to exercise care, they spat on the floors and damaged one or two articles; then I arranged to give each visiting group a short address on their social obligation to protect the property of the people, so that their comrades could participate in the pleasures they were at present enjoying, and it worked wonders."

No members of the cultured aristocracy could be more scrupulous in the care of the palace and its grounds than these humble Petersburg holiday-makers. They cultivate the ground in springtime, weed and water the growing crops, and collect the

harvests in their order. There are spacious winter gardens housing all kinds of tropical plants, ferns, and palm trees, some among the scarcest obtainable. Five minutes' walk from the palace takes one to the theatre—the gigantic open-air theatre copied from the Greek model. The stage stands at the edge of a wood on the very shore of a lake. On the other side of the lake opposite the stage a huge wooden amphitheatre gives seating accommodation to 12,000 spectators. The orchestra sits upon a platform somewhat below the level of the stage and almost level with the waters of the lake, and as the performers enrich the woodland air with sweet sounds, the swans and ducks austere swim back and forth not the least interested members of the audience. The opera was "Pagliacci" on this particular Sunday evening—much to my sorrow, for I had seen it so often. However, I had never seen it produced in natural setting, and before many minutes were over what I imagined promised to be a ridiculous fiasco was chaining me to my seat with enchantment.

Here before our eyes began to unfold that rural tragedy of love-intrigue and jealousy just as it might have occurred in the Calabrian village before Leoncavallo dramatized it. Out of the woods crawled a donkey dragging a cart filled with "props." Some very ordinary men in a perfectly natural manner began to erect a "penny gaff." While they were at it one of them disappeared, to reappear in a few minutes up a tree. Standing upright on the bough holding the trunk with one hand, he burst forth with a deep rich voice, which reverberated through the wood and across the lake, the story of the "Prologue." In a clearing at the side of the forest, and beyond the trees, amorous young couples strolled and sat, children skipped, and old folks trudged unconcernedly. Tonio came down from his tree and began to bang his drum most peremptorily. Out of the fields and woods ran the people to find out what the pother was about. Before them appeared Canio, the boss showman, with a hammer in his hand, who broke forth with his melodious little song, "This evening at seven, at seven this evening."

When Canio and his party went off, Tonio, bent on treachery, insisted on staying behind to "groom the donkey." He groomed a real donkey, and while busy at it Nedda chose an opportune moment to sing the glorious "Balatelle"—opportune because during the meditative pause preceding it the real birds in the trees above her began an opera of their own. She looked up to them, and sent forth her beautiful melody of desire, while Tonio led his donkey back to the field. He returned to interrupt her singing at its most ecstatic point with his obnoxious love-making. It was all so wonderfully real.

When Canio chased his wife's lover it was a

genuine cross-country sprint, which Beppe won through his agility in leaping hedges and ditches. Poor old Canio crawled back and sang "On with the Motley," but, unlike our Canios, he dressed himself in his motley as he sang. Usually our Canios have it already on before they sing "on with it."

Then Tonio went off to beat his noisy drum again among the trees, and the crowd gathered. Real peasants. Not dressed up as Italians, but just everyday Russian peasants, workers, and Red soldiers. They strolled from different directions and squatted down before the little tent. The play within a play commenced—by Tonio, now attired as a clown, making Catherine wheels and turning somersaults with the basket of viands in his hands. At the climax of the play, when Canio killed the lovers, the horror-stricken peasants jumped to their feet and carried the bodies out of sight.

The singing was superb, for the artists were in the open air and quite fifty yards from their auditors, and had to do their very utmost to ensure success. Fully 12,000 people saw this performance—Sunday evening—yet within fifteen minutes, the vast audience had melted away.

Besides Kamenny Ostrov there are four other islands in the immediate vicinity of the fortress named Krestovsky, Petrovsky, Yelaginsky, and Apothecary Island. Almost every kind of architecture may be studied in these one-time secluded haunts of the aristocracy—Greek of all orders, Italian, Gothic, Saracenic, and ancient Russian. Primeval-looking woods, scattered in green meadows through which little streamlets rush into the wide reaches of the river, and clumps of stunted willows on the water's edge, give the islands a jungle-like appearance. It is an almost unique experience to stand on the deck of a little fuel boat and look down upon the imposing city from mid-stream, and then in the twinkling of an eye disappear into a jungle backwater with scarce a sign of civilization around or about. Returning by boat we arrived at the terrible Bastille of St. Peter and St. Paul, where the first sod was dug in the building of Petersburg. The bastions are six in number and the gateways four. The church from which the golden spire—the "needle"—arises was the burial place of the Romanovs, as St. Michael's in the Kremlin was of the former Tsars. The "casemates" of the prison are horrifying dungeons, with slots two or three inches wide for windows, and far below the level of the water.

The first victim claimed by the dungeons of Peter and Paul was Alexis, the son and heir of Peter the Great. Detesting his father, he swore to undo his work when he became Tsar, and actually led one revolt against his father. The actual manner of his death is uncertain, but every historian is agreed that his father, Peter the Great, caused him to be tortured to death—thereby proving himself a more brutal monster than Ivan the Terrible, who also killed his eldest son, but suddenly and in anger. Later, Peter's granddaughter, the very unfortunate Princess Tarakanova, was trapped by

the rising waters of the Neva in her dungeon and drowned. She was there because she stood in the path of the ambitious and lecherous Catherine the Second. Prior to 1879 all political prisoners of the "dangerous" category were incarcerated in this foul prison—in the portion known as the Troubetsky Bastion or "Ravelin of Alexis," already grim with the tragedies of Alexis and Tarakanova. There are nineteen forbidding cells, and most of them are flooded by the river whenever it rises a trifle higher than usual. The gallery where the executions took place is so constructed that volley after volley of rifle-fire can be discharged without the slightest noise being heard without the fortress. One woman imprisoned in this bastion went insane through the loss of sleep occasioned by the constant protection she had to bestow upon her baby to save it from being killed and eaten by the vicious rats which abound in the dungeons. In this part of the fortress both Bakunin and Kropotkin were entombed. Everyone appears to harbor the belief that Kropotkin escaped from the Peter and Paul fortress, but it is quite false. His celebrated escape took place after he was removed from the fortress and taken to the Nicholas Hospital. In the narrative of his escape he writes:

"The firm determination to escape at all hazards never left me from the first day of my arrest. *But if there is anything impossible in the world, it is to escape from the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul.*"

Kropotkin's Flight

The story of his plans and ruses, and the means employed by his friends to liberate him after he was transferred to the Nicholas Hospital, may be found in Stepniak's "Underground Russia" and in Kropotkin's own "Memoirs of a Revolutionist." I believe both books are now completely out of print, and because fresh public interest has been aroused through the death of the old scientist-revolutionary, I have been requested to tell the story of his escape, which took place in 1876. From every point of view I cannot do better than reprint Kropotkin's own narrative:

"The doctor ordered me daily exercise, and about one o'clock I was taken into the large courtyard of the hospital. A sentinel, musket in hand, was always by my side.

"I began to take close note of everything, so as to draw up my plans.

"The courtyard was large. The gate, ordinarily shut, was then open; for at that period of the year (it was July) the hospital was taking in its supplies of wood for the winter. As this, however, would last only a few weeks, no sentinel had been placed at the gate. It was a great advantage.

"I walked up and down at the bottom of the courtyard, exactly opposite the gate. The sentinel was always near, between me and the gate. As, however, I walked more slowly than a tortoise, which, as is well known, wearies a vigorous man more than he would be wearied by leaps and bounds, the soldier had recourse to the following

stratagem: he followed a line parallel to mine, but five paces nearer the gate. He was thus able to make his walk ten paces longer than mine, for at each extremity of his line, he was always at the same distance from the gate as I was at the extremity of my line.

"This calculation, which the sentinel evidently made with his eye, was absolutely correct theoretically. I, however, had thought that if once we both began to run, the soldier by a natural instinct, would endeavor to seize me as quickly as possible, and would therefore rush upon me, instead of running directly to the gate to cut off my retreat. He would thus describe two sides of the triangle, of which I should describe the third alone.* Upon this point thus I had an advantage. I might hope to reach the gate before the sentinel running at the same speed. I hoped, however, to run faster, but was not certain of it, being much weakened by illness.

"If a vehicle were waiting at the gate for me, so that I could easily jump into it, I said to myself I should have a good chance of escaping.

"When I was about to send a letter to my friends containing the outlines of my plan, I received another from them on the same subject. I began a correspondence. I need not relate the various plans and projects proposed and abandoned, there were so many. Several questions had to be settled; whether my friends should enter the courtyard as they proposed, and engage in some way or other the attention of the sentinel; whether the vehicle should await me at the gate, or at the corner of the hospital, where it would not be so much in sight; whether one of our party should post himself there, or the driver should remain alone.

"I proposed the most simple and natural plan, which was finally adopted. The vehicle should await me at the gate, because I felt too weak to run as far as the corner. An intimate friend proposed to post himself there to assist me, if necessary, in getting in more quickly, and especially in dressing me directly afterwards, as I should be compelled to escape with scarcely anything on except my trousers and shirt.

"All we had to cover us in the hospital was an invalid's dressing-gown. It was so large, so inconvenient, and so long, that in walking I was obliged to carry my train upon my arm. To run in such a garb was absolutely impossible. It must be thrown off at all hazards before I could take to my heels. But this must be done with the rapidity of lightning, for a single moment lost might ruin all. For many days in succession I practised this performance in the cell. I found that to do it with the utmost possible celerity, the operation must be divided into three elementary movements, like the musketry exercise of soldiers—one, two, three.

"The greatest difficulty remained: the selection of the moment. This depended upon the condition of the streets through which we had to pass.

A string of wood carts, a detachment of passing soldiers, a mounted Cossack might upset the attempt, especially as the streets through which we had to pass were very narrow and winding. They must therefore be watched, and I must be informed when they were free from all obstacles. For this purpose sentinels had to be placed at four different points. The fifth sentinel, receiving information from the four others, had to give me the decisive signal at the proper moment. The signal was to be an air-ball, which would ascend at a given spot behind the high wall of the courtyard in which I took exercise.

"I had also proposed to place a sixth sentinel at the corner of a lane a little beyond, because, according to my calculations, this very narrow lane was so long, that a vehicle being in it at the moment of our departure would infallibly have stopped our progress. It could not reach the end while we were passing from the gate of the hospital to the entrance of this lane. As men were few, however, we did without this sixth sentinel.

"On the day fixed I went to take my exercise, full of hope and excitement. I looked again and again towards that part of the wall where the red air-ball was to ascend. Nothing was to be seen. My time was drawing to an end; still nothing. It ended, and with it my hopes. With the impressionable imagination of a prisoner, I gave way to the gloomiest conjectures. I felt convinced that everything had broken down.

"Nothing much, however, had happened. By a singular chance a red air-ball could not be found anywhere in the Gostini Dvor, or in any of the toyshops, though a whole morning had been spent in looking for one. Only white and blue balls could be had, which my friends would not take, and with good reason; for no change whatever, however insignificant, it may appear, is ever permitted in signals. They hurriedly purchased a red india-rubber ball in a gutta-percha shop, and filled it with gas of their own manufacture. But the ball turned out so badly, that at the proper moment when the sentinel let go the string, instead of rising high into the air it went up only a few yards and fell to the ground before reaching the top of the courtyard wall. The sentinel in frenzy endeavored to throw it up with his hands, but this was even less successful.

"To this fortuitous circumstance I owed many hours of torture, and, at the same time, my safety; for at the moment when the ball was sent up into the air, a long string of wood carts entered the lane of which I have spoken where no sentinel had been placed. They would infallibly have stopped our progress, and all would have been lost.

"Another interval followed for the necessary correspondence in order to arrange the modifications, which were indispensable. Another sentinel was posted, naturally, at the entrance of the lane. But this required a modification of the entire plan, as there were no means of combining the signals of all the five sentinels outside the wall of the courtyard so as to give me the decisive signal.

*Of course the mode of explanation characteristic of a mathematician, which impressed me when I heard it.

Either additional sentinels would have to be introduced for the mere transmission of the signals, or the decisive signal would have to be changed.

"The latter expedient was chosen.

"One of our party hired a room on the third story directly opposite the hospital. From the window could be seen not only all the five sentinels, but the courtyard also, where I took exercise. The signal was to be given to me by means of a violin, which my friend was to play whenever all the signals were favorable, and the music was to cease when any of them became unfavorable. This mode also presented the great advantage of indicating to me repeatedly the favorable time for flight, leaving to me the selection of the proper moment.

"The first day, when everything was ready and the vehicle already awaited me at the gate, it was I who caused my friends some cruel moments; my illness increased, and I felt so weak that I did not dare to make the attempt. I did not even go down, therefore, into the courtyard, and they thought that the suspicions of the police had been aroused, and that I was no longer to be allowed to take exercise.

"I recovered in two days and resolved to profit by the interval which my illness had given me.

"I prepared everything; the shoes, the dressing-gown, which required a little ripping-up in order to be thrown off more quickly—everything.

"I went to take my exercise. No sooner had I entered the courtyard than I heard the violin. The music lasted for five minutes, but I did not care to profit by it immediately, for at first the surveillance instinctively is always somewhat greater. But lo! the violin stopped. Two minutes afterwards some carts with wood entered the courtyard. The violin recommenced.

"This time I was determined to turn it to account. I looked at the sentinel; he was walking along his usual line, some five paces distant, between me and the gate. I looked at his musket. It was loaded; I knew it. Would he fire or not? Probably not, because I, being so near, he would rather wish to seize hold of me. His bayonet was more dangerous, in case, during this long run, my strength failed me. I had, however, already made my calculations even upon this point. If I remained in prison I was certain to die. 'Now or never,' I said to myself. I seized my dressing gown. . . . One! . . .

"But lo! the violin ceased.

"I felt as though I should drop.

"A moment afterwards, however, the music recommenced; a patrol at that very moment had passed through one of the lanes.

"Directly the sentinel reached the extremity of his line, without a moment's pause I threw off my dressing gown with three well-practiced movements, and—I was off like an arrow. The sentinel, with a howl, rushed at me to seize me, instead of running straight to the gate to prevent my escape, and thus described his two sides of the triangle, as I

foresaw. I was so weak, however, that those who saw our desperate race from above said that the soldier was within three paces of me, and that his bayonet, which he thrust forward, was within an ace of touching me. This, however, I did not see. I only heard his howling and that of the carters who were unloading the wood at the bottom of the courtyard.

"On reaching the gate I saw a vehicle; but for a moment I was in doubt whether it was ours, for I could not recognize my friend in the officer who was on the alert in the street. To make him turn round I clapped my hands, to the surprise of the friends who were observing the scene. It was taken as a sign of joy. The officer turned round. I recognized him, and in less time than it takes to say these words I was inside the vehicle, which went off like a flash of lightning, and I was wrapped in a military cloak which my friend had in readiness, as well as an officer's cap.

"At the hospital, as we afterwards learned, an incredible uproar followed. The officer of the guard hastened out with his soldiers, at the shouts of the sentinel. Completely losing his head, he tore his hair, and exclaimed:

"I am ruined! I am ruined! Run after him. Follow him. Follow him.'

"He was incapable, however, of giving any orders. One of our party, the signalman, the very one who played the violin, hastily descended into the street, and approaching the officer, began to exhibit the utmost compassion for the state he was in, actually asking him what had happened, who had escaped, how, when, where, etc. The frenzied officer tried to reply to him, and thus lost precious time.

"An old woman gave a terrible piece of advice.

"'They will go a roundabout way,' she said, 'and then make straight for the Nevski. There can't be a doubt about it. Take out the horses from these omnibuses (there were some at the hospital gate), and cut off their escape. It is the simplest thing possible.'

"This was exactly the course we were adopting, but the old crone's advice was not followed."

RUSSIA'S FAITH

Reason and heart have found their coronal,
The shrine made steadfast and the worship light;
Now faith is fair and strong as the mid-azure sun.
The birth has been, the marvel buds and blooms;
Its perfume stills the ravages of the world,
And thrives in blast and thunder.
Slowly the living grace shall lift its head
And with clear eyes look out upon the earth;
Then when all men have seen, they too will turn
To thee, fair land, and worship in thy faith.

RALPH GORDON.

The New Wireless Telephone

By A. M. LYUBOVICH

(The Russian proletariat can be congratulated on a great new victory on the labor front. The laurels this time must be given to one of the inventors of the Russian wireless telephone, who appears to have broken the world's record. The author of this article, A. M. Lyubovich, is a representative of the People's Commissar for Post and Telephone, who has been particularly interested in this new development.)

The successes of which our wireless investigators are rightly so proud were preceded by long and arduous preparatory labors, most of which were carried out at the wireless laboratory of Nizhni-Novgorod. The labors in the field of wireless telephone began during the second half of the preceding year, after experiments in the laboratory which had taken place early in the year, and which showed that the question had been solved in principle.

It was our hope to have the wireless telephone in operation at the Khodynsk Station by the first of May, the proletarian holiday, but this intention was frustrated by a number of circumstances: the glass-blower who was the only specialist we have in this field, was taken sick with typhus, and besides this a short-circuit intervened at the electrical station of Nizhni-Novgorod, and moreover we had no naphtha gas, which is indispensable for the manufacture of bulbs. These obstacles were not eliminated until August of last year, and in that month a set of lamps was prepared. The first experiments were made at the Nizhni-Novgorod Wireless station; they resulted in the attaining of a radius of 600 versts* within which conversations could be heard. Thereupon the experiments were continued at the Khodynsk station, resulting in the attaining of a radius of 900 versts. But after these experiments were concluded the only available set of lamps was burned out. Only in December, just before the Eighth Soviet Congress, we succeeded in manufacturing several sets of lamps, and systematic attempts at the Khodynsk station could be continued.

On December 16, we again took up the wireless telephone work. The first news we received indicated that our wireless telephone conversations were audible in Baku, Samara, Viatka, and a number of stations nearer to us. The experiments of the second day showed that the wireless telephone was audible as far as Tashkent (2600 versts) and Semipalatinsk (2800 versts), besides we received a number of communications from the great wireless stations of European Russia, which informed us that our conversations had been heard. It developed also that the greater or less audibility of our conversations depends on the technical equipment of the receiving station. We also received news from Omsk, Sebastopol, Astrakhan, and Yekaterinburg. In many places the Chairmen of the Provincial Executive Committees were called to the wireless telephone, in Omsk the representa-

tive of the Chairman of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee, in order that they might be informed of our first great efforts; in addition, in many places local subscribers were connected with the wireless receiving station and thus were enabled to hear in their own homes how our wireless telephone was functioning.

Each new day brought much news from various places showing that our wireless station had perhaps attained the world's record. Thus on December 18 and 19 we already received telegrams informing us that the conversation had been heard at Novo-Nikolaievsk, Irkutsk (4000 versts), then as far as Chita (4500 versts) which was much more than we had had any reason to expect, as we had been counting on a maximum of about 2500 versts. This makes it seem likely that we shall be able now to pass on from the period of experiment to that of regular daily work, and we hope in the next few weeks to be able to improve the technical apparatus of the receiving station and to set up further wireless receiving stations at boundary points.

At present we are approaching the concrete solution of the task which the People's Commissar for Post and Telegraph has set us, and on which the Nizhni-Novgorod wireless laboratory is now working, namely, to bring about a spoken newspaper such as is described by Wells in his novel "When the Sleeper Awakes." For a number of comparatively near points, those within a radius of five or six hundred versts from Moscow this is now already possible, for if the wireless telephone is connected with a megaphone, it is audible to an audience that does not occupy too great an auditorium. To solve this problem fully, the wireless laboratory has built a resonator of great strength, the construction of which has already been tested and approved. This resonator gives a volume of sound such as is sufficient for a room holding from 250 to 400 persons, and may be used in the magnification both of ordinary telephone messages and of those received in the wireless manner, while the slightest modulations of the human voice are successfully transmitted.

As a means of checking up our experiments we requested foreign stations, in Nauen for instance, in a wireless message to follow the operations of our wireless telephone and communicate with us as to the results. But Nauen did not condescend even to acknowledge the receipts of our wireless message. Later Nauen received our communication, and went so far as to thank us for it, but has not sent us any news whatever as to the results

* 1 verst = .66 miles.

of our conversation. But when Nauen was carrying on experiments, we not only furnished that station with reports of the results of their experiments, but even of the technical circumstances under which the conversation was taking place. Obviously "democratic" Germany is still following a program of cut-throat competition and is far removed from the healthy emulation which prevails in Soviet Russia in the field of labor and science.

The Nizhni-Novgorod wireless station has given a splendid example of the close union existing between labor and science, as the entire personnel of the station from the inventor down to the worker constitutes one single firm society which has been pursuing, in all its accomplishments, a single, concrete and magnificent aim.

Concentration of the Needle Trade

The following report was published in the Petrograd "Izvestia" of January 13:

The needle trade division has begun a concentration of production in order to bring about a more systematic growth of the industry at the maximum rate of efficient production.

A number of sewing shops privately owned by individuals or institutions have been closed; some of these were owned by the Baltic Fleet, the Vassilievsky Committee of Food Supplies, etc. When the factories were closed the workers were transferred to the operating factories of the organized needle industry, for the most part to the First and Central Factories.

In order to effect a further concentration of production it is proposed to close three other factories: the Seventh, Eighth, and Tenth, transferring all workers to the Fifth and Central factories as well as to sewing shops.

The last divisions were concentrated last fall, with the result that only 18 large shops remained, while all small shops have been shut down and the workers transferred to the large shops. All these innovations tend to increase production in the needle trade factories.

In order to relieve the needs of the population a number of mending shops are about to be opened in workers' districts and on the outskirts of the city.

The needle industry is of great importance in the present clothing crisis.

The Manufacture of Clothing in Petrograd

The Central Government Factory which is under the management of the Province Clothing Committee of the Soviet of Public Economy, manufactures army uniforms and civilian clothing. The division for army clothing manufactures army overcoats, coats, overalls, underwear, and bed clothes. The division for civilian clothing manufactures navy uniforms and civilian clothing.

Women comprise the greater number of workers at the factory. The percentage of men employed is 15 per cent of the entire number of workers.

The work is done on a large scale. The army division's daily consumption is 3,500 yards of cloth for army overcoats and 17,500 yards of material for undergarments. The daily consumption in the civilian division is 437 yards of cloth and 1,750 yards of material for undergarments.

The Employment Bureau supplies the factory with workers, on the average of five a day. The factory employs about 500 skilled workers. The work is done in two shifts: one shift works from 8 A. M. to 4 P. M. and the other shift from 4:30 P. M. to 11:30 P. M.

The factory has a cafeteria and living accommodations for 200 persons. Occasionally concerts and lectures are given.

The Second Government Factory situated on Muchnoi Pereulok, No. 5, has been in existence for about two years. Out of 500 workers employed at present 20 per cent are skilled workers. This factory is equipped for manufacturing women's and children's clothing, but lately, under pressure of necessity, it worked for the Red Army and manufactured 200 army overcoats daily, as well as gymnasium suits, trousers, etc. The factory is supplied with sufficient fuel for a period of several months.

During "Children's Week" the factory turned out 150 children's overcoats, while the remnants were utilized for making mittens and slippers.

The Third Government Factory was organized by the workers themselves nearly two years ago. The daily output of hats, caps, ladies' hats and muffs is about 2,000. The factory employs 325 workers, mostly women, of whom 150 are skilled workers. The fur department is worthy of attention because its work is being done as regularly as in peace times.

During "Children's Week" the factory supplied 8,000 children's winter caps, the employees working overtime for this purpose.

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Mardari — A Curious Russian Saint

By Wm. Hartevelt.

(The following article is translated for SOVIET RUSSIA from "Nya Dagligt Allehanda," a Swedish daily appearing in Stockholm.)

IN the court of Nicholas II and his fanatically religious wife, a court full of mystic decadence and ever eager for new sensations, and never at a loss for some source of emotional agitation, there bobbed up one day, before Rasputin had entered the circle of his imperial worshippers a certain Mardari—a young handsome fellow, who alleged he was a monk from Montenegro. Almost at a single stroke, he displaced all his predecessors (for there had been many saints, some of them unsaintly enough, who had appeared in Petrograd and then disappeared), for he really was a curious and enigmatical personage, at least at the beginning of his career in Russia. Later when the charm had broken, people laughed and perhaps he laughed best of all. But the charm lasted for a long time and a goodly number of persons fell for his arts.

No one knows who Mardari was or where he came from. He appeared unexpectedly and mysteriously at Petrograd, and disappeared just as unexpectedly and mysteriously. He claimed to have spent some time at the monastery of Athos in Greece, a place highly venerated in Russia. At any rate he spoke Serbian, Russian, and Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) very well, and seemed intimately acquainted with the austere rites of the Athos monastery. His first appearance in Russia was in 1911 in the Monastery of Varlaam, which is extremely popular in Petrograd.

This monastery, by reason of its splendid situation on an island in Lake Ladoga, had always been a favorite resort for the pious and less pious of nearby Petrograd, and it now began to be noised about that there had appeared at this venerable place no less a personage than the patron saint of the Empire, the wonder worker, Saint Nicholas himself. The resulting excitement was very great, and crowds of people went to the monastery for aid. There they were told by the monks: one day a monk had come, young and handsome, a pilgrim from the famous monastery of Athos. It so happened that he was assigned a cell in which he was the only occupant. He gave as his name "Mardari, a servant of God and Saint Nicholas." To their great astonishment the monks heard Mardari engaged in conversations in his lonely cell with another man who answered him audibly in a decrepit broken voice in the Church language. Even at meals, which the monks took in common they heard an aged voice blessing their food and drink from a seat alongside of Mardari's.

This produced great excitement among the monks and they pressed Mardari to explain this miracle to them. He finally told them that by means of prayers, fasts, and mortifications of the flesh he had found such grace in the eyes of God that now the holy wonder-worker Nicholas accompanied him

in an invisible shape wherever he went. When he was entirely alone he said the Saint sometimes even appeared to him in visible bodily form.

Great was the joyous agitation among the pious brothers; they were delighted to have so famous a guest among them who opened up immense prospects of increased business, when they understood that they were singled out to shelter the patron saint of Russia within their walls. At once they decided that Mardari and his famous companion should occupy the great chamber of the *igumen* (abbot), and Mardari was installed in this great and comfortable room with splendor and honors.

Mardari, who had hitherto partaken of the common repast of the monks, now ate in his new habitation. He received food for two, for whenever Saint Nicholas was alone with him, he assumed earthly form and developed an earthly appetite. But Mardari's plate would still be full, while that of the Saint was empty; in fact it is even said to have occurred that the invisible patron sometimes asked in a distinctly audible tone for a second helping. . . .

Of course the ignorant people became extremely interested in the monastery and its wonder-working saint, and even so hardened a sinner and irreproachable a skeptic as I journeyed one fine day, in the company of the famous painter Vosnetsov, to the island in Lake Ladoga.

The great refectory was more than filled with people of every class all waiting in breathless silence for Mardari to put in his appearance. In a little gallery close to the altar there stood two arm-chairs and several monks. Suddenly they entoned a *tropar* (ancient Byzantine canticle), a side-door opened, and in stepped Mardari. All fell upon their knees, while a few ladies fainted.

Even I felt a cold chill going down my back and my companion staggered back. Mardari's appearance was really calculated to produce such effects.

Before us stood a young man of twenty-five to twenty-eight years of age, tall and slender and handsome, with a head of an Adonis, such as Praxiteles might have chiselled. But his countenance had the power of death, waxen and rigid, and only a pair of coal black stinging eyes with an uncanny penetrating glance testified that it was a living man that stood there flooded in the sunlight of the door that had just been opened.

White and waxen also were his hands. Long raven locks fell in a heavy mass around his shoulders. He walked barefoot in a long black robe. Slowly, his arms raised, he stepped before the altar and reclined on one of the two arm-chairs. Then he delivered a short address to those that had gathered and called upon them to make pious sacrifices for the monastery of Mount Athos. The sacrificial

vessel was already set up in the refectory; gold, silver, paper money rolled and fluttered into the vessels, and I saw many a woman take off her jewels and offer them as a pious gift. When the collection was finally over, Mardari turned with a short prayer to Saint Nicholas and from the empty armchair there issued forth an old man's voice blessing those present in old Bulgarian. All prostrated themselves and Mardari passed between the kneeling people with raised hands, covering the same path as he had come, out through the sunlight of his little door. Two monks carried out behind him the sacrificial chalice with its heavy contents. For a long time I stood as one petrified at this monstrous blasphemy and at the stupidity and cowardice of men. For of course many of the monks must have known or suspected as well as I did, that Mardari was a monstrous imposter and an accomplished ventriloquist. The thought of shouting this thing out aloud to all those people suggested itself to me, and I whispered it to Vosnetsov.

"Do it if you like to be torn to pieces," he said.

Of course Mardari did splendid business and his fame rose from day to day. This was due largely to the fact, as the monks said, that he chastised himself and drank nothing but water. Besides he was—quite the contrary to Rasputin—really an ascetic. The erotic was not in his line and all the temptations of the ladies of high and even higher degree left him unscathed. Of course it was not long before he left the Varlaam Monastery and went to Petrograd, where court and society was in dire need of a new excitement. The Tsar and Tsarina both listened with great piety, not only to his own statements, but also to the biblical quotations of Saint Nicholas.

Mardari lived in the Hotel d'Angleterre and had his expenses defrayed by the court exchequer, which netted him double rations, one for himself and one for his invisible companion. Often the Tsar sent him choice wines and fruits, which all were destined to pass into the stomach of the saintly Nicholas.

I had the pleasure of seeing Mardari once again. It was at a dinner in the house of Prince Galitzin. There were about fifty guests at the table. At one end of the table sat Mardari, at the other was an empty chair in which one was to imagine Saint Nicholas seated. Before and after the meal the patron saint said grace. Of course there was a breathless piety on all sides. I sat quite near him and had occasion to admire the monk's splendid ventriloquism.

Mardari would have been able to carry on this sport for some time if he had not become impudent and careless through the ease of his achievement, and his Petrograd career closed with a gigantic fiasco that no one had anticipated. For a number of persons, who had begun to mutter of a possible imposture, of the possibility that ventriloquism lay at the bottom of the thing, suggested to him that he should materialize Saint Nicholas, in other words, make him visible to others also. Mardari who was already beginning to feel the ground sink-

ing beneath him was audacious enough to accept the proposals. In a night session in the house of Baron Frederik, a venerable old man's form appeared for a few seconds. But as soon as this Saint Nicholas left the room, there also left through a back door the young Count Sumarokov who seized Russia's patron saint just at the moment he was about to make his escape to the street through the kitchen door. The skeptical young Count immediately had Saint Nicholas arrested by the police and the patron saint of the Empire was revealed in his secular capacity as a poor old retired porter of the Hotel d'Angleterre. Mardari, who was filled with sudden misgivings at the disappearance of the Count likewise fled from the apartment, and from Petrograd too . . . or perhaps someone made away with him. . . . And the splendidly disguised old porter also disappeared and this made him look more like Saint Nicholas than ever.

Later it was even rumored that both Mardari and his companion were finally taken in charge by the *okhrana* (imperial secret police), and that the deep waters of the Neva know more about Mardari's ultimate fate than has ever publicly transpired.

ALLIANCE WITH AFGHANISTAN

Moscow, March 10.—On February 28 the treaty between Russia and Afghanistan was concluded. A solemn reception was given at the Afghan Embassy in Moscow, to celebrate the Third Anniversary of Afghan independence. Among those present were: Chicherin and Karakhan, of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, a delegation of the Turkish National Assembly, and members of the regular Turkish Delegation, representatives of the Persian Embassy, the Bokhara and Khiva Missions, the representatives of Esthonia, Latvia, Finland, etc.

The Afghan representative delivered a speech on the friendly relations now brought about between Afghanistan and the Russian Soviet Republic. Chicherin spoke on the glorious struggle waged by Afghanistan for its independence, emphasizing the identity of interests between Soviet Russia and the peoples fighting against imperialism, and expressing the hope that the bond between Russia and the Afghan people might soon become closer.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

CONSTANTIN Francois Volney was a French Count of the eighteenth century, with the pronounced liberal tendencies that were in a number of cases characteristic of the enlightened nobility of the time. Like Voltaire and other radical *littérateurs*, he was nevertheless the recipient of attentions and gifts from Eastern potentates. Volney received a gold medal from Catherine II of Russia, because Baron Grimm, who once handed her a copy of Volney's *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*, presented the book as if it were a present coming directly from the author. But the Great Revolution came, and the "liberal" foreign rulers who had trifled with radicalism and enlightenment now had no stomach for them, and the "lovers" of justice and humanity found that they loved the exiled nobility, the *émigrés*, better than the common people of France, who had been driven to seek their salvation in an application of force. When Volney learned that Catherine was granting asylum to the emigrés—as, of course, the neighboring rulers of Prussia, Germany, and England, were also doing—he sent back his gold medal to her, and explained that he could now no longer wear it with honor.

His letter follows, in the rather quaint formality of the period, and with a somewhat exaggerated credulity as to Catherine's love of liberty and equality, and her desire to liberate her serfs (concerning which our readers have had more correct impressions from the articles of John S. Clarke in past issues of this weekly). The letter is addressed not to Catherine personally, but to Baron Grimm, who had negotiated and carried out the gift to Volney:

"Paris, December 4, 1791.

"Sir:

"The outspoken protection granted by Her Majesty the Empress of Russia to rebellious Frenchmen, the pecuniary aid with which she favors the enemies of my country, no longer permit me to retain in my possession the monument of generosity handed by her to me. You will understand that I am speaking of the gold medal which you caused to be delivered to me, in the month of June, 1788, in the name of Her Majesty. So long as I was able to behold in this gift an evidence of esteem and approval of the political principles I have expressed, I regarded it with the respect due to a noble use of power; but now that

I share this gold with corrupt and denatured men, what is the attitude with which I must regard it? Doubtless the Empress has been deceived, doubtless the sovereign who set the example of consulting philosophers before drawing up a code of laws, who recognized *equality* and *liberty* as the basis of those laws, who freed her own serfs, and, being unable to break the chains of the serfs of her boyars, at least loosened them; doubtless, Catherine II. in no way intended to take up the cudgels in favor of the wicked and ridiculous champions of the superstitious and tyrannical barbarism of bygone centuries; and doubtless, in short, her misguided religion needs but a ray of light to dispel the darkness; but, until this matter can be cleared up, there is here a scandalous contradiction, and just and righteous spirits cannot consent to take part in it; will you therefore, Sir, kindly restore to the Empress a benefaction with which I think I am no longer honored; please tell her that if it came to me through her esteem, I return it to her in order still to keep this esteem; that the new laws of my country, persecuted by her, do not permit me to be either ungrateful or cowardly, and that after having wished so much for a glory that would be useful to humanity, it is painful to me that I now have nothing but illusions to mourn.

"C. F. VOLNEY."

* * *

DOUBTLESS history is repeating itself, and many a Russian scholar has probably returned with indignation the decorations and dignities received by him from French and other foreign sources. For now it is not Russia that harbors French counter-revolutionists, prints and circulates their propaganda, arms and equips their military expeditions against their former home;—it is now France that serves as a home and center for Russia's nobility and capitalists, that fills the world with lies about Russia, that lends money to Hungary and Poland and other governments attacking Soviet Russia, that works with all her might to prevent the consummation of treaties and agreements between Soviet Russia and neighboring countries. How striking and magnificent is the complete reversal of the picture! In 1791, when Volney's letter was written, France was the home of light, the torch of the world, to which not only the oppressed of other countries, but even many of their chosen spirits, moved by sympathy for the oppressed rather than by a common distress and poverty (Wordsworth, Shelley, Priestley, Schiller), looked for light and warmth. In 1921 all eyes are on Russia, as they have now been for four years without remittance; it is from Russia that the peoples expect relief and leadership. And the reverse of the picture: then it was Russia that was the home of darkness, of oppression, of royal largess and popular degradation; how well France now plays that part! Readers of this paper will peruse in its columns next week a letter addressed by Pierre Pascal, now in Moscow, to the French proletariat, and may judge whether or not the situation is as we describe it; his words on the French Government are more bitter than ours.

BUT the fact that Pierre Pascal addresses his remarks to the French proletariat is an indication that history's repetitions are never merely repetitions. There are always interesting elements of difference. In the relative positions of France and Russia in 1791, as compared with those of 1921, it is worthy of note that while Volney writes to one of the nobles of Catherine II., Pascal writes to "the French proletariat." No one took the Russian people seriously in those days. Their weak resistance, their spasmodic uprisings against oppression had prospered for short periods only, and always as a result of the vast territory in which they could hide, and invariably were soon choked in blood. But now, even the worst tyrant of the day, the Government of France, must reckon with its working class, a working class that is ready at any moment to make its pressure felt to secure the relief of its brothers in Russia. And a perhaps accidental, but none the less important incident in the two episodes is that while it is a Frenchman who returns decorations to a foreign ruler in 1791, it is a Frenchman, not a Russian, who calls upon his fellow workers in France, in 1921, to prevent their Government from waging war on the Republic of the Workers and Peasants—Soviet Russia. The proletariat is a force today—it is the deciding force; it was impossible for Volney to think of calling upon Catherine's subjects for aid against the counter-revolutionary exiles who were preparing armies for the invasion of France.

* * *

A MAN of straw is more useful than any other aort of man to the newspaper press. For the divergences of reality from the properties of the straw man may always be presented as departures from the "truth" incorporated by him. We have now for some time been regaled with the picture of a Soviet Government that pretends to have forgotten its Communism, of a Lenin to whom the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a joke, of a new "bourgeoisie" ready to pretend any concessions to foreign capital that may enable the Russian structure to maintain itself erect. And then, whenever the papers feel obliged to print an obviously communistic utterance on the part of some Soviet official, or representative, it is easy to explain this as a case of "letting the cat out of the bag," of defective press-agenting. The *New York Times* printed a kindly editorial on this subject a week or more ago. Representative Berzin, of the Soviet Government, had made a statement in Finland that would give rise to the impression that Communism was still alive in Russia, that there was no intention to relinquish the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was of course necessary for the *Times* to point out that the foolish Soviet Government was served by inexperienced press agents, whose stupidity went so far that they blurted out the truth at the very moment when the Soviet Government was represented by the *Times* and other organs as most eager to conceal its evil predisposition in favor of Communism.

AS PIERRE PASCAL points out in the article just mentioned,—and he proves his contention by incontrovertible evidence,—France is preparing to launch a new campaign against Soviet Russia. Even if Pascal's evidence were not offered, it would be perfectly clear that France must continue in this baleful policy. For France, more than any other country in the world today, depends for its very existence on the continued application of the policy of exploiting colonial and so-called "backward" regions. The backward region on which the French Government and the French financiers have depended most is Russia. The collection of the Russian "debt", the payment of the loans advanced to the Tsar for the crushing of the 1905 Revolution, and to Kerensky for putting down the rising Soviet power—this money to be paid back in gold, is the last straw at which France must clutch in order to inject a golden reanimation into its broken and tottering financial and economic life. How long can France continue its own life unless it secures from somewhere—preferably from Russia and Germany—the money with which to keep its military armaments and bureaucratic processes going? History's many apparent paradoxes present nothing more interesting than the economic and financial evolution that drove the French people in 1789 to inaugurate a great series of world conflicts against oppression, and in 1921 is forcing the French autocracy to assume more and more bitter and uncompromising attitudes toward Soviet Russia, in order to prevent the people of that country from succeeding in their effort to maintain a Dictatorship of the Proletariat that may be a permanent and encouraging example to all the workers of the world.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Government is represented as deceiving the world, as being engaged in an attempt to make outsiders believe it is ready to inaugurate a trade that will be of no value to anyone outside of Russia or in, or, at best, as seeking this trade for its own advantage alone, in order to strengthen itself while weakening the foreign powers willing to trade with it.

* * *

OF COURSE it would be perfectly natural and reasonable for the Soviet Government to desire to strengthen itself and weaken its enemies, but there is no reason to believe that the Soviet Government is at present pursuing any directly hostile aim in attempting to put itself in commercial contact with foreign nations. The Soviet Government's acts and policies are based on the theory that Communism will survive; those of capitalist nations should be based on the theory that capitalism will survive, at least in those countries. Let trade begin between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world. Each group will exchange things it needs less for things it needs more. If capitalist nations then find that they are losing by the exchanges, they may stop them at any time, and restore the policy of blockade and intervention, if that be—as it has thus far appeared to them—their only alternative. Or—and even this would not be a bad idea—they might simply let Russia live in peace.

The Execution of Count Mirbach

By VICTOR SERGE

(Conclusion)

I also have passed through the little parlors in the French Louis XV style, filled with graceful objects, tapestried with embroidered silks, furnished with little round tables and rare marbles, with pretty furniture covered with trinkets, with divans, and sculptures. I entered the Cabinet of Count Mirbach, in which the portieres of light coffee color, the comfortable leather arm chairs, the secretaires, produce an insinuating atmosphere of comfort, of well-being, of dignity and elegance.

And in that apartment I saw working, together with Bukharin, the most adroit and able theoretician of Bolshevism, two other ambassadors, those rather modest militants: Berzin, pale, delicate, sickly, who represented the Russian Soviets in Switzerland, and Rudniansky, smooth shaven, with hard blue eyes, the representative of the Hungarian Soviets in Russia. Times have changed: the mansion of the German Embassy is now the House of the Third International. There also the water-pipes froze through lack of heating facilities, and then burst, so that even through these luxurious boudoirs the water trickles from the ceiling, destroys the splendid paintings, the silken tapestries, and gnaws at the carpets. This is the place to which Andreyev and Blumkin came in an automobile on June 6, 1918, about 3 P. M.

"We had papers with us (of course they were forged) of the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission for Combating the Counter-revolution), which ordered us to interview Count Mirbach—but he was obstinate, for a quarter of an hour, and we were obliged to insist. We had ourselves increased the difficulties of the undertaking by having a telephone message sent him asking him not to receive anyone without having first consulted the President of the Cheka—Dzerzhinsky. For we feared there might be an awkward attempt to carry out the act, which would have spoiled everything. I was obliged to press my demand. Our errand was of the greatest importance, it concerned the family of the Ambassador—it was a good pretext—for a certain Lieutenant Mirbach, a nephew or cousin of our Mirbach, had just been arrested for espionage. This discussion took place in the reception room, whose windows opened on the street."

The beautiful apartment of light marble, with its things of pink, of brown-grenade, orange, walnut—it has changed but little since then. The flowers and the allegorical figures, the bluish notes of the ceiling, introduce somewhat striking elements into the design. Along the walls the arm chairs with their high backs, a light yellow, in old Russian style, have been left in their position. Not far from the window there is a divan of similar style, decorated with two wooden sculptures, representing voluptuous nude female figures covered

with light veils. The apartment is very rich, very bright. The damage done by the explosion of the bomb has not been repaired. The moldings of the ceiling are broken; chips of marble have been detached by the explosion, and the walls in one corner are cracked. On the floor there is a reddish brown stain — blood perhaps. Andreyev and Blumkin were in this room when the Ambassador, disturbed by their persistence, came out to meet them and took them into an adjoining study.

They took seats near the table—Count Mirbach, one of his secretaries, a German officer, and the two terrorists. This, says Blumkin, was the most terrible moment for him. Andreyev had his hand-grenade in his pocket; had he moved his hand toward the pocket he would have attracted the attention of those present, who were following his movements closely. The moment had to be carefully chosen. The Ambassador was becoming bored with the extended interview, was showing some indifference with regard to the Mirbach who had been put behind the bars as a spy.

"This went on for about twenty minutes," says Yakov Gregoryevich, "twenty infernal minutes, during which I was looking into the eyes of this man, talking to him in clear sentences, courteously, seeking one pretext after another, drawing upon my entire imagination for material with which to embroider the story, and all the time obstinately clinging to the thought: I must kill him,—kill him,—kill him.

Blumkin finally found a pretext to take out his portfolio, opened it brusquely and said: "I have here a document which—", took out his Browning from the portfolio and shot at the Ambassador.

At once there was panic all over the house. The secretary, the officers, thought only of finding shelter behind the furniture or outside the room. While they were making themselves scarce, "flattening themselves out" along the carpet, getting off into neighboring rooms, Count Mirbach rose and ran across the reception room toward an exit. He was wounded and fell before he reached the door. Then Andreyev threw the hand grenade, which did not explode. Blumkin had to dash forward, seize the bomb, and throw it again, this time with force, against the hard wood floor, and at that moment he saw the supplicating glance of the wounded man, stretched at his feet, turning towards him, the man who was half dead, and who was about to be torn to pieces.

The explosion smashed all the windows and threw Blumkin out through one of them. Andreyev was already outside. In falling, Yakov Gregoryevich broke a leg. The two terrorists had agreed that if one of them should be wounded the other was to dispatch him and think only of making his

own escape. But Andreyev insisted on helping his comrade, who had been hit in the thigh by a bullet discharged by the sentinel, and got him safely to the car. In the vehicle they passed through the streets, to the accompaniment of rapid cracks of rifles, but there was no real pursuit of them, the panic and confusion being too great.

* * *

How many eventful happenings since! The German Revolution, the Versailles Peace, intervention, the civil war in Russia, the terror, Denikin, Yudenich, Kolchak, the defeat of all these, the victory of the Soviets, the approach of peace! Yakov Gregoryevich, after his personal safety was assured, on the fall of the German imperialism, did not resign himself to inaction. His party has no political significance at this moment, but the groups of valorous militants are still at work, not at Moscow, but where there is danger, in Ukraine, in Siberia. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, which a short time previously had declared Yakov Gregoryevich Blumkin to be an outlaw, now confided to him "missions" in Ukraine and Siberia. There was to be, in the latter region, an attempt on the person of the Supreme Ruler, Admiral Kolchak, who has since been executed (Feb. 7, 1920.) The Extraordinary Commission which once was looking for the terrorist all over Russia, is now holding its archives open for his use, so that he may avail himself of these documents in order to write his book on terrorism. And he amuses himself sometimes with the fantastic versions that have accumulated in this pile of official papers and depositions.

Because he consented to work with the Bolsheviks, Yakov Gregoryevich became an object, in Ukraine, of three successive attempts on his life on the part of certain Socialist Revolutionists of the Left. Such is their party fanaticism. All three attempts were committed at Kiev, within a period of two weeks, from June 6 to June 20, 1919.

At the first attempt, pistol shots were fired at him without hitting him. The second time, he came near being killed: a bullet passed through his head. The third time, a bomb was thrown at him through a window of the hospital where he was lying wounded on his couch of suffering. Fortunately for him, the explosion took place outside. It is almost by a miracle that this terrorist remains alive. For the hatred of the Germans also pursued him, with equal bitterness. His wife, for instance, tells us with a smile that a man of the same name received three revolver shots from a German non-commissioned officer, in a little town of Ukraine, merely because the officer had noticed the name.

"And now?" I asked. "And now," he answered, "I am studying the Oriental languages. The future of the revolution is in the East."

He is standing, tall, with his high brow, his black hair, and beard, imparting to his face a somewhat sickly pallor, in which his eyes shine with a sombre light. His voice is warm, his move-

ments supple, and I reflect that this man who has attempted such terrible sacrifices, who has been ignored, is nevertheless one of the most beautiful figures of the Revolution and of present day Russia—one of the few survivors of the race of the great terrorists, a handful who long before the great revolts of the masses were strong enough in their daring and their abnegation to cause thrones to tremble. —He has conscience, will, energy, conviction, devotion. A peculiar favor of Nature has caused her to confer upon him also great physical vigor and a kind of beauty. He is a *man*.

Moscow, March 7, 1920.

Prison Life in Russia

An interesting opportunity for the self-expression of prisoners is afforded to those imprisoned in the Taganka prison at Moscow, in the form of a periodical edited and printed by the prisoners themselves, and affording an opportunity to judge of their intellectual and moral life. All the prisoners in the penal institutions of all Russia are requested to participate in the work on this periodical, which is intended to express in as complete and precise a way as possible the life of the prisoners.

The purpose of imprisonment being to make the prisoners conscious of their guilt, the periodical will be devoted chiefly to the improvement of the prisoners, and it is our hope that it will contain a number of valuable thoughts on the prison policy. Simultaneously, the work in the penal institutions is to be organized, and infused as far as possible with the proper spirit. The problems of education and culture, which play such an important part in the prison policy under the Soviet power, are also to have first place in the program of this periodical. The first issue appeared January 13 of this year, and contained a number of articles on the life in prisons under the Soviet power as compared with that in countries with bourgeois governments; these articles show that the principle which states that the prisoner is no longer a member of society and may not return to it, is not one followed in these prisons; the principle rather is that those guilty are to be temporarily segregated as patients for special treatment. For keeping the prisoners occupied in accordance with the requirements of the law, workshops have been established in which they may do useful work, recreation rooms and instruction in the various branches of knowledge have also been established wherever possible; courses are given on the Soviet Constitution, in the History of Socialism, on Political Economy, History of Russian literature, lectures on Hygiene, Chemistry, Agriculture, Book-keeping, and gymnastic drills, which are attended by hundreds of prisoners in Taganka; in addition there are musical, dramatic, and literary evenings, always well attended.

In one of the articles in the paper the question of permitting the prisoners to visit their families was taken up. The author cannot understand why

prisoners may not under certain circumstances, provided they furnish proper bond, obtain permission to visit their families for a few hours. This is a problem that has never been considered by bourgeois criminology.

The fundamental thought taken up by the periodical, in addition to the other matters it considers is the following: prison as well as crime are remnants of capitalism. The time will come when these ugly necessities of the transition period shall have been eliminated by the organization of a Socialist society. This is the ideal that Soviet Russia is approaching with gigantic strides. The following telegram is an indication of this fact: "The executive committee of the district of Uglich (a small city on the upper Volga) has observed that crime is on the decrease, and has decided to commute prison terms to shop labor for the preparation of agricultural implements."

From "Rosta" Vienna.

Medical Education in Russia

By W. W. LEFEAUX

(From the author's "Winnipeg, London, Moscow" reviewed in last week's SOVIET RUSSIA.)

IT is not my purpose to deal with the question of education in Russia at all fully, for others have dealt with the question and still others will deal with it in the future, but, as illustrating the spirit of Russia today in the matters of both war and education, I will give a few details of medical training in the Petrograd District.

Like every other trade and profession the members of the medical profession have been almost entirely absorbed into the national services and like everybody else are suffering many privations, but they are carrying on an almost superhuman work against the greatest handicaps imaginable in the matter of material and supplies.

Dr. A. Mislig, a well-known medical man of New York, has been appointed Military Commissar of Medical Universities for the Petrograd District, and the Medical Universities of the Petrograd District are very well aware of that fact, for life in them has since assumed a changed aspect.

The militarization of the universities was decided upon under the pressure and demand for doctors for the front, and the matter was taken in hand in a manner commensurate with the situation. Dr. Mislig was told what was required and was given authority to proceed to take any steps necessary to attain the needed requirements.

When the doctor took charge there were three medical universities in the district, each with accommodation for two hundred and fifty students, and one post-graduate university with accommodation for about two hundred. All of them have been extended to accommodate seven hundred and fifty students each for the full course of five years' study. This means that roughly speaking nearly six hundred doctors are being turned out each year in the Petrograd District alone.

The training is in no way below pre-war standards, in fact it is considerably higher, and there

are very few failures. There is always a waiting list of students wishing to take the course.

Medical students are exempt from military service and manual labor. In the universities they are subject to military discipline and are required to study intensively. Any students showing lack of adaptation because of laziness or inability to learn, are at once drafted to the front to act as orderlies at the casualty clearing stations. Should any break down, they are returned to their usual occupations or homes. Slackness and slovenliness are not tolerated. Medical efficiency means a matter of life and death for others, and studies must be pursued accordingly.

Students are fed, clothed, and housed by the State; they are also paid an allowance of about 3,000 rubles per month.

This system is now being applied to all the educational centers of Russia and results are reported to be surprisingly good. Many things are lacking, but if the nations of Europe keep Russia on a war footing for a few more years, the consequent discipline and organization will go very far towards making up for the comparatively backward state of Russian industry and agriculture at the time of the Revolution.

The ballet, the theatre, the moving-pictures, painting, and music under the direction of the Ministries of Education and Art, are all receiving new leases of life with a tangible object. Together with all other available agencies they are being used for the education of Russia and the formation of a really social concept of life.

One of the principal objects of the educational system of Russia is to impress upon the young their duties to society at large. This is a most important point, for it is in sharp contradistinction to the old idealizing of the home and blood relations.

"MOVIES" ENCOURAGED

Information received via Berlin, announces that in Russia the production of photoplays is liberally assisted by the Soviet authorities, in contrast to other governments, who are mostly content to impose taxes, supertaxes, restrictions and limitations on the industry. Producers are being given free access to the luxurious palaces of the Tsars, with all their magnificent furniture, their delightful gardens, etc., whence many striking scenes will shortly appear on Russian photo-reels.

From "Cosmopolita," an Italian fortnightly motion picture review, published in Rome.

EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

We take the following data from the report of the Commissar of Education for the three years since the Revolution of November 7, 1917.

The progress of primary education is shown in the following table covering 34 provinces of European Russia:

School Year	Primary Schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils
1910-1911	47,855	73,040	3,060,418
1918-1919	79,280	186,071	6,081,446

Working-Women on Battle-Front Against Ignorance

(A Moscow Experiment)

By ELKIN

(The following is a translation from the December, 1920, issue of "Die Russische Korrespondenz" Berlin.)

When we approached the task of eradicating illiteracy, we found ourselves facing the fundamental question: what must be our goal in this matter? Shall we attempt to have all illiterates who are laborers learn only to read and to write, or must we simultaneously awaken class-consciousness in them, an understanding for the tasks of the hour, and arouse in them the spirit that battles for the new life—in a word, is not our most important task that of carrying on political propaganda by the side of elementary instruction? We had the latter point of view.

As a matter of fact, are reading and writing of predominating importance, when all is considered? The intelligentsia in all its parts has very much greater accomplishments than reading and writing. It can not only read and write, it is even learned, and yet its entire learning does not enable it to grasp the tremendous transformation that is at present in progress, and it is only little by little that the intelligentsia is taking its place by the side of the labor population. Writing and reading may be of service to the Red as well as to the White. For us it is important that reading and writing shall aid in placing the laboring population in the ranks of the pioneers for a new life. It is in this sense that we took up our task.

The first question that confronted us was: whom shall we give to the illiterates as teachers and organizers? The teachers who came from the ranks of the intellectuals can only teach reading and writing. They will very rarely go beyond this. We were quite clear that it would be necessary for us to make use in this work of the champions of Communism, the workers themselves. The war and the repeated mobilizations deprived us of the male workers, however, and therefore only one source remained from which we could draw our recruits—namely the working women. We began to draw them into this work. The sections of working-women at first responded rather weakly to the steps undertaken by us. They approved the plan with great misgivings. They were ready to make use of working-women as representatives in the commission in which they, almost always together with the men representatives, were to embody the "voice of the people." But that was not what was wanted. We had to have the working-women themselves go about this work, themselves become organizers, propagandists, teachers.

The working-women still felt themselves quite unfit for the work, and declined. They believed it would exceed their powers to work in the field of education. Many of them, furthermore, did not have a very good preliminary instruction, and thought that the women pupils, who were prob-

ably accustomed to the authority of the learned intellectuals, would laugh at their own teachers, if a woman with comparatively slight education, and one of their own comrade workers, should suddenly appear in place of the accustomed teacher.

But these doubts were of short duration. The example given by the strongwilled and courageous working-women carried all doubters along with it. Almost all the districts began to draw their teacher recruits from the sections of working-women and to open up weekly courses. After stopping work for the day, often still in their working aprons, the working-women hastened to their classes, attentively listened to the lectures, put questions, of course at first for the most part in a form, unlike that of the intelligentsia. They were interested in the question of how a woman with a young baby could be persuaded to attend school, of how a female speculator should be approached, of whether irregular attendance of the classes should be punished in any way, etc. It was easy to discern in these questions a profound understanding for their tasks, a grasp of the work on its practical side, a familiarity with the circles in question, and an ability to move them in the desired direction.

The work went on at great pressure. Working-women were active as organizers in 32 out of all the 52 district organizations of Moscow. In each district at least ten working-women were active teachers. Have they been able to discharge their tasks? This question may be answered in a decided affirmative. To be sure, the specialists who work together with them frequently expressed themselves unfavorably on this question, but if this view of the specialists is checked up, it is possible to arrive at a different conclusion. The working-women have not the practised skill of a teacher from the spheres of the intelligentsia. Occasionally they are actually not able to answer this question or that. But they have something more valuable at their disposal than such universal knowledge. Their answer appears clearer and more homelike to the illiterate. They transmit to their pupils, the thirst for knowledge, the respect for education, the habit of approaching everything from the proletarian standpoint.

Has the fear that the illiterates would not accept them as their teachers been realized? No. The laboring masses are already accustomed to beholding workers at the head of the state, and this is becoming quite a customary experience with them. For more than half-a-year we have been working at Moscow, and certain conclusions can already be drawn. The expectations that we would be able,

in a very short time, to teach tens of thousands of illiterates how to read and write in our schools have not been realized, for we did not take all the difficulties into consideration. It is possible that our forces were weaker than we at first believed. But we have been successful in another sense: we have won new forces and new champions, and now no one can still say that the attempt to make use of working-women for this task has proved a failure. The schools in which the working-women are active, are almost always full and completely adapted to the public life. We have new organizations recruited from the ranks

of the workers, who have passed through our elementary schools, and who entered the schools as opponents of the Soviets and left them as devoted adherents of the Soviet idea and the cause of the workers.

When we were struggling in this manner to impart to the working men and women the necessary elementary knowledge, we were met with the objection that this was equivalent to a struggle against the intelligentsia. But this was not the case; it was a struggle for a new intelligentsia, and now we have this new intelligentsia, at least its vanguard, in the ranks of the working-women.

Sweden and Soviet Russia

The following is a letter to "Social Demokraten," Christiania, Norway.

Stockholm, February 7.

The relations between Sweden and Russia are developing slowly but surely into a close economic cooperation. The beginning was made in April, 1920, during Krassin's visit to Stockholm. A group of small and medium manufacturers and business men got together under the leadership of the wholesale dealer G. W. Anderson into a consortium for exports to Russia of various Swedish products, particularly agricultural machines. Krassin promised payment, in part at least—as much as one-third in gold; the rest with notes for six months, renewable three times. As security Russian gold was brought in successive consignments from Reval to a total value of 20,000,000 crowns, which was deposited in Swedish banks. One of the firms which entered the consortium, the Nydkquist and Holm Factory at Trollhättan, was later brought into closer and closer relation with Russia. The firm has undertaken the obligation of working exclusively for export to Russia. Already an immense new plant has been constructed, so that work at the shops has been multiplied many times. Further extensions are being made. The factory will deliver 200 new locomotives of the most modern type in 1921. The first machines are to be delivered before the end of June. Beginning January 1, 1922, when the new buildings will be ready, the factory is to deliver not less than 500 new locomotives per year, an immense productivity, for Swedish conditions. For the present the factory delivers chiefly parts of locomotives, cylinders, etc., for the repair of locomotives that are not yet fit to be used.

On the whole, much business is being done in all sorts of materials for the Russian railroads. The transactions are carried on directly by the head of the Russian Railway system, the former professor at the Technological Institute at Petrograd, Lomonossov. His main office is in Stockholm, with a branch at Berlin.

When Lomonossov last came from Russia he had with him not less than 150,000,000* crowns in Rus-

sian gold. It is therefore not to be wondered at that his office is besieged by Swedish business men, and that even the largest Swedish firms are interested in the Russian market. The Wallenberg family, the Rockefellers of the North, are already active. Their bank, Stockholms Enskilda Bank, has raked in a considerable portion of the profit on these gold deposits. The great Kopparberg Corporation, in which the Wallenbergs hold the majority of the shares, is one of those that has tried to enter the market, and with the Wallenbergs' permission the Swedish Government very recently decided to receive an official representative of Russia with diplomatic rights, namely Kerzhentsev, Sweden likewise receiving the right to send a commercial delegation to Russia. The head of the Swedish Delegation is Gurwitz, former head of the Russian section of the Swedish Export Society. The members of the Delegation are the engineer Englund, of the Telephone Company, as well as Wallenberg's special representative, Director Olssen, former head of the Moscow office of the Nordiske Kompaniet.

The Swedish Delegation will among other things study the possibilities of Sweden's obtaining concessions in Russia: forests, paper mills, etc. A number of agreements have already been concluded, for instance, for handing over to the Svenska Kultury the control of the company's ballbearing factories in Moscow; also for the Swedish General Electric Company, the right to build and operate factories for electric motors at Yaroslav.

Swedish enterprise appears therefore to be about to conquer a big field in Russia.

In connection with the above letter, "Social-Demokraten" says the following in an editorial in a recent issue:

SWEDEN, RUSSIA AND NORWAY

The letter shows that Sweden is well on her way to acquire for herself a strong position on the Russian market. The Swedish Government has undoubtedly made up its mind to resume relations. On the basis of the Aaland question Sweden is obliged to proceed more or less cautiously with respect to England and France. But the Swedish

*We are not quite sure whether this is the correct amount. Ed. *Soviet Russia*.

Government—unlike the Norwegian—has been unwilling to have industry stopped unless it is absolutely necessary.

In Norway, where there is no Aaland question, the Government is so afraid of the western powers that it not only neglects to enter into relations with Russia but even makes itself ridiculous by issuing an ostrich-like prohibition of Russian literature. Simultaneously the Government is compromised by the fact that the foreign minister, behind the nation's back so to speak—is making a pretty penny on his own hook by selling goods to Russia.

The action of the Norwegian Government on the Russian question is on the whole of such nature as to be a shame and scandal in the eyes of the

country. The Prime Minister's seat is occupied by a notorious simpleton who does not know enough to come in out of the wet. The Foreign Department is conducted by a scoundrel who is entirely taken up with the task of feathering his own nest. The rest of the Cabinet consists partly of political non-entities, and partly of speculators who should never have had any influence on the course of events. It is to be expected that such a Cabinet will lead the country into all sorts of difficulties. The fact that Norwegian factories, aside from the Electrical Bureau,* are practically excluded from the Russian market, while Sweden is conducting large deals with Russia, is exclusively a consequence of the Government's unfitness and lack of good will.

The Public Economy of Azerbaijan

(An interview with Comrade A. P. Serevrovsky, Chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Public Economy and member of the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan).

As soon as the bourgeois Government of Azerbaijan was overthrown, the Soviet Government organized the export of petroleum into Russia. The vessels of the petroleum fleet were in a very bad state, because they had not been repaired during the last three to four years. Therefore, the export during the first month of May was only 15 million poods.* However, thanks to the concerted efforts of the Baku proletariat, we have succeeded in bringing the fleet into shape, and in the month of June we exported 21,800,000 poods; in July, 29,700,000 poods; in August, 31,600,000 poods; in September, 28,500,000 poods; in October, 27,300,000 poods. The total export was 158,740,849 poods.

The decrease in the export during the autumn months is due to the strong north winds which blew the water from the mouth of the Volga river and disturbed the work of the transportation of petroleum.

The work of the watermen was really heroic; the export of 1920, proportionally to the tonnage on hand, exceeded not only the export of 1917 but even that of 1916, which was a record year in the history of maritime petroleum transportation. The whole tonnage on hand was 5,200,000 poods, while in 1916 the tonnage was 8,600,000 poods. The work in 1916 began 36 days earlier and ended 10 days later than in 1920. At present, we have started to repair the petroleum fleet, and on the success of this work depends the success of the export during the season of 1921. The repair of the fleet is divided into three turns. In the first turn are included 50 of the best and biggest vessels, which, when repaired, will carry 220,000,000 poods during the year of 1921. Suppose that we succeed in repairing only the vessels of the first two turns, and the barges of only the first turn, we shall be able to carry about 300,000,000 poods of oil during 1921. Of these there would be 260,000,000 poods from Baku and 40,000,000 from Grosny.

Of course, in order to carry out this program, we

must pay special attention to the regular supply of the repair workers with clothing, shoes and, chiefly, with food products.

Parallel to the organization of the export of petroleum, we also organized the management of the oil fields and distilleries.

In all, 186 privately owned establishments were nationalized, and have subsequently been joined in a harmonious Soviet economy, possessing all the technical requirements for its further sound development.

In order to increase the amount of oil procured, the method of hand pumping is being replaced by compressors, and, at present, 45 per cent. of the whole oil is procured by compressors, i. e., by mechanical means without the aid of pump workers. At the same time, we replaced the steam and petroleum motors by electromotors, and already 70 per cent. of the oil is procured by electricity. We installed on the area of the oil fields and distilleries about 2,000 electric motors, and it is only on account of the shortage in motors and the present necessity of overloading our electric stations, that we are at present unable to continue the further electrification of the Baku region. Our electric stations have 63,700 kilowatt power altogether, and the boilers and turbine generators urgently require repairs. Besides this, we need the boilers and generators which were to have been installed, and were ordered abroad. Then we shall be able to electrify the whole Baku region, which would give us a great economy of fuel, because after electrification, the expense of petroleum for fuel will be less than 5 per cent. of the amount of petroleum procured. At present we use on the electrified section 5.6 per cent. of the petroleum procured, and on the unelectrified 20 per cent. Be-

*A corporation manufacturing telephone and other electrical supplies, which has for some time been making deliveries to Latvia. A Moscow wireless of Feb. 15 reports that Soviet representatives have purchased great quantities of such supplies in Norway, to be shipped to Russia by way of Murmansk.

*1 pood = 36 lbs.

sides the oil fields, there are in Baku many distilleries which manufacture kerosene, benzine, different kinds of oil, etc. In 1920, at the moment of the proclamation of the Soviet Government, almost all factories were inactive. We had to set them in motion again, and between May and December, 1920, we refined 39,500,000 poods of petroleum and procured from them 39,000,000 poods of refined oil. The distilling and refining program for 1921 depends on the state of repair of the factories and on the supply of the necessary reagents: caustic soda and sulphuric acid. We are paying much attention to this, and, if we receive the necessary amount of food products, we shall be able to carry out the program for 1921, which requires 35,775,000 poods of kerosene, and 11,000,000 poods of other kinds of oil.

The program of procuring petroleum during 1921 is set at 169,000,000 poods. The supplies at hand are 214,000,000 poods.

The Republic of Azerbaijan is rich not only in oil; there are copper mines, sulphur pyrites, layers of salt. There is a sufficient amount of cotton, of which 1,500,000 poods a year used to be gathered, and during this year, from May to December, 640,000 poods of cotton were exported into Russia and 300,000 poods were left for the work of the factory called by Lenin's name (formerly Tagievs) and for the small home industries. Besides cotton, there are supplies of wool, different furs; further, there are tobacco factories, glass, soap, oil, and other factories.

The whole industry of Azerbaijan is managed by the Azerbaijan Council of Public Economy. In Azerbaijan, the trade unions take a most active part in the management of production, and the whole apparatus consists of trade union workers. Especially this is to be noticed in the composition of the Petroleum Committee, where at the head of all regional managements there stand exclusively trade union workers and specialists—also of the trade unions.

We hope, that on the firm basis of the trade unions we shall be able to strengthen the public economy of Azerbaijan.

THE COMMUNIST YOUTH OF GEORGIA TO THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST YOUTH

Moscow, March 7.

The Central Committee of the Alliance of Communist Youth has received the following telegram from Georgia:

The young peasants and workers of Georgia who are now free from the yoke of the Mensheviks, the mercenaries of the Entente, greet the young peasants and workers of Russia who are the advance guard of the Communist Youth International. The artificial walls which separated us, are now thrown down. We now belong to the same family of the freed people.

Long live Soviet Georgia!

—Rosta.

The Situation in Georgia

(According to the latest news Georgia, until recently the Menshevik Republic in the Caucasus, is now in the hands of the Georgian Communists who have established in their country a Soviet Government that will live in peace with the neighboring Armenian and Azerbaijan Soviet Republics. The cable given below, dated March 2, summarizes the events that preceded the final debacle of that last outpost of European imperialism in the southern part of Russia.)

The Armenian uprising was preceded by a series of protests occasioned by the fact that the Georgians had occupied the neutral zone between Georgia and Armenia. This neutral zone was established with the help of England after the Armenian-Georgian war of 1918. Already in 1919, with the permission of the Entente, the Georgians occupied the northern part of the neutral zone. On the occasion of the Turkish attack, the Georgians occupied, with the permission of the *Dashnak** Government the southern part of the neutral zone; later they advanced and seized arbitrarily the northern part of undisputed Armenian territory. The *Dashnak* Government protested against this as early as November 27. The Armenian Soviet Government requested as early as December 7 that Georgia evacuate the unjustly occupied territory of the neutral zone. For the same reason the Armenian Soviet Government sent a great number of other protests to the Georgian Government. It protested also against the reprisals of the Georgians especially towards Communists who were arrested in great numbers and treated in an atrocious manner. Moreover, the Georgians were in every possible way forcing the Armenian population to express their willingness to be annexed to Georgia; they even forced Armenians to give their signatures for this purpose. In these protests the Armenian Soviet Government also called attention to the desperate situation in which the Armenians found themselves due to the fact that the Georgians did not permit the transit of trains with foodstuffs for Armenia. During the two months' negotiations carried on by Georgia with Armenia and Russia, Georgia permitted the transit of only two trains of foodstuffs for Armenia, viz. at the end of December and at the end of January, on which occasion Georgia put such obstacles in the way that Armenia succeeded in getting these food supplies only with the greatest difficulty. In the beginning of February Georgia finally prohibited the passage of foodstuffs for Armenia. This question is, moreover, connected with a number of other questions which led to friction between Georgia and Russia. Under an agreement of December 16 Georgia pledged itself to return to Russia all Russian ships which would enter Georgian harbors,—an obligation which Georgia did not keep. Already in the middle of December mass arrests of Communists began in Georgia and those connected with the Russian

*Armenian Nationalists.

Mission were arrested. Under the agreement with Soviet Russia on May 7, Georgia had pledged itself to give the Communist party a legal standing and was ready to appoint a mixed commission for the examination of the cases of the arrested Communists and employees of the Mission. On December 20 Sheinman* left for Baku for a few days for the sake of convenient connection with Moscow. In that moment the Georgian Government broke all its promises: the Communist party was broken up and those connected with the Mission were brought to the penitentiary in Citiass. All these arbitrary actions Russia answered by prohibiting the delivery of oil to which Georgia was entitled under the transit trade agreement. Then came Georgia's ruling: the prohibition of transit to Armenia and the unjustified occupation of the neutral zone as well as of Northern Armenia by Georgia. Thereupon Armenia and Russia asked for the appointment of a mixed commission for the settlement of the territorial question with equal participation of Russia, Georgia, and Armenia. Georgia declined the commission and left open the question concerning the form of Russia's participation. Georgia refused to give full satisfaction for the robbing of a Russian courier on a steamer in Batum by Georgian secret policemen, as well as for the insult to the Russian flag hoisted in January by the Russian Sailors' Union. The refusal of oil ordered by Sheinman was answered on the part of Georgia by the seizure of Russian goods in Georgia, especially all goods of the *Centrosoyuz*. On February 11 an Armenian revolt began at Shagali on Armenian territory which soon spread to the neutral zone. On February 13, the revolt spread to Mohammedan villages in the district of Bortschilink, canton of Karjass. At the same time all telegraph connection of the Russian Government with the Caucasus was cut off, the Georgians having apparently cut the telegraph line. But it was possible to pick up isolated radios from which it was evident that the revolt had spread to the North to places near Signach and Shulavery, so that shortly afterwards the insurgents were only ten kilometers** away from Tiflis. Some radios point to negotiations between the Georgians and the *Dashnaks*, who on February 17 were promised ammunition and food supplies and were advised to occupy the road leading to Erivan. When on February 19 the *Dashnaks* penetrated Erivan, they were asked in a radio from Tiflis to attack the Armenian insurgents in the rear. On February 21 a radio from Tiflis informed the *Dashnaks* that the French fleet was acting in full agreement with the Georgian Government and was shelling the Black Sea coast at Mekhodyrki. The Georgian envoy in Moscow, Makhharadse, visited Chicherin on February 19 and expressed the conviction that the insurrection of February 11 was begun on the instigation of the Entente for the creation of a new front. On February 14 Moscow

obtained for the last time a short telegraph connection with Tiflis, and on that occasion it became known that the Russian representative had suggested to the Georgian Government to proceed to the insurgents together with a representative of that Government in order to start negotiations, but that the Georgian Government had rejected this suggestion. At the same time Saratov picked up a radio of the Georgian Government for transmission to the Georgian Envoy, Eristov in Warsaw. This radio reported that Soviet troops were acting on the part of Armenia and Azerbaijan and that the Armenian and the Azerbaijan Mission in Tiflis were arrested. On February 18 the Russian Government sent to Tiflis an offer for mediation delegating Ycnukidse with far-reaching powers, in order to find a way out of the conflict. The Georgian Government left this proposition unanswered, thus apparently rejecting the mediation. An attack on Georgia by the Red Army did not take place.

—Rosta.

Propaganda Steamers and Trains

Soon after the proletariat's victory in November there arose the acute question of contact between Moscow and Petrograd, the centers of the Revolution, and the provinces. It was a question of supplying the provinces with information concerning the policy and activity of the Soviet Government.

One and a half years ago the foundation was laid of two auxiliary movable networks of propaganda organizations, in the shape of a flying detachment of organizing and propaganda trains, and a flotilla of steamers, for the purpose of rendering swift aid to the provinces, to unite them with the center, to guide and control the local organs of government and organizations, to develop extensive agitation and conduct the supply of literature and decrees.

The propaganda boat or train, in its construction, represents a complete harmonious whole. It is an itinerant general soviet institution. In its general organization it is very similar to the construction of the National Central Executive. It is the "National Executive on the road," as one comrade called it. The analogy is partly right. This can be seen by a close inspection of the sections of the train (or the boat). The following is a brief outline of these sections:

The Political Section, the chief section of the train. It consists of: (a) instructors sub-section, containing instructors from practically all Commissariats and the Central Committee, and (b) agitation and lecturing collegiate, of agitators and lecturers. This Section carries on the basic work, i. e., it organizes, inspects the local Soviet and Party organizations, and carries on mass agitation amongst the population. At the head is a political commissar.

The Grievance Bureau is also an important section. Here the people hand in all complaints and written statements against the local organs of government and their separate representatives. Usually

*The Russian Soviet representative in Georgia.

**Six miles.

the chief of this section is a representative of the Russian Communist Party.

The Intelligence Section carries out all the preparatory and auxiliary work for the Political Section; it sees to the execution of the established program at all stopping places; it summarizes the work of the Political Section and other auxiliary sections, and collects material and information. This Section is in direct touch with the Political Section.

The Rosta (Russian Telegraph Agency) Section carries on the publishing, editorial and information work, publishes a newspaper, leaflets, proclamations, etc., and conducts the work of the train's radio-station. At the head of this Section is a responsible representative of the Russian Telegraph Agency (the editor). It is also his duty to instruct the local press organs and to go into the Political Section as a political worker.

The remaining sections are as follows: the Cinema, Book Stall, Exhibition, Accounting and Control sections, the Commandant, the Economic and the Technical sections.

All the above-named sections are accommodated in sixteen to eighteen freight and passenger cars. The entire train is uniform.

The sections of the train are connected by interior telephones, which can be connected with the Central if necessary. Every train (and boat) has a wireless station which receives messages from Moscow, Lyons, Nauen and other places in the course of its journey. There is direct communication from one car to the other, so that inside the work goes on while the train is moving.

The occupants of the train consist of 15 to 18 political workers, and about 80 to 85 technical collaborators, working for the political section and all the auxiliary sections of the train. (On a boat there are 175 to 200 technical collaborators.)

The outside walls of the trains are painted with pictures and watchwords. Futurism has already been done away with, and the paintings are now of a purely realistic character.

The following is some data concerning the work of the propaganda trains of the National Central Executive Committee from December 27, 1918, to December 12, 1920:

The Train "November Revolution" made 12 journeys.

The Train "Lenin" made 3 journeys.

The Train "Red Cossack" made 1 journey.

The Train "Soviet Caucasus" made 1 journey.

The Train "The Red East" made 1 journey.

The Boat "The Red Star" made 2 journeys.

Total 20 journeya.

Provinces recurrently attended 96

Stoppages made 775

At provincial towns 96

At county towns 189

At villages 468

At factories 14

Time spent on stoppages (days) 656

Meetings conducted 1,891

Attendance at meetings 3,752,000

Lectures 1,008

Attendance at lectures 25,200

Business meetings with local workers .. 1,334

Inspection of Soviet and Party organs.. 3,543

Moving-picture shows 1,962

Concerts 106

Attendance at cinemas and concerts 2,216,000

Number of grievances received 14,548

Attendance at agricultural and sanitary exhibitions, and exhibition on Mother and Child Protection on board the "Red Star" 132,500

Attendance at Medical Exhibition on the train "The Red East" 34,000

Printed matter, distributed, published in the trains, in Russian and other languages:

(a) Newspapers (copies) 1,641,400

(b) Leaflets (copies) 1,428,000

Literature sold to the value of (roubles) 11,657,335
From the "Russian Press Review."

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ITEMS

Moscow, March 8.

The Kamensk Metal Works (Province of Perm) has exceeded its allotted production by 70 per cent. The three textile factories in Bukhara have reached their peace time level of production. The former Brushin Textile Factory in Moscow has resumed work. It is supplied with fuel and raw material for a long time. In the majority of the villages of the Province of Podolsk electric lighting has been introduced. Along the Syr-Darya River the development of rich copper deposits has begun. An experimental farm worked exclusively by electrically driven machinery is being worked in Novocherkask. The large glass factory in Koselsk has resumed work. Two large electrical stations have been set in operation in Pobadinka Tokarok and several others are approaching completion. The work of electrifying the peat district near Lake Peipus, on the Nikolayev Railway, is approaching completion.

Moscow, March 4.

In Kostroma a factory produces 800 poods of artificial fertilizer per month. In the same district the peasants have begun the business of rabbit-breeding in order to keep up the meat supply.

Moscow, March 7.

In order to encourage work on the allotments the Society of Allotment workers has arranged that those who surrender their surplus produce will receive seeds, plants, and manufactured articles in exchange.

Rostov on the Don, March 8.

In south-east Russia there have been stored for export tobacco, wines, gasoline and kerosene to the value of 300 million gold rubles (\$150,000,000).

Moscow, March 8.

The cloth factory at Narva has obtained permission from the Esthonian Government to export 110,000 arshins (1 arshin=2.46 feet) of cloth to Soviet Russia.

Books Reviewed

By A. C. FREEMAN

THE RUSSIAN WORKERS' REPUBLIC. By H. N. Brailsford. Published by Harper and Brothers.
THE CRISIS IN RUSSIA. By Arthur Ransome. Published by B. W. Heusch.

These two books are admirably calculated to give the American reader an intelligible and accurate picture of what has happened in Russia since the November Revolution. Brailsford and Ransome combine clarity with depth. Their singularly just and penetrating appreciation of Russian political and economic conditions is illuminated by an extremely forceful and attractive literary style. They possess in very high degree the qualities of fairness, sympathy and humor. They do not pretend to write a detailed history of the Russian Revolution; but their sketches of life in Soviet Russia are characterized by warm human contacts that cannot be found in formal, documentary histories, written many years after the events which they describe. The authors, of course, suffer under the disadvantage of having paid only intermittent visits to Russia since the Revolution; they cannot be expected to possess the exhaustive "inside" knowledge of a Russian who had witnessed the movement as a whole and participated in it. On the other hand, their very detachment is a notable factor in helping them to achieve an objective viewpoint. Throughout the books there is not a trace of bigotry, of prejudice, of partisan bitterness. Brailsford and Ransome consistently pursue the idea of discovering and recording the historical facts of the Russian Revolution, without bias or partiality. They are dispassionate scientific observers, not propagandists.

Following entirely independent methods of investigation, these two writers arrive at substantially the same conclusions. The Bolsheviks are the preservers, not the wreckers of Russian civilization. Seven years of continuous war and blockade have wrought frightful havoc with the poorly developed Russian industries, which always depended upon foreign importation for essential machinery. As Ransome points out, there is not only a shortage of things, but a shortage of men. The number of the Russian city workers has been seriously diminished for several reasons. In the first place the seizure of land by the peasants, combined with the lack of food in the cities, has attracted many workers back to the country. Moreover, the very best of the workers have gone to the front with the Red Army; and many of them have been killed. And yet, notwithstanding the shortage of food and the shortage of men, struggling against the deterioration of machinery and resorting to the most desperate expedients to cope with the transport crisis, the Soviet government, by a miracle of energy and efficiency, has kept Russian industry alive. As shown by the figures submitted at the recent Eighth Congress of Soviets, there has been a distinct improvement in production during the last year, despite the handicaps imposed by the campaigns against the Poles, against Wrangel and several minor bandits. There is every reason to anticipate that this improvement will be rapid and continuous, now that the European capitalist powers show an inclination to resume trade relations with Soviet Russia, and to abandon their former policy of war and blockade.

It is a significant fact that Russian counter-revolutionists and their foreign press agents ignore the catastrophic ruin which was brought upon normal Russian industrial production by the World War. For instance, the production of agricultural implements (a most important factor in food production) sank to 15.1 per cent of the peace-time output as early as 1915. In 1917 it declined to 2.1 per cent. Facts of this nature show how absurd and fallacious it is to draw parallels between Russian pre-war production and production under the Soviet regime.

Mr. Brailsford, unlike some other visitors to Russia, does not judge Russian economic conditions by standards of British middle class comfort. He made a trip through Central Europe after the armistice; and he finds that Soviet Russia comes out very favorably by comparison with capitalist Germany and Poland. War and blockade, of course, reduce the city population of any country to a state of acute misery; and Russia has been subjected to war and blockade much longer than the countries of Central Europe. Yet Mr. Brailsford declares that the people of Petrograd are better off than the people of Vienna, although Petrograd has received no external aid.

There are two chief differences between Russia and the states of Central Europe. In Central Europe there is a small class of officials and profiteers which lives in luxury. This class does not exist in Russia, where everyone, including the highest government officials, shares in the common shortage. In Russia there is just one privileged class: the children. "In Russia," says Mr. Brailsford, "there is no parallel to the tragedy of child life which is the worst of all the plagues in Central Europe."

Mr. Brailsford has the highest praise for the social and cultural achievements of the Soviet Government. He observes:

"It may be honestly claimed, I think, for the Soviet administration that it has a better record in its relations to art and culture generally, than any other government in the civilized world."

He supports this assertion with a brilliant description of the tremendous cultural awakening which has taken place in Soviet Russia. Innumerable new schools have been opened; illiteracy is rapidly being abolished; theatres, and concert-halls, and picture-galleries, for the first time in Russian history, are thrown open to the masses. Education is being reorganized on a democratic basis. It is the ideal of the Soviet Government to give every child in Russia an equal chance in life through universal courses in practical and cultural instruction. The realization of this ideal is, of course, hampered by the lack of school materials and the difficulty of immediately setting up a large number of new schools in the country districts. But a very successful start has already been made in the cities and in the children's colonies, mostly located in transformed palaces and villas, where the city children are sent to play and study during the summer months.

Mr. Brailsford's book is full of vivid personal sketches, which reveal, more vividly and realistically than any array of facts and statistics, the great and beneficent effects of the Revolution. He tells of a peasant whom he asked whether things were better or worse since the Revolution. "Better," replied the peasant. "For now we can say what we like. There's no one to be afraid of." At first Brailsford was surprised; for he had become accustomed to the Menshevik complaints about the lack of free speech under the Soviet regime. But he soon found out that the peasant was thinking in social, rather than in political terms. He remembered the old days when he had to take his cap off and address his employer as "sir." Now everyone was equal; and he called the farm manager "comrade."

Brailsford's description of the Sobinka factory is a wonderful picture of a cross-section of Russian life. It is perhaps the best single piece of reporting in the book. And there is a very fine account of a Communist "Saturdaying."

Throughout his observations on Soviet Russia he preserves this attitude of wise restraint. He does not attempt to pronounce final and irrevocable judgment upon the Russian revolutionists on the basis of a few abstract theories. On the other hand, he tries to tell

fairly and candidly just what he saw in Russia during his visit of two months. He never falls into an attitude of servile and indiscriminating adulation; he frankly and freely criticizes certain aspects of life in present-day Russia. But his criticisms, unlike those of some of his compatriots, are almost invariably characterized by intelligence and a full appreciation of the facts of the case. The praise in his book far outweighs the blame. His final characterization of the Revolution is eloquent in its truth and beauty:

"It is, in a land where a feeble and dilatory civilization had touched as yet only a minute minority of a gifted population, a great and heroic attempt to shorten the dragging march of time, to bring culture to a whole nation, and to make a cooperative society where a predatory despotism, in the act of suicide, had prepared the general ruin."

Arthur Ransome's new book differs from his former work, "Russia in 1919" in laying more emphasis upon economic facts and figures. In his first two chapters, "The Shortage of Things" and "The Shortage of Men," he contributes an excellent analysis of the factors which have made for the demoralization of Russian economic life. He shows that the terrific decline in production was due to causes over which the Bolsheviki had no control, and that the Soviet Government had been making a heroic fight against foreign invasion, domestic counter-revolution, and the still more powerful economic forces which are working for the destruction of urban civilization in Russia. Had it not been for the Bolsheviki, Russian industry would have declined to the status of China or India,—a vast, amorphous mass of territory, devoid of cultural and political unity, inhabited by backward and illiterate peasants,—a ripe field for conquest and exploitation by the western powers. The Bolsheviki are determined that Russia shall not sink to the level of a vassal state, dominated by French and British imperialists. They are determined to revolutionize Russia's industrial and agricultural life by the importation of modern machinery and the ultimate use of electrical power on an enormous scale. As Ransome says:

"We are witnessing in Russia the first stages of a titanic struggle, with, on one side all the forces of nature leading apparently to an inevitable collapse of civilization, and on the other side nothing but the incalculable force of human will."

Ransome describes the political and economic structure of Soviet Russia at some length. He points out that the Communist dictatorship is based upon propaganda fully as much as upon force. An elaborate campaign of education and discussion always precedes the adoption of any new governmental project. Every effort is made to enlist popular sympathy and cooperation; and, if a proposal proves very unpopular, it is likely to be withdrawn or considerably modified. Like Brailsford, Ransome sees the dictatorship preparing the way for its own disappearance by introducing universal education.

Anyone who read an account of the proceedings of the Eighth Congress of Soviets must have been impressed by the concentration of the delegates upon economic, rather than political problems. Ransome finds this non-political attitude very characteristic of Soviet Russia. Everyone is primarily interested in repairing industry and transport, in restoring Russia to a normally healthy economic condition. The political parties which were formerly the expression of conflicting class interests are rapidly disappearing.

The author gives a very spirited description of the "propaganda trains" which operate in various sections of Russia. The trains are equipped with phonographs and moving picture apparatus, with a liberal supply of books and magazines, with competent lecturers. They constitute a powerful agency for keeping the government in touch with the peasants, even in the most remote districts.

Ransome declares that discussion and criticism of the existing regime in Russia are by no means repressed by the "terror." "I have many non-Communist friends in Russia," he says, "but have never detected the least restraint that could be attributed to fear of anybody in their criticisms of the Communist regime."

The author brings his book to a close by emphasizing a point which has been finally, if belatedly, recognized by the British Government in its signing of the trade agreement with Soviet Russia. Russia can exist without England, in the long run, better than England can exist without Russia. The Russians can slowly and painfully utilize their vast stores of raw material without foreign help; but England's economic life is absolutely bound up with the foreign trade. It is a credit to Mr. Lloyd George's perspicacity that he has finally recognized the irresistible logic of events, despite all the bellowings of Mr. Winston Churchill and *The Morning Post*.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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The Victory at London

By K. D.

(Speaking in the House of Commons, March 22, Mr. Lloyd George said that the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement recognized the Soviet Government as the de facto Government of Russia; "which," added the Premier, "undoubtedly it is.")

THE full extent of the victory won by the workers of Russia over the rulers of England is revealed in the text of the Anglo-Russian trade agreement published in this number of SOVIET RUSSIA. In the issue of January 22, 1921, there were published in SOVIET RUSSIA two preliminary draft agreements, one submitted by the British Government on November 29, and the other submitted by the Soviet Government on December 13, 1920. A comparison of the two papers afforded a view of the divergent and conflicting claims and purposes of the Russian and British Governments respectively. The final agreement is the outcome of the contest in which Mr. Krassin, representing the power and purpose of the Russian workers, met Sir Robert Horne, representing the power and purpose of the British imperialists. It was a test of strength, a significant skirmish, between Communism and Capitalism. We purpose here to examine the final document paragraph by paragraph, to see by comparison with the previous drafts which of the two powers prevailed in the adjustment of their opposing contentions. The examination will show that the Workers' Republic won an overwhelming victory over the Capitalist Empire. Point by point, clause by clause, the claims and principles advanced by the Soviet Government broke down the objections and evasions of the British Government.

The final document consists of a preamble and fourteen articles, and is accompanied by a separate declaration of claims, signed on the same day.

Moscow Wins the First Point

The preamble sets forth that, whereas it is desirable that peaceful trade and commerce should be resumed forthwith between Russia and Great Britain, it is necessary that a preliminary agreement should be arrived at, "pending the conclusion of a formal general peace treaty between the governments of these countries, by which their economic and political relations shall be regulated in the future." These words mark the first point won by Soviet diplomacy at London. They follow identically the words of the preliminary Russian draft. The British draft omitted the words "general peace," endeavoring to anticipate nothing more than a vague sort of "formal treaty" of unspecified nature. The Soviet Government had insisted from the beginning that the trade negotiations were only preliminary to a general peace treaty and that the larger political issues should be left to the forthcoming peace conference. This view was originally accepted by the British Government. In his note of June 30, 1921, presenting certain conditions for the consideration of a trade agreement, Mr. Lloyd George said: "Trade is only possible under conditions of peace or armistice. The British Government proposes what is tantamount to a general armistice as the condition of the resumption of trade relations, in the hope that this armistice may lead ere long to a general peace."* The Soviet Government, promptly accepting the con-

*SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. III. p. 151, August 14, 1920.

ditions of this note, agreed "that the plan proposed by the British Government will have to be considered as a state of armistice between Russia and Great Britain," and stated that it shared "the British Government's expectations that this armistice will pave the way to a definite peace." But as Mr. Krassin pointed out to the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in January, "the fundamental source of disagreement was the enlargement of the scope and the attempt to particularize the basis of the preliminary agreement of June 30th." The British Government attempted to evade the original understanding that the trade agreement was to be merely preliminary to a general peace treaty, and tried to introduce many subjects which properly belong to a general political negotiation. The desire to evade the original understanding was plainly seen in the omission from the British draft of reference to a "general peace treaty." The Russian Delegation, however, insisted upon adherence to this formula, and the final agreement adopts the terms of the Russian draft. Not only in the preamble, but throughout the document the principle that the large outstanding political issues shall be adjusted by a "formal general peace treaty" is accepted. On this first and fundamental point the Russian workers held their ground and the British rulers gave way.

The Soviet Government Recognized

In the drafts the preamble declared that the agreement should not "affect the view which either party may hold as to the legal status of the other." This clause does not appear in the final text, which recognizes the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic as the Government of Russia and throws aside completely any pretense that a trade agreement can be signed with a government which is not recognized. Indeed, the very efforts of the British to enlarge the scope of the negotiations compelled them repeatedly in the course of the document to acknowledge the *de facto* status of the Soviet Government. Thus the *Manchester Guardian Commercial*, speaking for English business interests, in an analysis of the final text, says:

"Most of the amendments have nothing to do with trade. They are political in character and are the more significant for that reason, because they belong properly not to a commercial agreement at all, but to a formal political treaty. . . . The value to Russia of the political clauses is precisely that they confirm the recognition of the Soviet Government by the British Government."

Britain Gives Up Propaganda

The preamble embodies the much discussed "guarantees" against propaganda. The ridiculous and arrogant phraseology originally proposed by the British is abandoned. In its final, modified form, this paragraph merely states a principle originally proposed by the Soviet Government itself as the natural accompaniment of formal political relations between Soviet Russia and foreign states. The English draft had demanded that each party

refrain from propaganda against the other, and "more particularly that the Soviet Government desists and refrains from undertaking or assisting any hostile action or propaganda in the United Kingdom or any part of the British Empire against the institutions of the British Empire. . . especially in the region of the Caucasus and Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan and India." In the final text this verbiage is much pruned. There is no mention of the Caucasus nor of Asia Minor nor of Persia. Moreover, Moscow agrees merely to "refrain" from propaganda, throwing out the word "desist," by which the British hoped to trap the Soviet Government into a signed confession that it had been engaged in "hostile actions" in the United Kingdom. It so happened that, simultaneously with the return of Mr. Krassin to London, the British Home Secretary was compelled to admit in Parliament that his Government had assisted in the preparation of forged copies of Russian newspapers printed in England for anti-Soviet propaganda along the Russian border. In the final agreement, "the British Government gives a similar particular undertaking" to refrain from anti-Soviet propaganda in the border states. In their preliminary draft the British attempted to bind the Soviet Government to "restrain Russian citizens" from hostile action or propaganda against British institutions. This impossible demand disappears entirely from the final text. Thus the mooted question of propaganda resolves itself into a mutual agreement on the part of the British and Soviet governments respectively to refrain from conducting outside of their own borders any propaganda directly or indirectly against the institutions of the other. This condition was accepted by the Soviet Government at the outset of the negotiations. It was proposed long ago by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs in his note of February 4, 1919, replying to the Prinkipo invitation, when he declared that the Soviet Government was ready "to include in the general agreement with the Entente powers the obligation not to interfere in their internal affairs, pointing out, however, that it cannot limit the freedom of the revolutionary press." (See "Soviet Russia," June 7, 1919).

The Blockade Is Lifted

Article I of the signed agreement provides for the removal forthwith of all obstacles hitherto placed in the way of resumption of trade between the United Kingdom and Russia. The agreement follows the Russian draft by which Britain agrees not only to remove but also "not to reimpose or maintain any form of blockade," an important provision not contained in the English draft. The English draft had parenthetically excepted from the provisions of Article I "arms and war material," a term of most elastic interpretation. This contrivance for the possible imposition of an embargo on locomotives and motor trucks and other essential supplies has been deleted and is replaced by a general permission to both parties

to regulate trade in arms and munitions under the "general provisions of law" applicable to their trade with foreign countries.

Article I is far more specific than the English intended to make it. Soviet Russia has had long experience in the devious ways by which its enemies have contrived to maintain blockades which were not blockades. Mr. Krassin took pains to secure the inclusion of an agreement not to place "any impediments in the way of banking, credit and financial operations for the purpose of such trade," a most important provision aimed against the financial blockade which has been maintained by Great Britain and her allies.

Similarly, in Article II, establishing mutual privileges, facilities and immunities for British and Russian shipping, the Soviet Government exacted a particular undertaking from the British Government "not to take part in or to support any measures restricting or hindering. . . Russian ships from exercising the rights of free navigation of the high seas, straits and navigable waterways, which are enjoyed by ships of other nationalities." Needless to say, no such particular undertaking as this was advanced in the original British draft.

Article III provides for the removal of mine-fields, a point conveniently omitted in the English draft, but insisted upon in the preliminary Russian proposals. The British Government gives assurances that it has already undertaken the clearance of mines from certain parts of the Baltic and agrees to give the Soviet Government information as to the position of mine-fields endangering the passages to Russian ports. The Soviet Government similarly agrees to inform the International Mines Clearing Committee about the Russian mine areas which still remain dangerous, provided, however, that nothing in this article shall restrict the Soviet Government from taking "any measures they may consider necessary for the protection of their ports."

Trade Representatives

Article IV provides for the appointment of trade representatives (distinct from the "official agents" discussed in Article V.). The final agreement enlarges the drafts by extending freedom of communication by post, telegraph and wireless to persons admitted under this article. The English draft had contained a too generous provision that English trade representatives admitted into Russia should be "permitted freely to import commodities destined solely for their household use or consumption." A careful examination of this clause in Moscow resulted in the limitation of such commodities "to an amount reasonably required for such purposes." Thus Soviet Russia protects itself against casual operations in speculation and free trade by foreign visitors. The final version of this clause also contains an absolute prohibition against any importation of alcoholic liquors or other commodities "of which both the importation and manufacture are or may be prohibited in Russia."

"Official Agents"

Article V provides for the appointment of "official agents" to reside and exercise their functions in the two countries. Here we come upon Sir Robert Horne's great diplomatic victory. At this point the terminology of the English draft prevails over the Russian. The Russian draft designated these personages as "official plenipotentiary agents"; the English draft and the final agreement speak of them merely as "official agents"—and then proceeds to declare that they "shall enjoy immunity from arrest and search" and such other prerogatives as are generally accorded diplomatic agents. The English draft had granted them immunity from arrest, but said nothing about search. Mr. Krassin, satisfied to dispense with such a long word as "plenipotentiary," would not, however, sign the final agreement until immunity from both arrest and search was conceded by the British Government. On this question of official representatives, Mr. Krassin said last January: "The British Government considers it sufficient to make them immune from arrest but refuses to grant them and their premises security from search. The discussions of this point show that the Foreign Office does not seem to bear in mind that these agreements are mutual and that what they deny to Russian representatives they deny at the same time to their own."* The British Foreign Office saw the point and agreed to the necessary amendment. The official agents are specifically accorded all the customary diplomatic privileges, such as access to the Government to which they are accredited and liberty to communicate freely with their own governments by post, telegraph and wireless in cipher and to receive and dispatch couriers with sealed diplomatic pouches "which can be exempt from examination." In specifying these privileges the agreement again adopts a provision of the Russian draft which the English appear to have carelessly omitted; namely, full liberty for these official agents to communicate not only with their home governments, but also with the official representatives of their governments in other countries. The agreement also follows the Russian draft in granting the official agents the customary diplomatic right of priority for their telegrams and radios over private messages. It is interesting to note that radio messages recently received at New York from Mr. L. C. Martens at Moscow, transmitted over a British wireless station, are marked "Government Priority," showing that in this respect the English Government is fulfilling the agreement. In exemption from taxation the agreement secures that, "Russian official agents in the United Kingdom shall enjoy the same privileges. . . as are accorded to the official representatives of other governments."

Safeguards for Communism

In Article VI both parties agree that persons admitted into their territories under the two pre-

*Manchester Guardian Weekly, Jan. 14, 1921.

coding articles shall enjoy all the protection, rights and facilities that are necessary to enable them to carry on trade, with the careful limitation, insisted upon by Moscow, that their operations shall be "subject always to any legislation generally applicable in the respective countries." Here again, as at every point, the Soviet Government has protected its institutions against interference by foreign agents.

Article VII provides for the immediate renewal of postal, telegraphic and wireless communication between the two countries. This is a new clause not included in the preliminary drafts.

Article VIII declares that all passports, powers of attorney and similar documents, issued or certified by the competent authorities in either country for the purpose of enabling trade to be carried on, shall be treated "as if they were issued or certified by the authorities of a recognized foreign government." In general, the agreement reads throughout "as if" the Russian Soviet Government were an institution quite recognizable in London, if not in Washington.

Bolshevik Gold

In Article IX the British Government declares that it will not take any steps to attach gold, funds, securities or commodities, not identifiable as the property of the British Government, which may be exported from Russia in payment for goods. In addition to this clause, which was already conceded in the preliminary English draft, the Soviet Government insisted upon the inclusion of a further declaration by the British Government that it will not institute any special legislation against the importation of precious metals from Russia, or against the storing, refining, melting or disposing thereof in the United Kingdom, and, moreover, that it "will not requisition such metals."

In Article X the Soviet Government agrees to defer to the general peace treaty its claims to dispose of funds or other property of the late Imperial and Provisional Russian Governments in the United Kingdom. This provision was included in the original Russian draft. The British Government gives a corresponding undertaking as regards British Government funds and property in Russia. An additional clause is added, however, taken from the Russian draft, by which "both parties agree to protect and not to transfer to any claimants, pending the conclusion of the aforesaid treaty, any of the above funds or property which may be subject to their control."

Article XI exempts merchandise imported under the terms of this agreement from compulsory requisition on the part of the Government or of any local authorities of the country into which it is imported. Since the foreign trade of Russia is nationalized and all articles imported into Russia are the property of the Government, this article applies simply as a further protection against the seizure by the British Government of Russian goods imported into British territory.

Article XII refers all questions relating to pat-

ents, trade marks and copyrights to the forthcoming general peace treaty.

Trade Begins at Once

Article XIII provides that the agreement shall come into force "immediately" and that both parties shall "at once take all necessary measures to give effect to it." It shall continue in force "unless and until replaced by the treaty contemplated in the preamble," so long as the conditions are observed by both sides. At any time after the expiration of twelve months from the signing of the agreement either party may give notice to terminate its provisions and six months from such notice they shall terminate accordingly. This is a considerable amendment of the original British draft, which provided for the termination of the agreement at any time by either party on three months' notice. Moreover, in the final draft, in the event of infringement by either party of any provision of the agreement, it is agreed that, before taking any action inconsistent with the agreement, the aggrieved party shall give the other "a reasonable opportunity of furnishing an explanation or remedying the default." The document as it now stands has a far more permanent and substantial character than the evasive and casual scrap of paper originally proposed by the British. In one event, however, the Soviet Government holds the right to terminate the agreement abruptly. Originally it was proposed that the British Government should introduce into Parliament a special moratorium bill providing for the postponement, until this question had been regulated by the forthcoming peace conference, of any legal action in England to recover claims of the British Government or of private persons against the Russian State or Russian people. This proposal was found impracticable. The agreement accomplishes the same purpose, however, by giving the Soviet Government the right to terminate its provisions forthwith, if any gold, funds, securities or commodities consigned to England by the Soviet Government and not identifiable as the exclusive property of British subjects are attached in the English courts on account of obligations incurred by the Russian Soviet Government or by any previous Russian Government. In other words, instead of demanding that the British Government legislate to prevent such a decision in the courts (which the British Government considered itself constitutionally unable to do), the Soviet Government merely declares that if such a decision is rendered the whole trade agreement is abrogated forthwith. It may be assumed from Sir Robert Horne's signature to the agreement that this provision, equally satisfactory to the Soviet Government, is wholly constitutional and agreeable to the British. Mr. Krassin anticipated this solution last January. Speaking of the British Government's reluctance to introduce special legislation to prevent the attachment of Russian goods, he said: "I think I see a way out of this difficulty. It is to bring a new test case before the British courts as soon as the trade agreement is

signed. Should the court decide against the attachment, well and good. But if not, the agreement will be declared void, as I have already told the British Government." (See also the statement of Mr. Krassin printed elsewhere in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.)

British officials have already said that the trade agreement, constituting recognition of the Soviet Government, has obviated the difficulty raised by the Roche decision.*

"The Government has stated in the house of Commons," says the *Manchester Guardian Commercial*, "that, although the British law courts at present attach property sent to this country by the Russian Government because that Government has not been recognized, their law officers are of the opinion that the signature of the trade agreement would constitute recognition in the eyes of the courts to such an extent that attachment need no longer be feared."

Claims and Counter-Claims

The provision in the preliminary British draft, by which the Russian Soviet Government was to recognize its liability to compensate British subjects for goods or services supplied or rendered to Russia, is entirely omitted from the agreement. In its place appears the separate declaration of recognition of claims signed by R. S. Horne and L. Krassin. This declares that "all claims of either party or of its nationals against the other party in respect of property or rights, or in respect of obligations incurred by the existing or former governments of either country, shall be equitably dealt with in the formal general peace treaty referred to in the preamble." When the delegates

assemble to draw that treaty, the Russian plenipotentiaries, or "official agents," will have formidable counter-claims to present for damages suffered from raids, invasions and insurrections fomented and subsidized by Great Britain and her Allies. "In the meantime," says the declaration, "and without prejudice to the generality of the above stipulation, the Soviet Government declares that it recognizes in principle that it is liable to pay compensation to private persons who have supplied goods or services to Russia for which they have not been paid." The detailed mode of discharging this liability is left to the forthcoming treaty. Here is nothing more than the principle accepted by the Soviet Government at the outset of the negotiations. The British note of June 30, 1920, claimed "as a matter of simple justice, that where a merchant has supplied the Russian people with a thousand plows which have been used or are still being used by the Russian people to their own great benefit, the Russian people should admit that they ought to pay that merchant and the workmen who manufactured the plows for the goods and the services they have rendered." This principle, so graphically enunciated by Mr. Lloyd George, was accepted by the Soviet Government last July.* The declaration of March 16 adds nothing to it, except that "it is clearly understood" that such claims shall not have preferential treatment in the aforesaid treaty "as compared with any other classes of claims which are to be dealt with in that treaty." One can imagine Mr. Krassin, as he signed this declaration, mentally adding up those "other classes of claims" which are to be considered in the forthcoming treaty.

The Trade Agreement with England

By LEONID KRASSIN

(The Trade Agreement between Soviet Russia and Great Britain was signed at 11 A. M. on March 16, 1921. Shortly afterwards Leonid Krassin, who signed the Agreement on behalf of the Soviet Government, made the following statement to the London "Daily Herald":)

"It is signed at last, after just over a year spent in negotiation.

"However, we must not expect miracles because we have signed the Agreement. A trade agreement is not trade. The Treaty of Versailles was a Peace Treaty. But—

"Seriously, though, the reestablishment of trade needs far more than the putting of Sir Robert Horne's signature and mine to an agreement. That, in a sense, is a negative achievement. It has removed obstacles that prevented trade. Now we have to start the trade itself going. We shall do our best to that end. And I expect that we shall find willing cooperators in the British merchants and manufacturers. For the speedy building up of Anglo-Russian trade is essential to the interests of both countries.

"As an English proverb has it, Rome was not built in a day, and it will take time to get the machinery of commerce into working order again. That is why I especially regret the year that has been spent in the negotiations.

A Year Wasted

"If we had made peace, and had signed the Agreement a year ago, trade this summer between Great Britain and Russia would already have been in full swing. England would have been supplying to us—English workers would have been making for us—the machinery and locomotives and rails and manufactures that we need. We should have been sending to England timber and flax and oil. And, in all probability, England would, for the first time since the war began, have received large consignments of wheat after this year's harvest.

*See article on the Roche decision by Lincoln Colcord, SOVIET RUSSIA, January 22, 1921, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 97.

*SOVIET RUSSIA, Aug. 14, 1920, Vol. III, No. 7, p. 151.

"Now, it is idle to think about this year's harvest. There is not enough time. We must think of the next one—of the harvest of 1922. That is England's loss.

"However, it is no use worrying about the past and about things that might have been. We must think of the present and the future. We want now to get trade going as quickly as possible.

"We shall also try to get as soon as possible the negotiations for the formal general Peace Treaty to which the preamble of the Trade Agreement refers—and with it, of course, the full recognition of the Russian Soviet Government.

One Obstacle to be Removed

"I want to make it quite clear, though, that trade cannot start at once, even though the agreement has been signed. There is still one important obstacle that has to be removed before anything effective can be done. At present, if we send gold or goods to England, someone claiming to be a creditor of the Tsar's Government, or of a Russian capitalist whose property was confiscated, may apply to the Courts for the attachment of that gold or goods. A test case will be brought almost immediately. Sir Robert Horne assures us that, since the signing of the agreement is equivalent to recognition of the Soviet Government as a *de facto* Government, the Courts are almost certain to decide in our favor. If they do so, well and good. Trade can then commence at once. But if the Courts hold otherwise — and nothing is done by the English Government to reverse the decision, then—trade is clearly impossible; the agreement will be a dead letter; and we shall, in accordance with the provision of Article 13, declare it null and

void. The hearing and decision of that test case are therefore essential before anything can be done.

"However, the Agreement is a big step forward both to the restoration of trade and of a full peace. That is a great thing. For we Bolshheviks want peace. We want to be able to get on with our real work."

With the long-protracted negotiations at London finally brought to a successful conclusion, Mr. Krassin turned his attention to America. In an interview with the correspondent of the "Associated Press" on April 1, he is quoted as follows:

"The Soviet Government looks to America as a country where Russia can obtain the experienced men and the materials which are needed in the gigantic reconstruction facing Russia. Nowhere in the world can her present problems be faced and solved as in America, which is the only country which has found realization of Russia's dreams of railway reconstruction, the development of mines, water transport, the oil industry, and electrification."

"If Central Russia is suffering from lack of food, the cause is lack of locomotives to transport supplies. America can remedy our transport problem immediately by the shipment of locomotives already built in America. Our horses and live stock are depleted, but iron, horses and tractors from America would rehabilitate the agricultural industry. Millions of tools are needed; a sewing machine in every peasant's cottage is our ideal. All these supplies America has furnished Russia in the past, and she knows the peculiarities of Russia's needs."

Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement

Complete Official Text

The Trade Agreement between Great Britain and Soviet Russia was signed March 16 by Sir Robert Horne, President of the Board of Trade, on behalf of the British Government, and L. Krassin, on behalf of the Soviet Government.

The following is the full text of the Agreement and of the accompanying declaration of recognition of claims:

Preamble.

WHEREAS it is desirable in the interests both of Russia and of the United Kingdom that peaceful trade and commerce should be resumed forthwith between those countries, and whereas for this purpose it is necessary pending the conclusion of a formal general Peace Treaty between the Governments of those countries by which their economic and political relations shall be regulated in the future that a preliminary Agreement should be arrived at between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, hereinafter referred to as the Russian Soviet Government;

The aforesaid parties have accordingly entered into the present Agreement for the resumption of trade and commerce between the countries.

Propaganda.

The present Agreement is subject to the fulfilment of the following conditions, namely:

(a) That each party refrains from hostile action or undertakings against the other and from conducting outside of its own borders any official propaganda, direct or indirect, against the institutions of the British Empire or the Russian Soviet Republic respectively, and more particularly that the Russian Soviet Government refrains from any attempt, by military or diplomatic or any other form of action or propaganda, to encourage any of the peoples of Asia in any form of hostile action against British interests or the British Empire, especially in India and in the Independent State of Afghanistan. The British Government gives a similar particular undertaking to the Russian Soviet Government in respect of the countries which formed part of the former Russian Empire and which have now become independent.

(b) That all British subjects in Russia are immediately permitted to return home, and that all Russian citizens in Great Britain or other parts of the British Empire who desire to return to Russia are similarly released.

It is understood that the term "conducting any official propaganda" includes the giving by either party of assistance or encouragement to any propaganda conducted outside its own borders.

The parties undertake to give forthwith all necessary instructions to their agents and to all persons under their authority to conform to the stipulations undertaken above.

Blockade Raised.

Art. I.—Both parties agree not to impose or maintain any form of blockade against each other and to remove forthwith all obstacles hitherto placed in the way of the resumption of trade between the United Kingdom and Russia in any commodities which may be legally exported from or imported into their respective territories to or from any other foreign country, and not to exercise any discrimination against such trade as compared with that carried on with any other foreign country, or to place any impediments in the way of banking, credit, and financial operations for the purpose of such trade, but subject always to legislation generally applicable in the respective countries. It is understood that nothing in this article shall prevent either party from regulating the trade in arms and ammunition under general provisions of law which are applicable to the import of arms and ammunition from, or their export to, foreign countries.

Nothing in this article shall be construed as overriding the provisions of any general international Convention which is binding on either party by which the trade in any particular article is or may be regulated (as, for example, the Opium Convention).

Freedom of Shipping.

Art. II.—British and Russian ships, their masters, crews, and cargoes, shall, in ports of Russia and the United Kingdom respectively, receive in all respects the treatment, privileges, facilities, immunities, and protections which are usually accorded by the established practice of commercial nations to foreign merchant ships, their masters, crews, and cargoes, visiting their ports, including the facilities usually accorded in respect of coal and water, pilotage, berthing, dry docks, cranes, repairs, warehouses, and, generally, all services, appliances, and premises connected with merchant shipping.

Moreover, the British Government undertake not to take part in, or to support, any measures restricting or hindering, or tending to restrict or hinder, Russian ships from exercising the rights of free navigation of the high seas, straits, and navigable waterways which are enjoyed by ships of other nationalities.

Provided that nothing in this article shall im-

pair the right of either party to take such precautions as are authorized by their respective laws with regard to the admission of aliens into their territories.

Mine-Clearing.

Art. III.—The British and other Governments having already undertaken the clearance of the seas adjacent to their own coasts and also certain parts of the Baltic from mines for the benefit of all nations, the Russian Soviet Government on their part undertake to clear the sea passages to their own ports.

The British Government will give the Russian Soviet Government any information in their power as to the position of mines which will assist them in clearing passages to the ports and shores of Russia.

The Russian Government, like other nations, will give all information to the International Mine Clearance Committee about the areas they have swept and also what areas still remain dangerous. They will also give all information in their possession about the mine-fields laid down by the late Russian Governments since the outbreak of war in 1914 outside Russian territorial waters, in order to assist in their clearance.

Provided that nothing in this section shall be understood to prevent the Russian Government from taking or require them to disclose any measures they may consider necessary for the protection of their ports.

Trade Representatives.

Art. IV.—Each party may nominate such number of its nationals as may be agreed from time to time as being reasonably necessary to enable proper effect to be given to this Agreement, having regard to the conditions under which trade is carried on in its territories, and the other party shall permit such persons to enter its territories, and to sojourn and carry on trade there, provided that either party may restrict the admittance of any such persons into any specified areas, and may refuse admittance to or sojourn in its territories to any individual who is *persona non grata* to itself, or who does not comply with this Agreement or with the conditions precedent thereto.

Persons admitted in pursuance of this article into the territories of either party shall, while sojourning therein for purposes of trade, be exempted from all compulsory services whatsoever, whether civil, naval, military, or other, and from any contributions, whether pecuniary or in kind, imposed as an equivalent for personal service, and shall have right of egress.

They shall be at liberty to communicate freely by post, telegraph, and wireless telegraphy, and to use telegraph codes under the conditions and subject to the regulations laid down in the International Telegraph Convention of St. Petersburg, 1875 (Lisbon Revision of 1908).

Each party undertakes to account for and to pay all balances due to the other in respect of terminal

and transit telegrams, and in respect of transit letter mails in accordance with the provisions of the International Telegraph Convention and Regulations, and of the Convention and Regulations of the Universal Postal Union respectively. The above balances when due shall be paid in the currency of either party at the option of the receiving party.

Persons admitted into Russia under this Agreement shall be permitted freely to import commodities (except commodities, such as alcoholic liquors, of which both the importation and the manufacture are or may be prohibited in Russia) destined solely for their household use or consumption to an amount reasonably required for such purposes.

Official Agents.

Art. V.—Either party may appoint one or more official agents to a number to be mutually agreed upon, to reside and exercise their functions in the territories of the other, who shall personally enjoy all the rights and immunities set forth in the preceding article and also immunity from arrest and search provided that either party may refuse to admit any individual as an official agent who is *persona non grata* to itself or may require the other party to withdraw him should it find it necessary to do so on grounds of public interest or security. Such agents shall have access to the authorities of the country in which they reside for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of this Agreement and of protecting the interests of their nationals.

Official agents shall be at liberty to communicate freely with their own Government and with other official representatives of their Government in other countries by post, by telegraph, and wireless telegraphy in cipher, and to receive and dispatch couriers with sealed bags subject to a limitation of three kilograms per week which can be exempt from examination.

Telegrams and radiotelegrams of official agents shall enjoy any right of priority over private messages that may be generally accorded to messages of the official representatives of foreign Governments in the United Kingdom and Russia respectively.

Russian official agents in the United Kingdom shall enjoy the same privileges in respect of exemption from taxation, central or local, as are accorded to the official representatives of other foreign Governments. British official agents in Russia shall enjoy equivalent privileges, which, moreover, shall in no case be less than those accorded to the official agents of any other country.

The official agents shall be the competent authorities to *visa* the passports of persons seeking admission in pursuance of the preceding article into the territories of the parties.

Art. VI.—Each party undertakes generally to ensure that persons admitted into its territories under the two preceding articles shall enjoy all protection, rights, and facilities which are necessary to enable them to carry on trade, but subject al-

ways to any legislation generally applicable in the respective countries.

Art. VII.—Both contracting parties agree simultaneously with the conclusion of the present Trade Agreement to renew exchange of private postal and telegraphic correspondence between both countries as well as the dispatch and acceptance of wireless messages and parcels by post in accordance with the rules and regulations which were in existence up to 1914.

Art. VIII.—Passports, documents of identity, powers of attorney, and similar documents issued or certified by the competent authorities in either country for the purpose of enabling trade to be carried on in pursuance of this Agreement, shall be treated in the other country as if they were issued or certified by the authorities of a recognized foreign Government.

Russian Gold.

Art. IX.—The British Government declares that it will not initiate any steps with a view to attach or to take possession of any gold, funds, securities, or commodities, not being articles identifiable as the property of the British Government, which may be exported from Russia in payment for imports or as securities for such payment, or of any movable or immovable property which may be acquired by the Russian Soviet Government within the United Kingdom.

It will not take steps to obtain any special legislation not applicable to other countries against the importation into the United Kingdom of precious metals from Russia, whether specie (other than British or Allied), or bullion, or manufactures, or the storing, analyzing, refining, melting, mortgaging, or disposing thereof in the United Kingdom, and will not requisition such metals.

Art. X.—The Russian Soviet Government undertakes to make no claim to dispose in any way of the funds or other property of the late Imperial and Provisional Russian Governments in the United Kingdom. The British Government gives a corresponding undertaking as regards British Government funds and property in Russia. This article is not to prejudice the inclusion in the general Treaty, referred to in the preamble, of any provision dealing with the subject-matter of this article.

Both parties agree to protect and not to transfer to any claimants pending the conclusion of the aforesaid Treaty any of the above funds or property which may be subject to their control.

Art. XI.—Merchandise, the produce or manufacture of one country imported into the other in pursuance of this Agreement, shall not be subject therein to compulsory requisition on the part of the Government or of any local authority.

Art. XII.—It is agreed that all questions relating to the rights and claims of nationals of either party in respect of patents, trade marks, designs, and copyrights, in the territory of the other party, shall be equitably dealt with in the Treaty referred to in the preamble.

Art. XIII.—The present Agreement shall come into force immediately, and both parties shall at once take all necessary measures to give effect to it. It shall continue in force unless and until replaced by the Treaty contemplated in the preamble so long as the conditions laid down both in the articles of the Agreement and in the preamble are observed by both sides. Provided that at any time after the expiration of 12 months from the date on which the Agreement comes into force either party may give notice to terminate the provisions of the preceding articles, and on the expiration of six months from the date of such notice those articles shall terminate accordingly.

Provided also that if as the result of any action in the Courts of the United Kingdom dealing with the attachment or arrest of any gold, funds, securities, property, or commodities not being identifiable as the exclusive property of a British subject, consigned to the United Kingdom by the Russian Soviet Government or its representatives, judgment is delivered by the Court under which such gold, funds, securities, property, or commodities is held to be validly attached on account of obligations incurred by the Russian Soviet Government or by any previous Russian Government before the date of the signature of this Agreement, the Russian Soviet Government shall have the right to terminate the Agreement forthwith.

Provided also that in the event of the infringement by either party at any time of any of the provisions of this Agreement or of the conditions referred to in the preamble, the other party shall immediately be free from the obligations of the Agreement. Nevertheless, it is agreed that before taking any action inconsistent with the Agreement the aggrieved party shall give the other party a reasonable opportunity of furnishing an explanation or remedying the default.

It is mutually agreed that in any of the events contemplated in the above provisos, the parties will afford all necessary facilities for the winding up in accordance with the principles of the Agreement of any transactions already entered into thereunder, and for the withdrawal and egress from their territories of the nationals of the other party and for the withdrawal of their movable property.

As from the date when six months' notice of termination shall have been given under this article the only new transactions which shall be entered into under the Agreement shall be those which can be completed within the six months. In all other respects the provisions of the Agreement will remain fully in force up to the date of termination.

Art. XIV.—This Agreement is drawn up and signed in the English language. But it is agreed that as soon as may be a translation shall be made into the Russian language and agreed between the parties. Both texts shall then be considered authentic for all purposes.

Signed at London, this sixteenth day of March, nineteen hundred and twenty-one.

R. S. HORNE,
L. KRASSIN.

DECLARATION OF RECOGNITION OF CLAIMS

At the moment of signature of the preceding Trade Agreement both parties declare that all claims of either party or of its nationals against the other party in respect of property or rights or in respect of obligations incurred by the existing or former Governments of either country shall be equitably dealt with in the formal general Peace Treaty referred to in the preamble.

In the meantime, and without prejudice to the generality of the above stipulation, the Russian Soviet Government declares that it recognizes in principle that it is liable to pay compensation to private persons who have supplied goods or services to Russia for which they have not been paid. The detailed mode of discharging this liability shall be regulated by the Treaty referred to in the preamble.

The British Government hereby makes a corresponding declaration.

It is clearly understood that the above declarations in no way imply that the claims referred to therein will have preferential treatment in the aforesaid Treaty as compared with any other classes of claims which are to be dealt with in that Treaty.

Signed at London, this sixteenth day of March, nineteen hundred and twenty-one.

R. S. HORNE,
L. KRASSIN.

In Next Week's

Soviet Russia

EMANCIPATION—FEIGNED AND REAL, by John S. Clarke. Exposes the untruth of the tradition that Alexander II really liberated the serfs, and shows that Russia's real emancipation is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

THREE YEARS OF PROLETARIAN LAW, by Kursky. An account of legislation and court procedure under the Soviet Government. A record of orderliness and justice in laws and administration.

POLITICAL EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by N. Lenin. Demonstrates that the true function of party propaganda in Soviet Russia is no longer to discuss the desirability of Socialism, but to stimulate production and education.

THE KARELIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC, by Haavard Langseth. A Report of the First Soviet Congress of this new political unit.

way of business—by a group of the Russian emigrés, with the connivance and assistance of the Special Branch at Scotland Yard.

For various reasons we refrain from giving, at present, more precise details—names and dates and addresses, and the like. *But all those details are available, and can be produced when necessary.* Here are the broad facts.

The Russian group concerned consists of men and women employed at, or directly connected with the "Embassy" in Chesham-Place and the "Consulate" in Bedford-Square, which at the time claimed to represent Wrangel's Government.

They are also closely linked with the "Russian Liberation Committee."

And they are still in the closest relations and in daily communication with the Special Branch.

The usual procedure was this:—The order for the printing was given by one or the other of the principals of this group. They received the invoices and they paid the accounts—in cash.

The papers were then delivered by the printers to a house in Pimlico.

So far, so simple. But now came a difficulty.

Before those papers could be used the imprint must be removed. It was there to comply with the law. No ordinary printer would remove it.

This is where the Special Branch comes into the story. For the Special Branch has a printing establishment of its very, very own.

There is, of course, the ordinary printing establishment at the Yard—everybody knows that. But there is also (and this is known to very few people indeed) an extra-specially-confidential and infinitely discreet establishment in Scotland House itself, where very private work is done for the Special Branch's own curious requirements, and also on occasion for the Foreign Office and War Office.

It was in that secret printing office in Scotland House that the "guillotining" of these imitation "Pravdas" was done under the supervision of Home Office officials.

When that tell-tale imprint had been cut off and burnt, the papers were taken down to Hull or Harwich by Special Branch men and dispatched to certain British officials in Helsingfors.

Right through the autumn months, during the very time when the Government was crying out about Bolshevik propaganda and hurling reckless charges of bad faith at the Moscow Government, this pretty game went on.

Once a fortnight these papers were printed and guillotined and sent on their way with the assistance of the Special Branch, presumably at the British taxpayer's expense. On one occasion the "guillotine" was broken on this job. More expense!

Doubtless the business would have been going on still. It was the collapse of Wrangel that brought it, for the moment, to an end. That very week a new "Pravda" was being prepared. Everything was in readiness for the printing. And then—collapse, consternation and cancellation.

—London Daily Herald, Feb. 28, 1921.

THE SOWING CAMPAIGN

An interview with comrade V. V. Ossinsky

In connection with the forthcoming sowing campaign, whose success mainly depends upon the preliminary work, the Assistant Commissary for Agriculture, comrade V. V. Ossinsky, in an interview with a representative of *Trud* stated:

The preparatory work for the forthcoming sowing campaign has, in some places, already been started. We intend to sow an area considerably larger than that of 1920, and for that purpose we shall need approximately 220 million poods of seeds.

Ten per cent of the required amount is to be found at the present time in the government granaries, the rest however, has yet to be procured. The storage of seeds is carried out by the pouring of the grain into common granaries, by taking stock of the grain left in the peasants' private granaries, under the control of the authorities, the peasants guaranteeing the safety of the quantity left with them, or by the redistribution, among the poorer members of the community, of any surplus taken away from those who have seed in sufficient quantities.

Second in importance is the election of the provincial, district, *volost** and village sowing committees. The provincial, district and volost committees have nearly all been elected, and only in the central provinces does the election of the village committees reach 80½%.

Besides this, 17,000 communists have been mobilized for the sowing campaign by the Ukrainian Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

Most of those engaged in the sowing campaign will go through agricultural schools in the districts and volosts, organized by the Chief Committee for Vocational Education; 4,000 additional communists will be sent to work in the Soviet farms.

For the solution of the crisis caused by the lack of agricultural implements, workshops and repairing works have already been organized. For the same purpose, an exchange of agricultural implements and live stock will be effected between different farms and villages.

To help the Village Sowing Committees, detachments of instructors and harvesters will be sent. The thing aimed at therefore, as will be observed, is to increase the quantity of land put to the plough and to organize agriculture on a national basis, thus accomplishing a further step forward to the socialization of agriculture.

*County.

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A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

AUGUST STRINDBERG, Sweden's best-known writer, in 1884 wrote a story of about one hundred pages, called *Pangs of Conscience* (Samvetskval). It treats of the experiences of a Prussian lieutenant in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), who causes several "franco-tireurs" (citizen soldiers) to be shot for having engaged in the fighting when the German army was on French soil, without having provided themselves with uniforms. The most important portion of the story is the account of the officer's remorse, involving an attack of insanity, from which his recovery is slow and, to him, at least, instructive. He gradually convinces himself that not only was it wrong to shoot the French prisoners, but that participation in warfare of any kind is an abomination, and that it is the duty of all right-thinking and humane individuals to put an end to international slaughter.

Strindberg was an artist and, in spite of his strong predisposition for studies in the physical sciences, he vacillated between rigorous objective observation and a sentimental jumping at conclusions, with a tendency (becoming stronger and stronger in his declining years) to seek refuge in the warm fogs of a facile mysticism. It must have been some premonition of this weakness of Strindberg's senile period that impelled him to represent the Red Cross organization as the means, or at least the symbol, that would drag man out of the whirlpool of internecine war and lift him to the level of a true internationalism of the spirit (for of the material basis he says nothing in this story).

Our German lieutenant is sent to a sanatorium on the shores of Lake of Geneva, and there passes through the period of his slow convalescence, gradually acquiring the views that fit him for entering what he considers a better life. On the evening on which his recovery is being celebrated by a group of friends, representing many different origins and nationalities, a display of fireworks is seen to rise over the Lake and to outline a great Red Cross of fire in the sky, and an Englishman among those present, stimulated no doubt in part by the large quantity of champagne with which Strindberg does not fail to supply the banquet, rises and says, among other things:

"This means that the First International Court of Arbitration has finished its work; it means that a war between two peoples, that might have been a war against the future, has been prevented, that a hundred thousand

Americans and an equal number of Englishmen perhaps should thank this day for the fact that they may remain alive. The Alabama dispute has been solved, to the advantage not of America, but of justice, not to England's detriment, but to her ultimate welfare. . . . As an Englishman I might consider myself worsted this day, but I am proud. . . . that England is the first European power to appeal to the judgment of honorable men, instead of to blood and iron! And I wish you and everyone many such defeats as we have had today, for it is thus we shall learn to conquer! Your glass, ladies and gentlemen, raise it to the red cross, for in this sign we shall truly conquer."

The joke is on Stringberg and his Englishman. For, thirty years later came the European War, and the Intervention in Russia, and the League of Nations, which sent up more fireworks than the First Court of Arbitration, and yet was a more counter-revolutionary and anti-social body than any that had been established before the days in which men and women sat around tables and stimulated their adulation for peaceful practices with alcohol and oratory. And the most amusing irony of all, which even the aged Strindberg—who lost all his sense of humor long before he died—could have enjoyed, is that Strindberg should have chosen a red cross as the symbol for his brotherhood of man. This symbol has long ceased, in capitalist countries, to be anything else than a cover for aid and comfort to the military forces fighting against foreign armies, particularly the armies of proletarian states, as well as against movements of the workers within the country, such as strikes and demonstrations of every kind.

OFTEN in our pages we have been compelled to call attention to breaches of etiquette and humanity in the practice of the American Red Cross, as well as in that of other Red Cross bodies. We are again obliged to do this. The Vienna Office of the Russian Telegraph Agency (Rosta), under date of March 24, communicates a copy of a protest issued from Moscow, against the giving of food and clothing to the population of Cronstadt at a time when that city was held by rebellious elements hostile to the Soviet Government. The official directly accused of giving this aid is Colonel Ryan, of the American Red Cross, who has been stationed near the Soviet boundary for a long time, ready at a moment's notice to ship Red Cross supplies, clothing, food,—to all the enemies of Soviet Russia, since the Red Cross is the international comfort station for capitalist activities. Colonel Ryan has appeared in these pages before this (See *SOVIET RUSSIA*, Vol. II. No. 21, p. 516). The protest is herewith reprinted:

Moscow, March 22.

The Central Committee of the Russian Red Cross has sent the following telegram to the International Committee of the Red Cross at Geneva and to the Central Committees of the Red Cross.

According to information received by the Russian Red Cross, the International Committee of the Red Cross is examining the question of the supply of food and clothing to the population of Kronstadt. Colonel Ryan of the American Red Cross has already made the necessary preparations. The Russian Red Cross can only regard this help, which is given to a band of officer adventurers and disobedient

sailors, as an open interference in the political life of the Soviet Republic, which is originated by the enemies of the workers and of the government which represents them.

The Russian Red Cross, which has always observed the strictest neutrality, holds it to be its duty to brand this unworthy proceeding on the part of the representatives of the Red Cross. When the children of Russian workers, separated from their parents, were obliged to make a trip around the world for the pleasure of the agents of the American Red Cross, the Russian Red Cross saw in this fact only an abuse which had been committed by subordinate officials who were not conscious of their duty. When, however, among the prisoners who were brought in by the victorious Red Army, there were found persons who as representatives of the American Red Cross were fulfilling a purely military task, it was impossible to do otherwise than to recognize a definitely established systematic abuse of the Red Cross, and to make the directors of the American Red Cross responsible for it.

However much everything pointed to this conclusion, the Russian Red Cross could not bring itself to believe that this took place with the knowledge of the responsible leaders of the American Red Cross. The Russian Red Cross hopes that the International Committee and the Central Committee of the American Red Cross will immediately and in the most decided manner deny these charges, or, in the case of their absolute accuracy being established, will pronounce a public condemnation of the guilty officials. If not, the Russian Red Cross will to its regret be forced to announce before the Red Cross organizations of all nations that the most elementary duty of the Red Cross has been forgotten and is treated with contumely when political or class interests come into consideration, and further, that when it was a matter of healing the cruel wounds of war which had been inflicted in the imperialist struggle, organizations were to be found who under the name and flag of the Red Cross entered the ranks of the enemies of the workers and peasants of Russia who are fighting for a better future.

(Signed) President of the Central Committee
of the Russian Red Cross: Soloviev.

It is characteristic of the Red Cross in capitalist countries that it intervenes abroad only in the interest of expropriated exploiters against their former victims. Should it be the policy of the American Red Cross to aid all rebellious populations against their present governments, disregarding class lines, we should no doubt find aid given by that body to the striking miners in England, Scotland, and Wales, but no doubt the inhumanity of the miners in permitting the pumping ponies to drown in the shafts as the mines filled with water is such an evidence—as the *New York Times* hatened to point out of the brutal inhumanity of the British workers as to make them unfit to receive the gentle and “classless” ministrations of the American Red Cross. As in the European war between “nations,” so in the present war between classes, the Red Cross organizations of capitalist countries are on the side of the capitalists only.

* * *

WHEN you protest against these irregularities of the various national Red Crosses, you have your hands full, for their activities and inactivities are great and numerous. Thus, the *New York Times* of April 5 reports (in a news item from Geneva, entitled “American Red Cross Gets High Praise”) that “Dr. Soloviev, of the Russian Soviet telegraphed, complaining that Russia had not been invited to attend the conference.

President Ador denied this, declaring that all Red Cross countries had been invited.”

The meeting to which the Russian Red Cross had not been invited, according to the message of Soloviev, its President, and to which President Ador said “All Red Cross countries had been invited,” was a session of the International Red Cross Conference, presumably a congress of representatives of national Red Cross organizations all over the world. At first the words of Soloviev and Ador seem to be in flat contradiction with each other, but those who understand the class lines along which Red Cross organizations outside of Soviet Russia operate will have no difficulty in grasping and eliminating the contradiction. President Ador invited the Red Cross organization of the late Russian Empire, which enjoys in International Red Cross circles the same respect and consideration that is granted in international diplomatic quarters to the Ambassadors of the late Empire of the Esar. All the outward trappings of autocracy must be scrupulously reserved for the use of the former autocrats, should it be possible ever to set them up on their feet again. It is right for Comrade Soloviev to protest against being ignored by the band of capitalist Red Crosses, who invite not him but the Tsar’s Red Cross, not because they will be moved to recognize him or his organization, but in order that the world may know and understand where the Red Cross bodies stand in the conflict between the old order and the new, in which they are not permitted to assume even a neutral position. Let them not “get away” with the claim that they distribute aid and medicines impartially and equitably to all that suffer.

THE CROSS may well be regarded as a symbol of suffering by those who recall that it was the instrument on which offenders—and rebels—were sometimes put to death in ancient times. Most prominently this symbol is now associated with the name of the malcontent who is the centre of the religious system, now nearly two thousand years old, that has been more or less accepted by the greater portion of the European and American populations. But the use of the Red Cross symbol had made many persons associate the cross with ministrations to the sick, with the alleviation rather than the infliction of suffering. It is the various Red Cross organizations themselves who are responsible for the fact that this ancient outline is again being restored in the minds of the people to its earlier significance, that of an instrument of torture. Strindberg, in the story from which we have already quoted, describes a sort of “temple of humanity” that has been erected for the purpose of inducing gentle thoughts in the minds of those convalescing from madness, in the grounds of he sanatorium in which the German lieutenant is recovering from his malady. In the course of this description, Strindberg has the following digression on the cross, which, curiously enough, is omitted from the reprints and translations of the story:

Why was not the cross to be seen over the altar? Because man had become ashamed of this Roman gallows, once

raised by folly for Truth's greatest witness. And this symbol of shame that should be consigned to an attic room, as the torture instruments of bygone ages are preserved in the least accessible rooms of the museums, was raised aloft and borne along in battle—an ambiguous encouragement, an ironical admonition to future witnesses to the Truth! Why, if the choice of a symbol *must* be made in this field—why not erect a guillotine on the altar, hang Spanish boots and thumbscrews from the pulpit, and have the congregation confess to a rack! All this would be more consistent!

And the abuses that must have aroused these reflections in the mind of the novelist were in no way different from the present practices of the American and other Red Cross bodies in aiding counter-revolution and refraining from giving aid to Soviet Russia.

* * *

SIR PAUL DUKES on Wednesday, April 6, addressed the Merchants' Association in New York, and said some interesting things about his experiences in Soviet Russia. Only short extracts from Sir Paul's speech on this occasion were reprinted in the daily papers, and we therefore take the liberty to complement this material with a few of the gems disclosed by the distinguished speaker. Particularly fine was his description of an epileptic fit he was compelled to simulate when Soviet officials were inspecting a doctor's office in which Dukes happened to be, with three passports in his pocket, all with the same photograph, but all bearing different names. So great was the merriment aroused by this British spy in this meeting of the Merchant's Club that the Chairman, in closing the luncheon, declared: "The only thing necessary to complete this address is an exhibit of one of those epileptic fits," which remark again produced laughter.

Very pretty also was Sir Paul's account of the dream of a Russian peasant:

"In his dream there was placed before him a huge bowl of most delicious gruel. But alas, he was given no spoon wherewith to eat it. And he awoke, and his mortification was so intense that on the following night he took the precaution of taking with him to bed a big wooden spoon in case his dream should recur" (*Laughter*).

This incident was compared to the coming of the Russian Revolution before the peasantry had any instrument with which to control it, in the following spirit:

"The Russian people are at the present time fashioning for themselves a spoon; and I am sure of this, that next time a great plate of gruel like the Revolution is placed in front of them, they will know how to use it."

But we like another story about spoons much better. It came to our attention a few days ago in the rooms of the Civic Club, New York, where a collection of Soviet Russian posters is now on exhibition. The poster dealing with spoons was a small one, bearing two pictures only, one representing conditions before the Revolution, the other showing what has been realized since the Revolution. In the first picture, a lean horse and a poor peasant are seen guiding a wretched plow, while seven fat and prosperous-looking persons, all bearing huge spoons, are looking on. The inscription of that half of the picture is: "One works the plow,

but seven have spoons." The other half shows the same seven individuals, still bearing their spoons, but all looking appropriately underfed and emaciated, watching the peasant, now seated on a bench eating his gruel out of a little bowl, while his horse, standing behind him, is devouring other food more suitable to his constitution. This picture has the inscription: "All that do not work shall not eat." It is a complete statement of the purpose and result of the Revolution, and we know of no power on earth that can feed the Russian people away from their present system of government, for all the work of the world in recent years has been a work of destruction, and there is little food left anywhere with which even a start could be made toward bribing the proletariat to desert its leaders.

And besides, the object of the intervening governments always was to deprive the Russian people of their food and give it to the seven persons in the first half of the above picture.

* * *

BUT we are not even certain that Sir Paul himself would like to have the people of Russia supplied with a spoon enabling them to cope even in a nationalist sense with their new gruel (the Revolution). His words on Russian music are appreciative, and he admits the peasants have possibilities in the field of art, but his manner of presenting these talents is such that one has the impression he would like to see the Russian population assigned definitely to work of an artistic nature, to the exclusion of any political ambitions, which state of affairs, we may add, would be a great convenience for the powerful colonial and commercial powers who have long wished to create a new field for exploitation in Russia. Thus, Sir Paul, speaking of peasant art, says:

"As regards the peasantry, there are peasants who specialize in picture painting. They will go from their native village to a distant shrine, just look at a picture for an hour or two, then come back, and from memory they will paint a copy so precise that if you put them side by side you can scarcely tell the difference. That is where the genius of the Russian people lies. But they have never had any ideas of self-government."

POLYGAMY ABOLISHED BY THE MOHAMMEDANS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Kirghis Soviet Republic is one of the federated states of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. The population of that state consists almost exclusively of Mohammedan Kirghises, and their government is, as a matter of course, composed of representatives of the Kirghis people.

Under the laws of the Russian empire the practice of polygamy was permitted among the Mohammedans with the exception of the Mohammedan residents of the old Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where, under the old Lithuanian law antedating the partition of Poland, the Mohammedans had been granted certain special privileges as compensation for the waiver of the practice of polygamy.

The government of the Kirghis Soviet State has now abolished the practice of polygamy within its state.

The Last Slave

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY

For centuries the woman of the East was silent; the mighty tocsin of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia was needed to bring her out of her secular stagnation. The proclamation of Communism, of universal labor and comradeship, of the equality of the sexes, and of general solidarity, penetrated the distant East as an irresistible appeal, awakening its many colored and variegated masses. The Orient has begun to move. The poor, with all the hatred that has accumulated in their hearts against the satraps and rich, have begun their ascent toward the Red flag, a symbol of liberty, equality, and work for all. For the first time in history, the woman of the Orient has heard the appeal addressed to her, to her the most oppressed of all the oppressed. She who was hardly more than a thing, hardly more than a household chattel, a humble and voiceless instrument, has been awakened by the Red flag of Communism, which has called her to equality and to the enjoyment of all the conquests of the Revolution.

The woman of the East, for the first time in centuries, has thrown aside her veil and has joined the revolutionary throng marching toward the symbol of liberation, toward the Red flag of Communism.

Each month of the existence of the Soviet Republic, by laying more securely the foundation of Communism is increasing the ferment among the women of the East. For the first time she appears in history at the Bureau of the Congress of Eastern Peoples at Baku. In all the regions of Soviet Russia in which there is a predominant Mussulman population, in the Eastern republics, a great work of enlightenment is going on among the masses of women. The Soviet idea is a sort of magic ring which attracts all the disinherited, which causes the barriers separating these races from the others to crumble, which unites the scattered forces. The women are demanding their right to instruction. About the sections for public instruction the Eastern women, who have cast aside the veil, are now rallying. The Tartars, the Persians, the Sarts, are struggling against this unhygienic attribute. At Teheran, where capital has already prepared the soil for a future sowing of Communism, a conference of women was held with this slogan: "Away with the Veils!"

Turkestan, with its small household industry, each day witnesses the increase of the movement that is engaging the wives of the workers. The number of divorce cases coming before the tribunals is increasing daily. Woman, strong in the beginning of her economic emancipation, more and more categorically demands her right to an independent existence.

In Azerbaijan the Mussulman women, under the guidance of the Communist Section, have organized a club, a kindergarten, a sewing circle, a public dining room, and a school.

In Transcaucasia regular meetings of women are being held, just like the Councils of the Deputies in Russia. There is a "Union of the Needle Trade" which brings together the Mussulman and Russian women.

At Samarkand, the woman's section of the Communist Committee has a group of Mussulman women. There are women's sections at Bukhara. The Executive Committee of Turkestan includes four women, but not all have drawn aside the veil.

In Bashkiria, among the Kalmuck and Kirghiz women, in the Tartar Republic, and even in the distant regions of the north, at Tiumen, the movement is extending among the Mussulman women; the women's sections of our party are taking firm root.

The Eastern women, particularly the portion living in the territory of Soviet Russia, has awakened and is moving toward her complete liberation. All we have to do to obtain new defenders for the great Communist idea is to aid them.

At the Third All-Russian Congress of Women's Sections a special section of Oriental women was present. This special section decided not only to intensify this portion of our work, but also to meet on February 1, a date which was later postponed to April 1, a first All-Russian Congress of Eastern women. In all the provinces there will be created organization committees for the preparation of the Congress. The committees will consist of representatives of the Mussulman Bureaus, workers' sections, and Committees of Communist Youth. The same course of action will be pursued in the districts. Tracts, posters, proclamations, are being prepared. Teachers, physicians, Communist groups, all sorts of educative Mussulman associations, are being utilized.

In the autonomous republics, the preparation of the Congress is also incumbent upon the women's sections. Proletarian conferences are called in the provinces and the districts. A great propaganda is being carried on. The following is the order of the day of the Congress: (1) present day questions; (2) the Soviet power and Eastern women; (3) the legal status of the Eastern women formerly and now; (4) small industry and the Eastern women; (5) the protection of maternity and childhood; (6) public education and the Eastern women.

The Congress will be general in its form, without party considerations; its aim is to set in motion an as yet untouched mass, to interest the female population in the acts of the Soviet Government, to educate the Eastern women in the Communist spirit, and to strengthen them in the struggle against the enemies of the workers. But as it is necessary to reckon with all the economic and traditional peculiarities of the East, it has been decided, to call, after the Congress, a conference of Communist Mussulman women, who are

to go into the various questions of organization and platform concerning the liberation of the Eastern women.

Our efforts are to be concentrated on two principal points: to gather and unite the scattered forces of the female workers in the localities in which industrial capital has already laid its heavy hand on the Eastern proletariat, to gather the agricultural semi-nomad, or nomad elements around the agricultural cooperatives, and, in addition, to draw the masses of women into the educational and later political action of our section for public

education. More than anywhere else, learning and education will be the surest instrument of liberation in the East. A close union between the women and the educational organs is a necessity dictated by life itself.

The more the activity of our women's sections extends among Oriental women, the more will Communism establish itself in the East, and the more decisive will be the blow dealt to western imperialism by the united forces of the Eastern proletariat, awakened from its torpid sleep of centuries.

The French Proletariat and the New Onslaught

By PIERRE PASCAL

(A summons to the French proletariat to prevent their government from making another attack on Soviet Russia.)

Moscow, March 10.

It is time for the French workers to open their eyes and act. The latest events in international politics are revealing the long hidden plans of the counter-revolution. The bourgeoisie is preparing its great spring offensive. As is always the case, the first blows are directed against that country in which the development of Socialism has advanced furthest, Soviet Russia. We may consider the Kronstadt events as a proof of this, for the capitalist press state these incidents to be the beginning of open hostilities. We have proofs that the mutiny was the work of the Entente. *Le Matin*, *L'Echo de Paris*, *Le Petit Parisien*, announced the uprising as far as three weeks in advance of its actual occurrence; French spies were arrested, an English cruiser appeared in the vicinity, foreign gold flowed in great quantities. Who is so foolish as to believe that the sailors of the "Petropavlovsk" have become counter-revolutionaries and have placed a Tsarist general at their head? No, the sailors are on the side of the worker and peasant government of Russia. But the conspiracy was so skillfully manipulated that they fell into the trap. The center of the conspiracy is in Paris. Recently the most malicious enemies of the Revolution have gathered together under the gracious protection of Millerand. Their calculation was approximately this: It is useless to attack Russia from without. Russia has without exception defeated all armies sent against it. Now we shall not attack until we have prepared the ground sufficiently for our intervention. The Soviet Government must be weakened by our making use of the economic and foodstuff crisis. You may depend in this on elements of disorder, such as the Makhno bands, the old Tsarist or Kolchak officers, the popes, the blind fanatics, the parties that have betrayed the Revolution, in order to produce disturbances that will hold up and blockade the transports of provisions. In addition we must have agitation in the industries and in the Red Army, which is to point out that the Soviet Government is responsible for all these difficulties. In this way

revolts will be engendered, and if these are successful it will be easy to attack the Soviet power from without. This plan was elaborated in Paris by the Council of Russian counter-revolutionists acting in an understanding with the French General Staff, and the events show that their threat has not remained an idle one.

Such is the result for the present of this new campaign on the part of capital. This movement was possible after the three years of armed resistance through which the new epoch of peaceful reconstruction has already been able to go. "All Russia is in a crisis of its growth," said Lenin. It has taken a step forward toward the ideal of the Soviet and of Communism. It must adapt itself to its new situation. In spite of the extensive preparatory machinations, which doubtless have already been carried out, the events in Kronstadt have not spread in any way. The *Petropavlovsk* met with nothing but censure among the other sailors, among the troops, and among the population generally. The industries that were shut down because of the fuel crisis are again working. The offensive from within has failed because it found no firm ground on which to base itself inside the country. The workers of Russia, the sailors, or peasants do not think of asking for any return of capitalism, landed proprietors, and officers. They want the Soviets to perfect themselves, but not to fall. The Social Revolutionists and Mensheviks whom the foreign counter-revolution makes use of as willing tools have not a serious following in any portion of the population. And who could take these parties seriously, who have long lost their unity, who never had a definite aim in politics, and who almost themselves today have denied their own platforms!

For while many members of these parties have been ready to lend themselves to be used in the base machinations of the counter-revolution, others have expressed their devotion if not to the idea of Communism, then at least to that of the Soviets. The Entente is mistaken if it thinks that the Soviet power can be overthrown by these parties, or by

such machinations as those of the last few days. The revolutionary will of the Russian people will never be broken by these attacks on the part of its enemies. The attacks can only delay the coming of a better day and oblige them to go through an incredible measure of sufferings. It is this that the French proletariat must bear in mind. This only can put an end to the tortures and thus afford the Russian people the possibility of developing in full view of all the world the opportunities offered by Socialism. Each attack of the bourgeois governments must be warded off by a counter-stroke by the revolutionary movement in France. The French proletariat must follow with close attention the events that are now being prepared.

But all this has been the first scene only. Later transformations will be witnessed. After the reaction has failed in its attempt to weaken the Soviet power from within, it will push forward Poland and Rumania and after that, as a second line, it will send out Bulgaria, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia. These are the fundamental outlines of their counter-revolutionary plan of attack, as is clear

from the meeting that took place between Briand, Pilsudski, and Stambulinsky, as well as from the trips taken by field marshals to the Dniester, and from the negotiations with Horthy. Why is Briand at this moment, when Russia is demobilizing, employing threatening phrases of a possible Bolshevik offensive? Surely he can have no other object than to "prepare" public opinion and justify in advance the attacks by the Entente against Russia. The Soviet Government is in possession of documents that leave no possibility of doubt as to this plan of attack by the French General Staff. The attack is to begin in the spring, in a few weeks. These facts and others still, such as the reerection of the army of Wrangel, are known to the French workers. They need only to understand the relation and the significance of these facts, in order at once to draw the necessary inferences. There is no doubt that this plan of attack has been drawn up in Paris. But there can be no doubt either as to the duties of the Paris proletariat and the entire French people.

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Electrification of Soviet Russia

(The following interesting concrete account of electrification in Russia supplements the material contained in our recent "Electrification Issue," March 12, 1921.)

"Communism is the Soviet system plus electrification, said Lenin at the Eighth Congress of Soviets. Steam was the helpmate of capitalism in the days of its domination. The aim of the proletariat is to introduce electricity. A plan for the electrification of Russia, consistent and well thought out, means a plan for her regeneration, a plan of transition to new conditions of labor, to a new life, to new relations amongst men, in short, a plan for the building up of Communism.

But the path leading to the realization of electrification is a thorny one. The limited supply, or, as in some cases, the complete absence of material, makes the work of distribution highly complicated, and it is necessary to overcome innumerable obstacles in order to obtain articles of primary necessity. The lack of skilled workers exercises a great influence on the work, where unskilled elements have to be employed. Again it is difficult to expect considerable productivity from men that are badly fed and clothed. Supplies (especially technical) are of the most inferior quality. Owing to the lack of adequate plants the engineers have to search for new means and are forced to apply make-shifts at every step. It is not surprising therefore that the work of electrification is making relatively slow progress. Nevertheless, the brief but intense struggle for electricity has yielded some results.

The Kashir electric construction works, which is to supply Moscow and a number of industrial counties in the vicinity, has erected a great station; a water-power and supply station is being completed

(working day and night under electric light); temporary tenements for the workingmen have been erected; work is seething on the construction of auxiliary roads, concrete foundations for machines, and the planning of the residential towns, etc. Wag-gons are daily coming up with material, instruments and provisions; the district station is growing, and the day is not far distant when all the factories in Moscow will be using electrical power.

A temporary district station has already been completed on the Shatur marshes, which is helping the Bogorodsky transmission station to illuminate Moscow. The electric station at the Sudakovsk Works has been rapidly restored, and the works at Tula are already receiving the required power. Seven industrial coal districts of the Moscow Basin will shortly be supplied with electrical power, partly from the Satur station and partly from a number of small local sources, which will raise the output of coal in these districts to 70 million of poods (allocating 40 kilo-watts of fixed power for every million poods of coal).

In the northern (Petrograd) district, in view of its industrial significance, electrification is being carried out at an intensified pace. Of all the stations that are being installed there, the most important will be the station of the former district company at the Utkin Works, on the outskirts of Petrograd, with a power of 100,000 kilo-watts. The next powerful station has been marked out on the Viazen marshes, within 70 versts of Petrograd, and with a power of 40,000 kilo-watts. Work is specially progressing on the river Svir on the installation

of a hydraulic electric station which is to give a total of one billion kilo-watt hours of electrical energy a year for Petrograd and the whole Northern district. In connection with this work is being carried on to deepen and broaden parts of the river Svir in order to improve navigation along the chief artery of the Marinsky water way uniting Central Russia with Petrograd. The bulk of dredging work amounts to two million cubic sazhen* of earth, which has to be dredged and carted away. Up to January 1, 1921, over 160,000 cubic sazhen of dredging work was carried out. The program for 1921 provides for dredging of no less than 150,000 cubic sazhen, for the purpose of which the construction committee has been supplied with seven dredgers, power pumps and other auxiliary appliances. Apart from this, three more dredgers are hastily being repaired in order to speed up the work. In 1920 the number of workers and employees of the dredging works amounted to 3,500.

The work accomplished by the Committee of State Constructions has already opened a passage from Lake Ladoga into the Svir river and free navigation by ships and barges on the lower stream, which will alleviate the transport of Petrograd.

On January 12, work was renewed by the electric station at the Putilov Works, which was, in spite of its neglected state, repaired within the course of a few weeks. The station supplies electrical energy to the works itself and will supply light to the neighboring blocks of houses.

The Management Board of the Northern District Glass Works, by the end of February, 1921, accomplished the installations of electric light at all the 12 glass factories of the district. Some of the factories also use electricity as motive power.

Rapid headway is being made in overhauling the Moskva river system, constructed as far back as the seventies of the last century, and in deepening it for navigation. The energy of sluices of the Moskva system, amounting to about 1,000 horse power, has up till now not been utilized at all. This stock of energy will serve to electrify the traffic along the whole Moskva river as well as to run the factories that work for the needs of navigation.

Old and New Plants

In the Donets Basin, the most developed industrial coal district, the electrical plant has been reduced to a deplorable state as a result of civil war and the triumph of the Whites. Most of the stations were either closed or ruined. By February 1921, 30 electric stations and four auxiliaries, with a total energy of 189,394 kilo-watts have been set right and are now working in three of the chief districts of the Basin; 3,009 motors with total of 122,234 horse-power have also been repaired and made fit for use.

Stupendous efforts are being applied to the construction of an electric station in the Kizelovsk coal district in the Ural, which will probably be finished in 18 months.

The first steps have been made to employ elec-

tricity in farming. The Central Department for Electrification at the Commissariat for Agriculture, whose task is to electrify agriculture, is completing the construction of electric ploughing machines: 50 aggregate sets with a productivity of one dessiatin per hour, and ten sets with one dessiatin per day, on the Fraser model (the first electric ploughs in Russia), which are manufactured as well as other agricultural machinery.

Thus, a new Russia, a Russia of electricity is being born in pain and difficulty. From the water-power houses and peat-bog plants connecting links slowly spread out to the factories and works and the most important enterprises. The whole of Russia is in the fever of electrification.

The Council for the Electrification of the Crimea has established the necessity of utilizing the local mountain streams for purposes of electrification. Work has been begun on the construction of 200 small electric stations of 15, 25, and 50 horse power. The Council considers it of first rate importance to electrify the hospitals, to set up X-ray cabinets, electric baths, electric massage, etc., in view of the fact that Crimea has been turned into a national health resort.

At the end of February the city of Kolomna was connected with the electric station at the Kolomna Works, which apart from electric light, is supplying electric energy day and night to the local water-works, the armature works and a few other workshops.

The Archangel Provincial Economic Council has resolved to employ the dykes of the Sheershen Lakes to build an electric station of 20,000 horse-power. The station will supply the whole of Archangel and vicinity and the whole industrial district.

At Uzofka (Donets Province) the electrification of the tailoring workshops is being carried out, for the purpose of raising the productivity of labor and for the protection of labor.

In the city of Rjeva the electric station has already commenced to work.

In Kiev the workers' quarters are already receiving electric light free of charge. Within a month all the turbines that have been damaged during the fighting will be repaired and the whole city will receive light once more.

At Narovchata an electric station illuminating the whole town has been restarted.

The work of installing an electric station in the town of Krassny has been begun.

The electric station at Turinsk has been started.

The Council of State Constructions has drawn up a plan for the construction of an electric station in the city of Yamburg of 100 horse power. The structure will be completed in 1921; the waterfalls of the river Luga are to serve as the source of energy.

At Ust-Sisesk the first electric station in the remote Ziryan region was solemnly opened on November 5th. The station was set up under conditions of the complete lack of means and with the help of the local Ziryan workers who displayed indefa-

*1 sazhen=7 feet.

tigable energy, intelligence, and devotion to the work. The plant is the fruit of communist labor.

And even in the Russian village there is electricity! The real Russian peasant, in his Russian hut, switching on his electric lamp—truly a picture that is incredible to any man who knows Russia! And nevertheless:

In the village of Znamenka (Starooskolsky county), electric light has been instituted by aid of the Subotniki. Energy is obtained from the narrow gauge railroad station.

In the village of Znamenka (Starobskolsky county) an electric station has been erected. Over 300 houses receive electric light.

In the village of Chernavka (Yelets county) a dynamo has been attached to the water turbine works. Light is supplied to the District Executive, the hospital, the school, the post-office, telephone office and a few private houses. The whole village cannot yet be illuminated owing to the weakness of the motors.

On December 26th an electric station was solemnly opened in the village of Yazikov (province of Tula). This station is the second that is working among the rural population of the province. The station is powerful enough to supply light to the whole district.

An electric station has been opened in the vicinity of Poroshino, which is supplying 10 villages.

The installation of an electric station in the Marinsky poussade (Cheboksar County) is rapidly being completed. Electricity has already been introduced in all Soviet institutions and in some private apartments.

In the village of Urujinsk, (Simbirsk county) steps are being taken to introduce electricity in 240 cottages.

In the village of Kalinovka (Nikolayevsky county) electric cables for lighting purposes have been laid at the initiative of the local committee of the Communist Party.

On January 17th work was commenced on the construction of an electric station in the village of Blevk-Konlar. This is to be the first electric station in a Crimean village.

In the Katinsky Volost (Smolensk County) steps are being taken to introduce electricity. The Smolensk Executive has appropriated for this purpose the sum of 130 million roubles for the Katinsky Volost Executive.

On January 1st an electric plant was set in motion on the Mashkin Soviet Farm (Moscow Province), which supplies electricity to two villages with a total of 100 cottages, and to the children's home situated between the latter. The dynamo is worked by water turbines.

This short review reveals clearly how the Russian people, in spite of all the famine, cold and poverty that they are hemmed in by, are heroically hewing the path to their own emancipation.

Engineer Eismann on Electrification

The following information with reference to the work of electrification being done at the present time was communicated to one of our correspond-

ents by the vice-president of the State Commission on the Electrification of Russia, Engineer Eismann. He said:

"The Commission is now preparing the plan of electrification for the year 1921, to be submitted for the sanction of the Presidium of the All-Russian Council of National Economy. In accordance with this plan, attention is to be concentrated on the most essential industries. In the Central Industrial sections the now existing electrical power-houses will be enlarged, at which work we are about to begin. Owing to the difficult position of the region, the electric station of that region is going to be attended to with utmost speed in order to get the necessary supply of electric energy for the Sormovo works at Nizhni-Novgorod.

At the present moment the possibilities for the extension of electrification through the existing power-houses of the Podolsk region, is being investigated, and a plan has been drawn up for the electrification of the coal basin near Moscow.

An engineering expert has also been sent to the Ural who is to study the problems connected with the electrification of that district and report on the electric stations already in existence there. Representatives of the Crimean Council of Public Economy who are at present in Moscow, are trying to work out a plan for the electrification and the improvement of the supply of electrical energy to Crimea and particularly to Sebastopol. In order to work out a more detailed plan for the electrification of the South-East, a commission has been set up for the study of local conditions with reference to electrification in the city of Kiev.

In conclusion, Eismann stated that the demands in connection with electrification are so great that it is scarcely possible for us to satisfy them with our own resources, without having to resort to foreign channels, so that the realization of the plan of imports of supplies for the electrical industry is one of the most important tasks of the day.

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Editor Soviet Russia:

Soviet Russia, in its issue of April 2, prints in part a protest addressed by Mr. V. I. Tyomkin to the conference of members of the Constituent Assembly in Paris against their silence as to the anti-Jewish massacres which have taken place in southern Russia during the last two years. Mr. Tyomkin's protest is well justified by the facts. The honorable gentlemen who have been amusing themselves by organizing a government for Russia in Paris have been far too busy inventing new crimes of the Soviet Government to pay any attention to the pogroms which have been carried out in every district of Russia which was unfortunate enough to fall temporarily into the hands of the White armies.

In fact Mr. Sack's "Russian Information Bulletin" prints a statement issued by certain representatives of the Social Revolutionist Party, in which Makhno, Struck, Zeleny, and other notorious pogrom-makers are held up to admiration as leaders of the Ukrainian peasantry in their struggle against "olshevik tyranny." This attitude is both natural and logical. Black Hundred gangs are and have been the chief support of the counter-revolutionist movement in Russia; and Mr. Tyomkin is certainly unreasonable when he asks the gentlemen of the Constituent Assembly to condemn their own champions. A. C. FREEMAN.

Literature and Revolution in Russia

By LEBEDEV POLYANSKY

(The following is an account of the work of producing and circulating literature in Soviet Russia, taken from a translation that appeared in a recent issue of "The Worker," Glasgow.)

When the October revolution broke out in Russia the bourgeoisie of the whole world raised a cry that the Bolsheviks were barbarians, that they would destroy the old culture, the old scientific institutions, publishing houses, schools, etc.

Even a superficial acquaintance with the actual situation of literary work in Russia will show how much conscious lying and class hatred there was in all such assertions. Two or three weeks after the revolution and immediately after the establishment of the People's Commissariat of Education steps were taken towards the organization of a literature publishing department, which within a very short time, and in spite of all the difficulties due to the civil war, developed very broad activities.

Russia in respect to culture is one of the most backward countries in the world. The masses of the peasantry were kept altogether out of touch with and away from literature. Popular libraries contained only such books as were strictly selected by the Tsar's censors. They were chosen with a view to strengthening the foundations of reaction, autocracy, orthodoxy, and of nationalism. Many scientific works were prohibited, and almost all books were beyond the reach of the common people because of their price. There were the *Zemstvos*, it is true, which tried to give the people good books, but they always met with all kinds of obstacles on the part of the authorities. It is natural that under these circumstances the People's Commissariat of Education was compelled to take upon itself the task of acquainting the people with the literary treasures created by the progressive elements of Russian society in its struggle against the Tsar's regime.

In this sphere Russian literature has some immortally beautiful works which in respect to art as well as in their burning protest against the oppressive tendencies of the old regime can fire the hearts of men with an enthusiasm for a bright and happy future. Russian literature has always been a chronicle of the miseries and struggles of its pre-eminent men of the people.

At the end of December, 1917, the Russian Central Executive Committee issued a decree monopolizing all Russian classics, and the People's Commissariat of Education worked out a plan of its publications. The decree stated: "In the selection of works editors should be guided, besides other considerations, by the closeness of connection of the respective books with the interests of the working people for whom they are intended. All issues of such books, complete editions or separate volumes, are to be prefaced by explanatory statements by authoritative critics

historians of literature, etc. For the editing of such popular books a special commission is to be created, composed of representatives of pedagogical, literary and scientific organizations, special experts and delegates of labor organizations. The task of this controlling and editing commission consists in ratifying plans and projects of editions and commentaries presented for its approval by the editors." Having adopted all measures to make the publications of the Commissariat of Education respond to the spirit of the people while keeping in touch with strict scientific requirements the editing commission was confronted with a third problem, that of low prices. The decree stated: "Popular editions of the classics must be issued at cost and be circulated at low prices and even gratis through libraries serving the labor democracy." At that time of course there could be no question of issuing new literature. On the one hand the painful conditions of war with German Imperialism and the nascent tremendous struggle against the counter revolution made it impossible to write seriously, to think out and analyse the rapid changes of events. On the other hand those who stood aside from the great struggle of the laboring masses against the bourgeoisie produced nothing, and had they done so, they would not have been able to yield anything except malicious libel and abuse of the Russian proletariat and of the great November revolution.

In order to acquaint the people with the great cultural achievements of the past it was decided to issue the works of Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Tolstoy, Turgenyev, Dostoyevsky, Goncharov, Grigoryevich, Ostrovsky, Uspensky, Zlatovratsky, Reshetnikov, Levitov, Saltykov, Chekhov, Nekrasov, Nikitin, Nadson, Pleshchetyev, Fet, Surikov, Ryleyev, and others. These were poets and novelists, and among other works of the critics of literature the following were issued: Belinsky, Chernishevsky and Herten. The publication of the works of Lavrov, Mikhailovsky, Dobrolyubov and Piserev were contemplated. The works of Lavrov, the ideologist of the Social Revolutionists, were given over by request of members of the party to the Social Revolutionist publishing office for scientific preparation, which has already published twenty books out of the fifty he has written.

A literary commission was formed of that group of the Russian men of letters who were not swept away by the then prevalent current of sabotage. i. e., Bryusov, Blok, Verassayev and others became members of the committee. Bryusov was asked to prepare a new edition of Pushkin, Zhukovsky and Nekrasov. An art commission was formed in-

cluding among others Benoit and Grabar, well-known historians of art. As a result of these efforts we now have editions of the works of the above mentioned authors not mutilated by the blue pencil of the merciless Russian censor. To what ridiculous extremes that was carried may be seen in one of Nekrassov's poems, relating the story of a peasant who had hanged himself. The words of the old editions were "he sat," whereas the original had been written "he hung." Instead of "ston" (groan) in one poem was the word "son," meaning dream. Many parts were entirely eliminated, others rewritten. Now the original has been completely restored, and the Russian people may read the real Nekrassov, the real Pushkin, the real uncensored "Resurrection" of Tolstoy, and many other literary works.

But as the preparation of new editions requires much time and more peaceful conditions of work, a part of the classical literature was reprinted from old plates—the commission of course selecting the best.

All this literature was published during 1918, and the first part of 1919. Every classical author was printed in accordance with the degree of his popularity in editions of from twenty-five to one hundred thousand copies, and was sold at a price of two roubles fifty copecks for a book of 600 pages at a time when bread in the open market was sold at four roubles a pound.

Fiction, Political Science, etc.

Much foreign literature was also published, as for instance Anatole France ("The Gods are Athirst"), Romain Rolland ("Jean Christophe"), Merimée, Walter Scott, Giovanni Olai, Zola ("The Sinners"), Upton Sinclair ("The Jungle"), Voinich and others. Simultaneously with the publishing of fiction steps were taken to offer to the people scientific and popular scientific works. N. Ryazanov began to issue a complete edition of Plekhanov's works under the general heading of "Library of Scientific Socialism." Among other works of the collection were published some of Bebel's books and many of Kautsky's works written when the latter was a revolutionary Marxist; a full collection of Marx's and Engel's works was started, of which several parts have already been published. Two large volumes of Bogdanov's and Stepanov's Course of Political Economy were also published, as well as a History of Russia by Pokrovsky in five volumes, and an almost complete edition of the works of the well known Russian historian, Kluchevsky. Many books on the history of the Russian revolutionary movement and of the revolutions in Western Europe were also published, among them the works of Jaures, Aulard, Bloss, Louis Blanc, Heritier, and others.

At present several series of popular scientific books are being issued. This work is carried on in collaboration with the following authors: Professor Timiryazev (Botany), Madame Timiryazev (Physics), Walden (Chemistry), Wolf (Mineral-

ogy), Mikhailov and Blashkov (Astronomy), Berg (Geography), and others.

In this series were republished some of the admirable works of the botanist, Timiryazev, "Charles Darwin and His Teaching," the famous "Life of Plants," etc. Some more of his books and pamphlets are ready for publication.

Under the general title "Theory and Practice of a Uniform Industrial School" there appeared the pedagogical works of noted Western European and American pedagogues, in order to give an opportunity to the pedagogical world of breaking away and emancipating itself from the prejudices of the past, and becoming acquainted with the situation of advanced pedagogical ideas. In these groups were included the works of Seidel (Zurich), Kerschensteiner (Munich), Gurditte (Munich), Gerlich (Bremen), Hansberg (Bremen), Perrier (Geneva), Hall (America), Findly (Manchester), Beadley (London), Montessori (Rome), Schultz and Ruble (Germany). To these works should be added contemporary Russian works on the Industrial school by the Russians, Blonsky and Levitin.

Besides the publishing organization of the People's Commissariat of Education, there existed that of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, which mainly published propagandist and political literature, and of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, which published exclusively scientific Marxist literature.

In the spring of 1919 these three publishing enterprises were united in the State Publishing Offices.

By this time the revolution had deeply permeated our immense Russia, presenting colossal demands for propagandist literature, leaflets, posters, and other material. Naturally owing to these conditions and also because of the scarcity of paper, the publication of classical authors was shifted to a secondary place. But pamphlets were published in two hundred thousand copies each, and such necessary books as the "ABC of Communism," by Bukharin and Preobrazhensky (a book of 340 pages), was published in a million and a half copies.

The National Publishing House

By this time there began to appear the publications of other People's Commissariats. Many books, pamphlets, leaflets and posters were published by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and People's Commissariat for Military Affairs.

At the present time the State Publishing Offices have so widely developed their activities that their work can only be judged by catalogues and the "Book Bulletin" published by the Central Book Chamber. From books on swine breeding and horse shoeing to scientific modern works and utopias of social life thirty to fifty years hence—all have been included in the range of work of the State Publishing Offices.

Its publications have a large circulation from

five thousand to hundreds of thousands of copies according to the respective subjects and the reader for whom they are intended. Technical scientific books are published in five thousand copies, scientific ones in ten thousand, popular books in fifty to hundred thousand and more.* But even with such a circulation Soviet Russia experiences a lack of books, and for a private individual it is most difficult to obtain these. We have now about fifty thousand libraries, and to every one of them the Central Printing Offices (the distributive organ) has to present one copy or more of each publication according to the library and the book in question. And how many more books ought to be distributed among the army and out of the way places where printed works have not yet penetrated in sufficient quantities.

Only now with the termination of the war, when we can set to work to reorganize our paper industry and re-establish the efficiency of our printing offices, and when our comrades have the possibility of doing literary work, shall we be able to satisfy this great need of ours to its full extent. And our people so revere books and so thirst for them.

Three committees have been created and are at work: (1) For the investigation of the imperialistic war, (2) for the history of the Communist Party, and (3) for the history of the Russian Revolution. And in the future we shall know much of the truth that has as yet remained concealed from us.

Proletarian Books and Papers

Having enumerated, as far as space permitted, the different publications and specified their numbers, we should like to call the attention of our readers to another side of the question, namely, to the work done by the working class—especially to the proletariat and to the writers it has produced.

It goes without saying that the revolution has not been able to bring forward worker-scholars, and that it is not scientific work we shall have to deal with. The worker of Western Europe gains some stray crumb of knowledge—just enough to enable him to manage his machine and do his work—but the Russian proletariat has lived outside the pale of enlightenment and only a few individuals—party workers, have been heretofore enabled to obtain connected information, and that almost exclusively in the domain of politics. Now all—in a greater or lesser means—participate in the Soviet papers published in almost every town. The entire paper, sometimes without any help on the part of the committee and intellectuals, is conducted by them alone—leading article and news, feuilleton and literary department. In many

*Petrograd branch of the State Publishing Offices, according to its report up to January 1, 1921, has published altogether 1,107 books amounting to a total of 49,649,600 copies of fiction, 18 magazines, in 1,435,000 copies and 20 miscellaneous books, in 417,000 copies. The Moscow branch has published a no less number and variety.

places the papers are conducted entirely by the new fresh elements born of the storm and stress of our proletarian revolution.

On the other hand the worker sections have done some considerable work in the sphere of fiction and poetry. With the aid of "Proletcult" (Proletarian Culture) and independently of it a number of proletarian writers have arisen, among whom must be mentioned: Gaster, author of a collection of poems and stories entitled "The Poetry of the Laborer's Effort"; BBessalko, author of the novels "Unconsciously," "The Catastrophe," and the stories "Life," "The Childhood of Kouska," of the "Stone Cutter," a drama; Samotitnik, "Under the Red Flag"; Sadoffiev, "Dynamic Verses"; Pomorsy, "Flowers of Revolt"; Kirilov, "The Dawn of the Future"; Berdnicov, Arski, Tikhomirov, Kaj, Tarasov, Omtsoli, Kusnetzov, Gerasimov, Alexandrovsky, Lokhtin, Malaahkin, Stepnoi, Belotzerkovsky, KKasin, Rodov, Filipchenko, Kotomki, Eroshin, Loginov, and several others.

Poets of Town and Country

The peasantry has also produced poets from its midst: Oryeshin, Klonev, Yessenin, Klitchkov — men of great talent, and several secondary poets. There exist editions of Poets of the People named after Nikitin and Surikov, the peasant poets.

An ideological struggle is waging between the proletarian and peasant poets. The former are striving to depict the communistic outlook, while the latter are still cherishing the old petty bourgeois ideology, although of course somewhat revolutionized.

Before the November revolution the poets wrote principally of the hardships of life and exploitation, cursing their slavery, dreaming of the struggle for a happy future; sometimes their dreams were of the country and of the snug bourgeois ideal. Reflecting the ideas of their own class the worker poets revealed not so much their own communistic ideal but the ideas of a democratic-revolutionary outburst; but after the November revolution their poetry from being purely revolutionary changed into revolutionary communistic poetry.

The worker no longer curses the town as a vampire that sucks his blood. The town is a great bridge to the triumph and emancipation of man—a gigantic forge where a new and happy life is forged. In the town the worker poet sees the dawn of a new and superbly beautiful era. The factory is no longer a place of exploitation. In the factory "every man has become an enthusiastic poet of the sounds of the forge and harp strings; a titan with strong wings, a titan of the dawning future."

Labor does not kill the thought and feelings of the worker. No, on the contrary it will vanquish everything and create new laws. The machine is no longer a tool of subordination, its din and noise are songs, a mighty call to life, sunshine and struggle, and the poet-worker identifies himself and merges with his machine. "We are made of iron," says the proletarian poet.

Without abandoning its militant propagandist features, full of the certainty of its triumph, the thought of the worker is beginning to bring forth ideas of the creation of a new life, to realize the power of the proletarian collectivity, to draw deeply for its themes, giving them a social philosophical tendency, in order to organize more thoroughly and firmly the feelings and thoughts of the proletariat in its victorious path towards the communist ideal.

The peasant poets are still singing of their fathers, but not as dumb slaves cursing life, but as free eagles. They still love to sing of peasant life and nature, but among them too the thought is beginning to take root of transforming the tilling of the soil, and new ideas are forming of changes in their mode of life, relations among men and general outlook.

And lastly we should like to speak of our new reader. In former times only "intellectuals" were to be seen about book shops or with books in hand, and only rarely, very rarely, a worker or provincial happening to be in town. Now, however, every delegate from the provinces to the Soviet Congress or any other gathering, unflinchingly will be seen rummaging among shops and stores in search of literature. He obtains permits and vouchers, abuses red-tape, if he does not get enough, and finally, laden with books, takes up his seat in the railway car tranquilized, with the idea that you can get the books you want in the end, even if it is a hard job. He gets books on agriculture, horticulture, glancing with a sigh at the scientific books and muttering to himself, "Cursed bourgeois, it is your fault that I don't understand what is written here." He keeps guard over his books, keeping a look out on the luggage shelf, afraid that some one should take his treasure by mistake. After carefully perusing the pamphlet on the breeding of cattle, he turns over the pages of the "Communist International," fearing to soil them, and remarks, turning to his neighbor, "What a head that Lenin has."

Laboring Russia is reading, thinking, and building up a new life—re-measuring, comparing, and loving the book—its friend.

There was a time when Nekrassov asked in his famous poem: "Will the time ever come when our peasants will buy on the market not the foolish stories about Blucher and Milord, but the works of Bielinsky and Gogol?"

Yes, we have crossed the bar. The people are buying and reading the "Communist International."

The Beethoven Centenary

By A. LUNACHARSKY

The Musical Department of the Educational Commissariat organized a series of concerts, in connection with the centenary of Beethoven, among which were the performance of the Ninth Symphony and the Missa Solemnis.

The Ninth Symphony was also performed at the Grand Theatre. The chief day of centenary celebration however, was February 18th when a new concert hall, now called Beethoven Hall, was opened in the Grand Theatre. This former Royal foyer, which is a masterpiece of architecture, has been cleared and adapted for concerts.

The works of Beethoven will predominate at these concerts. It is intended every year to perform all the series of quartets, violin sonatas and other compositions for chamber music, including the compositions for other instruments that are so rarely performed. The number of first-class artists that are available in the orchestra of the Grand Theatre fully assure us a beautiful execution of these rare works of Beethoven.

The speech at the opening of this concert hall was made by Lunacharsky, who spoke of Beethoven as a genius standing nearest to the new time. The State "Stradivarius" Quartet then played three of the earliest quartets of Beethoven.

The Stradivarius Quartet, consisting of the best artists in Moscow—Comrades Mogilevsky, Bokaleinikov, Kubatsky, and Pakelman, have been provided with the highly valuable Stradivarius instruments. The instruments belong to the State Collection of Ancient and Rare Instruments, which has been set up as a result of the nationalization of rare musical instruments. It is incontestably the finest collection in Europe.

A competition has been arranged for the spring, after which all the instruments of the Collection, besides those already supplied to the Quartet, will be handed to the best artists to use for three years, on condition that they give a few free concerts every year.

It is already three years that these State Instruments have been continually going round by means of wide public competitions and all the first class musicians thus receive an opportunity of using them.

Thus the centenary of Beethoven was celebrated in Soviet Russia by the taking of further steps to encourage the development of good music, and make it an inherent part of the life of the people.

THE RUSSIAN-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT

The negotiations leading up to the signing of the trade agreement between Great Britain and Soviet Russia were conducted largely during the last six months of 1920. The diplomatic notes exchanged between the Soviet Government and Great Britain during this period are printed in Volume III of SOVIET RUSSIA's correspondence with other nations.

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WORK OF SPINNING MILLS FOR 1920

The spinning mills of Soviet Russia started work intensively during the second half of 1920. The number of new spinning mills started slowly increased from June on. Thus in June 19 mills with 293,421 spindles were at work, and by December this number reached 34 mills with 833,633 spindles.

The quantity of yarn spun for 1920 was 825,095 poods.* The production of yarn greatly increased from August on, because of the increased quantity of raw material supplied to the mill. The quantity of yarn worked spun in August was 39,565 poods, in September it reached 62,717 poods, in October 113,158 poods, in November 146,580 poods and in December 162,000 poods. The supply of raw cotton during the year 1920 may be regarded as entirely satisfactory. Beginning with May, the supply of raw cotton to the mills greatly increased, as may be judged by the figures given below, covering the quantity of raw cotton reserves in each month of 1920. Thus, for example, on January 1, the total quantity of raw material at the mills was 350,610 poods; in May the reserve was 27,949; in June it already reached 391,802 poods; in July it already reached 391,802 poods; in July 457,731 poods; in August 547,000 poods; in September 620,000 poods; in October 1,048,000 poods; in November 1,221,000 poods; and in December 1,190,000 poods. On January 1, 1921, the total amount of raw cotton at the mills was 1,450,000 poods.

*1 pood=36 pounds.

PROSPECTS OF TRADE WITH DENMARK

Copenhagen, March 19.

Recently a strong movement is apparent in Denmark in favor of the resumption of commercial relations with Soviet Russia. The chief articles of export to Russia are shoes and leather goods. It is the intention of Denmark to send a commercial delegation in the immediate future and in addition to establish in Russia a Dano-Russian Chamber of Commerce.

EDUCATION IN SOVIET UKRAINE

Moscow, March 18.

An official report of the Ukrainian People's Commissar for Education indicates the rapid spread of universal education. In a single year 21,000 schools have been opened, attended by 2,500,000 children. In addition there are 760 day nurseries, and 700 kindergartens. There are four engineering schools, in which more than 700 students are being trained to be skilled workers. Several hundred technical schools of lower grade have been established by the trade unions and are supported by the People's Commissariat for Instruction; 20 of these are training 4,000 proletarians to be engineers. There are 25 agricultural schools, three administrative institutions, 4 medical courses and numerous pedagogical classes.

LAWS THAT MEET HUMAN NEEDS

In forming laws regulating Marriage and Divorce, Domestic Relations, Property Rights, Guardianship, etc., the Government of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic of Russia gave first regard to actual social needs. Obsolete precedents were ignored in writing

The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia

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Emancipation, Feigned and Real

By JOHN S. CLARKE

(We present to our readers herewith the concluding article in the series by the well-known editor of the Glasgow "Worker." We understand these articles are to appear in book form and hope soon to be able to report its publication in our columns.)

"Lettest now thy servant depart in peace according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."—Nunc Dimittis.

"To those whose lives are feast and talking,
To those whose hands are steeped in blood,
I wander from the camp of those
Who perish for the Cause of Love."

—Nekrasov (slightly altered).

On Saturday, March 13, 1881, Tsar Alexander II. went to Mass with his family in the private chapel, breakfasted afterwards with his relatives and friends, visited his morganatic wife for some time, and then drove to the military review. He left home about one o'clock, by two o'clock the hard day's labor of the "serf-emancipator" was over, and by three o'clock his life's work was ended abruptly and completely by a bomb. This latter part of the day's program was carried out by the "Terrorists" under the direction of the glorious martyr, Sophia Perovskaya. Sophia had planned it all from the beginning. Two attempts had already been made to execute the Tsar but both were unsuccessful. The third, it was determined, would succeed, and succeed it did. It was believed that Alexander's carriage and its Cossack convoy would return via Mala-Sadovaya Street, and the plan was to lay a mine beneath the street and fire it the moment the carriage rolled directly over it. The tunnel was made from the cellar of a little shop rented for the purpose, but the Tsar's escort for some reason or other did not enter the street. Instead it

turned down the little thoroughfare which runs immediately behind the Naryshkin Palace (our dwelling in Petersburg), and which is bounded on one side by the wall of the Field of Mars, and down which the Catherine Canal runs to the Moika. But Sophia was watching and had prepared for every contingency. She had her friends and comrades posted at different points of approach, and no matter what route the Tsar was to take that day he was destined not to escape the sentence an outraged people had passed upon him. Down by the railed canal swept the royal carriage followed by the two sledges containing Colonel Dvoritsky, the chief of police, and Captain Kock. Comrade Ryssakov stepped into the road and hurled his bomb. The carriage was smashed and a Cossack wounded, but the Tsar was unhurt. He stepped into the snow and turned to Ryssakov, whom Kock had "captured" (Ryssakov had never tried to escape) when another of Sophia's comrades, Grinevitsky, ran forward, close to the Tsar, and hurled the second bomb, which not only killed Alexander but the thrower himself, besides wounding several others. A cloud of snow and dust, blood and flesh, rose in the air, and the Tsar, with the lower part of his body mangled to a shapeless mass, was carried to the Winter Palace in time to receive the last sacraments before he died. Sophia's little handkerchief had been waved to some purpose this day. A week later Sophia was arrested, and after another week's cruel torture, she, together with

Ryssakov, Mikhailov, Kibalchich, and Zhelyabov, was executed. "She appeared before the court tranquil and serious, without the slightest trace of parade or ostentation, endeavoring neither to justify, nor to glorify herself, simple and modest as she had lived," writes Stepniak. The correspondent of the anti-revolutionary paper *Kölnische Zeitung* was present at the execution. In that paper on April 16, 1881, he wrote: "Perovskaya displayed extraordinary moral strength. Her cheeks even preserved their rosy color, while her face, always serious, was full of courage and endless abnegation. I have been present at a dozen executions in the East, but I have never seen such a butchery as this."

The Scene of the Execution

I left my comrades one morning and visited every scene associated with this particular drama. On the very spot where the Tsar's bleeding body fell in the snow, and on which the superstitious muzhiks dabbed their handkerchiefs to collect the bloodstains, a magnificent church now stands—the Church of the Resurrection. It is one of the most gorgeously fascinating buildings I have ever seen, although one of ostentation and with a somewhat garish display of wealth. This is the church, rich in costly trimmings—gems, mosaics of perfect artistry, gold, silver, bronze, lapis-lazuli, malachite, syenite, granite and marble—which was alleged to have been sacked by the Bolsheviks.

Not one blade of the straggling grass that peeps from the interstices of the cobbled pathways has been interfered with. The Mensheviks deliberately propagated the story of its violation in order to discredit their political antagonists. Within the church, railed off, has been preserved untouched the identical piece of the street upon which the dying Tsar fell. Its wardens are the same who officiated when Nicholas II. reigned. The neighborhood is quiet. The pink and yellow buildings line the banks of the canal behind; and above, the wide Nevsky Prospect and its crowds give the only sign of life in this haunt of solitude and sad memories. Sad—when one thinks of the heroism and sacrifices of the men and women whose deed in 1881 has sanctified the spot. They will be honored and glorified when every rotten Tsar is forgotten. Even in our time the balance of opinion has been on the side of the heroic girl-martyr and her colleagues who killed the "Serf-Emancipator"—the "Tsar-Liberator." Pah! Alexander has to be "honored" for abolishing serfdom which his brutal forerunners had inflicted upon the peasantry of Russia. History, since the act of emancipation, is a more ghastly matter than the history previous to it. Baron Graevenitz, a Tsarist lick-spittle and supporter of autocracy, explains the mechanism of serf-liberation as follows:—"It would not have been satisfactory to set the peasants free, and to tell them that they might go wherever they wished. They would have had to be forced to work

for their masters. It was therefore decided to give them a certain amount of land round their villages, and they were made to pay the State for this land by instalments. The landlords, who were thus forced to part with their serfs, and with some of their land, were compensated by the State, which amply rewarded them for their loss, thus fully enabling them to hire all the labor that was necessary.

How a Tsar "Liberates"

And what happened, of course, was that the poor devils who were "liberated" had to suffer the loss of their land because they couldn't pay the instalments and taxes; the landlords squandered their "compensation," and in a short time the peasant was a worse "serf" under "liberation" than he was before it. In Kellogg Durland's "Red Reign" we read that "since 1861 (the year of emancipation) the population of many villages has doubled or trebled, but the aggregate landholdings have remained what they were at the beginning. A tract of land that was barely enough for the maintenance of two thousand souls in 1861 is entirely inadequate in 1907 for four or five thousand." Durland wrote that in Tsaritsin in 1907. Since then the population has increased enormously and with it the misery of the peasants. The immediate effects of the emancipation were pretty similar to those experienced by the American Negroes after the Abolition Act—the serfs were, like the blacks, longing for "slavery" again. Dr. A. S. Rappoport, no revolutionary, depicts the period in these words:—"The great day, February 19, 1861, arrived. On this historical day serfdom was abolished in Russia by Imperial Decree. . . The peasants did not receive the land they had been cultivating, for the greater part of the soil remained in the hands of the proprietors. Moreover, the peasants did not receive what land was allotted to them free of expense: they had to pay heavy rents and taxes; in many cases, the taxes came to more than the peasant could earn by the cultivation of his land. Therefore, the liberated slaves were economically much worse off than before. Hence the strange phenomenon of men and women, nominally free and their own masters, sighing miserably for the happy, halcyon days of serfdom. After having celebrated the feast of freedom the Russian peasant wept for the flesh-pots of slavery." Stepniak is equally emphatic: "The famous emancipation of the serfs only changed their material condition for the worse, the terms of redemption fixed for the scrap of land bestowed upon them being onerous beyond measure."

The peasant, a stupid, illiterate creature at best, could not manage his own affairs, could not understand why he had to pay taxes, could not understand why he had to pay for land which his own forefathers had owned, and which, he thought, a good Tsar had restored to him. This state of things resulted in a terrific increase in the ranks of the "chinovniks," as the bureaucrats of Russia are called, who were as all-powerful in their bru-

talities toward the ignorant muzhik as the proprietary class had been before them.*

One could go on quoting till the end of time to prove that the much vaunted reform of Alexander II. was merely productive of trouble—an increase of misery to the peasant, an intensification of the hatred of the landlord, an accession to the army of accursed bureaucrats, and an era of famine made more pitiable by official corruption. The good that sprang from this so-called "epoch of reforms" was the added strength it brought to the revolutionary parties. A peasant revolutionary party became active, terrorism came into existence as a political weapon and was carried to a fine art, and methods of organization began to be studied. There was, moreover, a vast field opened up for satiric literature, and the harvest has been rich—Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Turgenyev,** Stepiak, Gorky, Schedrin, Lavrov, are but a few among many who labored more or less in this field.

One might inquire of the Tsar's motives. Was not the Tsar *desirous*, if not genuinely anxious, to ameliorate the condition of the serfs, even though his efforts failed? Alas! even this moth-eaten excuse, which has served for the whitewashing of every scoundrel in history, will not do duty in this case. Following the Peace of Paris, the peasant militia was demobilized, and on returning to their homes created endless trouble. My authority is Maxim Kovalevsky, one time professor of jurisprudence at Moscow, who writes:—

"The years 1854 and 1855 are notorious for a *series of local rebellions*. These insurrections took place partly on the shores of the Volga, which had already felt, in the time of Catherine II., the horrors of a *jacquerie*, and partly in some Central and Southwestern provinces, such as Vladimir, Ryazan, Penza, Voronezh and Kiev. These produced a great impresson upon the Tsar Alexander."*** Accordingly, a few days after the Manifesto of Peace was published in 1856 (five years before the Emancipation Act) we find the Tsar still brooding over this fear of a wholesale peasant

***. . . The Home Secretary devised a class of guardians (Zemskye Nachalniki or district chiefs) to shield them, whose sole qualification was nobility of birth, officials who were answerable only to the minister, and to whose power was given over the bodies and souls of nine-tenths of the population. It was within the discretion of the new chiefs to rob and flog and persecute their wards; many of them used the power without ruth, and went so far as to deliberately and arbitrarily hinder even agricultural development, the spread of instruction, and liberty of religious thought and creed. This new order of bureaucrats was in the nature of a final touch to a policy which drove the country out of its natural course and set it moving towards the abyss.—E. J. Dillon.

**Turgenyev astounded the reading public of Russia by his statement in "Memoirs of a Sportsman" that serfs had souls just the same as other people.—Prof. Leo Wiener, "The Russian People."

***According to M. de Custine, the rebellion at Cheboksari was accompanied by horrors similar to the horrors of the *Jacquerie*. Masters and their families were spitted and roasted like fowls.—(J. S. C.)

rebellion. To the Marshalls of Nobility of Russia, gathered in the city of Moscow, he addressed the historic words which demonstrate beyond question that so far from being an act of grace, the "Emancipation" was born of sheer funk:—

The Tsar's Own Testimony

"I have not at the present moment the intention of annihilating serfage; but certainly as *you yourselves know*, the existing method of possessing serfs cannot remain unchanged. It is *better to abolish serfage from above than to await the time when it will begin to abolish itself from below*."—(Quoted from official records by Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace.)

And because a Tsar, an autocratic tyrant, made a virtue of necessity by throwing a few crumbs of alleged freedom to the enslaved beggars of Russia, and giving back a few acres of earth out of the many thousands of acres he and his kind had filched from them—their own property—we are expected to revere his memory as a martyr and inscribe his name upon our calendar of saints. We can only deplore the sacrifice of so many of the world's best and noblest spirits who have suffered death, and worse than death, for obeying the inspiration to remove such obscene things from the earth. There has not been one man or woman, of the many thousands launched into eternity or scarred with the wounds of torture for serving the revolutionary movement, from Stenka Razin to Nicolai Lenin, but was a better, purer, and nobler spirit than any monarch a deluded people ever permitted to encumber the earth! Did dead or living, bloated or anemic Tsar ever inspire such exalted minstrelsy as Joaquin Miller's beautiful poem on Sophia Perovskaya, and which he addressed to Alexander III.?—

SOPHIA PEROVSKAYA

TO THE TSAR

Down from her high estate she stept,
A maiden, gently born,
And by the icy Volga kept
Sad watch, and waited morn;
And peasants say that where she slept
The new moon dipped her horn.

Yet on and on, through shoreless snows
Far tow'rd the bleak north pole,
The foulest wrong the good God knows
Rolled as dark rivers roll;
While never once for all these woes
Up spake one human soul.

She toiled, she taught the peasant, taught
The dark-eyed Tartar. He
Illumined with her lofty thought,
Rose up and sought to be,
What God at the creation wrought,
A man—goldlike and free.

Yet still before him yawned the black
Siberian mines! And oh,
The knout upon the bare white back!
The blood upon the snow!
The gaunt wolves, close upon the track.
Fought o'er the fallen so!

And this that one might wear a crown
Snatched from a strangled sire!
And this that two might mock or frown
From high thrones climbing higher,—
To where the Parricide looks down
With harlot in desire!

Yet on, beneath the great North Star,
Like some lost, living thing,
That long dread line stretched black and far,
Till buried by death's wing!
And great men praised the goodly Tsar—
But God sat pitying.

A storm burst forth! From out the storm
The clean, red lightning leapt!
And lo! a prostrate royal form. . .
And Alexander slept!
Down through the snow, all smoking warm,
Like any blood, his crept,

Yea, one lay dead, for millions dead!
One red spot in the snow
For one long damning line of red:
While endless exiles go—
The babe at breast, the mother's head
Bowed down, and dying so!

And did a woman do this deed?
Then build her scaffold high,
That all may on her forehead read
The martyr's right to die!
Ring Cossack round on royal steed!
Now lift her to the sky!

But see! From out the black hood shines
A light few look upon!
Lorn exiles, see, from dark deep mines,
A star at burst of dawn! . . .
A thud—a creak of hangman's lines—
A frail shape jerked and drawn!

The Tsar is dead; the woman dead,
About her neck a cord,
In God's house rests his royal head,—
Hers in a place abhor'd;
Yet I had rather have her bed
Than thine, most royal lord!

Yea, rather be that woman dead
Than thee, dead-living Tsar,
To hide in dread, with both hands red,
Behind great bolt and bar—
You may control to the North Pole,
But God still guidea his star.

An old Russian proverb reads, "Koli khud knyaz—Tak v gryas" (If the prince is bad, into the mud with him). My paper weight in Petersburg was a heavy, distorted piece of iron, once a part of the bombed carriage of Alexander II.

Clarke's Journey Northward

Preparations were made for our journey to the north, and we took advantage of the remaining hours of the last evening to have a bath. Together we visited the baths of the Petersburg Soviet Hall and reveled like schoolboys in the delights of a Russian bath. I eschewed the steam-chambers, so did several of my companions. Little tubs stand along wooden benches, the hot and cold water taps are plentiful, and you may fling the water about just as you like. Accordingly Losovsky and

I decided to fight a duel. We soaped each other very thoroughly and after some vigorous massaging we each grabbed a bucket and commenced hostilities. The warfare consisted in pelt-ing bucketfuls of warm water at one another, each exhibiting a new front for attack at every onslaught. One beautifully timed shot of Losovsky's caught me fairly in the face and I went spluttering down on the concrete, but not out. I got my own back by an act of unspeakable treachery. Losovsky got some soap in his eyes and "downed tools" in order to rub. I stood with a nicely filled pail of soft tepid water which I was loth to waste. I gave a small howl, he raised his head and I got him—and the soap too. After dressing we were shaved, our hair was trimmed (mine did not create any labor unrest in the establishment) and we were escorted to the ante-rooms of the hall and presented with gifts from the Soviet members. We all received a dressing case filled with necessities—cigarettes, matches, candles, note-books, safety-razor, comb, mirror, etc.—and, if we required them, a new blouse, cap, overcoat, and boots. Very few availed themselves of this opportunity. The dressing-cases were specially selected gifts, however, and we all accepted them. Next morning we were at the station again. A special "okhrana" of four Red soldiers with fixed bayonets guarded our saloon, now piled high with hampers and bales of—literature. Literature in seven or eight different languages and all varieties—books, pamphlets, leaflets, posters, art-reproductions and maps. A huge crowd assembled to see us off, and many cameras were in evidence upon the platform. Soon the train moved and shortly afterwards the golden cross of St. Isaac's began to disappear as Petersburg, the accused and blessed, dropped further and further behind. That night we organized another concert, but dancing was absent from the program — the floor being littered with piles of literature. Propaganda? Some of it, much of it—but by no means all of it. There were scores of volumes of Scott, Dickens and Dumas in Russian, and hundreds of copies of the finest works of Tolstoy, Turgenyev, Gorky, Pushkin, Lermontov, Krylov, A. K. Tolstoy, Anton Chekhov, Gogol, and of several poets whose names I have forgotten. These books were all well printed but bound in paper covers owing to scarcity of binding cloth and other materials.

The Right to One's Own Books

Much has been made in our press of an alleged act of the Soviet Government suppressing all books. The news paragraph, liberally supplemented with editorial comment appeared in almost every paper in this country, including the organs of the Cooperative Societies. It reads—

"Nationalization of Books.—The Bolshevik Press announces that the Soviet Government has decided to abolish the right of individuals to possess books. In consequence of this, all existing libraries in Russia have been requisitioned by the State. Any person retaining a

book in his possession, or who in future attempts to procure one, is liable to condemnation."

To anyone who has spent any length of time in Russia the above paragraph is utterly meaningless — indeed senseless. If the Government, since my return, has abolished the right of individuals to selfishly own certain rarities, so much beloved by the bibliomaniac and unprocurable in ordinary libraries, then one is prepared to justify the Government's action. Henceforth this will be a "rarity" no longer, or at least only so far as its own individual peculiarities are concerned (as an "association book" once owned by Peter the Great, etc., an incunabula specimen, or as a "first edition.") If the contents are worth the undertaking it will be multiplied on the Soviet presses and scattered broadcast to the multitude.

Notice how the paragraph explicitly states that the "right to possess books" has been abolished, and then add to this legend the wail of Mr. Stephen Graham, who certainly ought to have more sense, in "John o' London's Weekly" for January 22, 1921:—

"Literature fares badly under the proletarian dictatorship which we call Bolshevism. It is a pitiful picture which Mr. H. G. Wells lately drew of the plight of literary men now in Russia. . . . The printing-presses have been seized and the publishers' offices closed. The great Russian firms and their imprints are no more. The classics are not reprinted, the new is not printed. For the Communist Government does all the printing and prints propaganda. Literature has given way to propaganda, and whatever the economic merits of the Communist regime, we ought to bear in mind, we literary partisans for or against Bolshevik Russia, that a working-man's revolution, a dictatorship of the proletariat as to the taste of the community as a whole, means the thinnest of all possible times for the creative artist and the independent thinker. Nothing of any literary value excepting the interpretative reminiscences of Tolstoy by Gorky has come out of Russia since the Revolution."

The reader must remember that Mr. Graham's ideas of what constitutes "creative art" have not necessarily been universally accepted, nor is his pronouncement on literary values necessarily the final word on the question. It is as well also to remember that

"Arts that thrive at number five,
Don't take at number one."

And when the treacherous sabotage practised by Mr. Graham's kinsmen against Russia has collapsed, and examples of the "Prolet-kult" — the greatest experiment in creative art ever made — are permitted into this country, Mr. Graham might pipe another tune. An entire department of government activity is now, and has been for some time, devoted to the service of inspiring and fostering creative art in the young and in the rural and urban proletariat. Not only are their library creations printed and distributed, but their efforts in every branch of art, music, painting, etching, sculpture, wood-carving, dancing, and singing receive the greatest encouragement — immediate recognition. This while British and French artists and scientists are starving like rats in a garret.

Does Literature Fare Badly?

That "the classics are not reprinted" is untrue, because I handled them myself, that is, if the men I have named will be considered "classics" by Mr. Graham. And the value of the rest of his remarks will be apparent if we follow the writings of his own authority, Mr. H. G. Wells:—

"The bulk of the writers and artists have been given employment upon a grandiose scheme for the publication of a sort of Russian 'encyclopedia of the literature of the world.' In this strange Russia of conflict, cold, famine and pitiful privations there is actually going on now a literary task that would be inconceivable in the rich England and rich America of today. In England and America the publication of good literature at popular prices has practically ceased now 'because of the price of paper.' *The mental food of the English and American masses dwindles and deteriorates and nobody in authority cares a rap. The Bolshevik Government is at least a shade above that level.* In starving Russia hundreds of people are working upon translations and the books they translate are being set up and printed—work which may presently give a new Russia such a knowledge of world thought as *no other people will possess.* . . . How this world literature is to be distributed to the Russian people I do not know." ("Russia in the Shadows.")

How the Books Are Distributed

There, reader, are two pictures on the literary situation of Soviet Russia, both from avowed enemies of Bolshevism. One completely negates the other, but the facts given by Wells are the more accurate. Where, then, comes in the wisdom of setting hundreds of translators, composers and printers, to say nothing of binders, at work to produce a world literature in Russian, if the "right to own books" has been abolished?

The whole tale is simply another malicious fabrication like the nationalization-of-women canard!

Mr. Wells says he is at a loss to know how this literature will be distributed. I can enlighten him because I helped to distribute some of it. Day after day our salon was in a state of indescribable confusion through our efforts to select from the mass of literature, the kind most adapted to the districts we were traversing.

Reading-matter suitable for the inhabitants of the villages bordering the semi-frozen tundras of Karelia and Lapland, was not necessarily the correct kind to deliver to the populace of towns like Petrozavodsk. The common-sense method was to sort it out with discretion, bundle it up and place each bundle in a certain category. This occupied us during most of the day time, and at every one of the thirty-odd villages and towns we passed through a selection of literature—romance, poetry, criticism, belles lettres, drama, economics, history, politics, and propaganda matter—was duly handed out to the deputation who awaited with positively ravenously outstretched hands to receive it. I have seen a group of four or five men literally drop their bundle of books and execute a dance of glee around it, so delighted were they at receiving it. This was our ordinary rail journey to the port of Murmansk, but Mr. Wells ought to know that specially painted trains are employed by the Gov-

ernment to distribute literature to all the centers of the country, from which it is again distributed to those places inaccessible to the railway train. In the engagement of this delightful task, the diffusion of the work of genius for the uplifting of a soul-famished people, our train journey of six and a half days was filled with interest. Some of the incidents which occurred during our progress I have described already in the preceding chapters. Petrozavodsk, Maselskaya the "bloody," Kem, Kandalaksa, Imandra—seemed as familiar as British hamlets in spite of their wild, inhospitable setting and primitive structural arrangements. The everlasting steppes, the tree-tufted tundras, the hazy White Sea and foam-flecked azure lakes, the snow-domed hills, bordered by the ghostly pines and firs where lurked the tundra wolves and bears, and the eternal glow of the arctic skies, depressed or charmed us according to our moods, until we reached, once more, the chilly roof of our little planet of stupidity, greed and heroism. I left my companions at Murmansk, for one day only, and sailed from the harbor in the little fishing vessel already de-

scribed. The Gulf of Kola was choppy, the red sun gleamed upon the outlands like the poets' sun "which rose on freedom, rose in blood." To the north, over the wide Arctic, slumbered the mountains of eternal ice; to the east the long line of the Murman cliffs disappeared in the grey mist, and the islands awesome in their desolateness, broke into white foam and scintillant spindrift the waves of the troubled sea; southwards stretched the dreary tundras o'er which crept the whispers of a new-born race and the songs of great endeavor and of hearts rejoicing—westward, whither our tiny argosy drifted, the skies were heaped with clouds which a boisterous wind drove before it with many a mournful shriek and bitter wail—augury of the life to which I was returning. O'erhead the unmusical grey-backed gulls circled impetuously as the shacks of Vaida Gubba sank lower and lower, and "I blest them unaware," for it was not without a lump in the throat, and with moist eyes, that I watched the farewell hand-signals of friends I had grown to love, grow fainter and fainter with the retreating cliffs of Bolsheviki Land.

Three Years of Proletarian Law

By D. KURSKY

(The author of the extremely interesting account of "Two Years' of Proletarian Law" in the Soviet Government's Handbook to commemorate the Second Anniversary of its foundation, herewith brings his observations up to date.)

"Social Life is in its essence of practical nature." This Marxian sentence finds its best support in the labor that has been performed by the proletariat in the field of law in the course of these three years. After the proletariat had repealed the old legislation and abolished the pre-revolutionary national institutions, particularly the old courts, it was afforded an opportunity for the construction of the new order and thus was enabled from the very outset to enter the path of practical realization of new forms of social life adapted to its nature.

By creating a state whose legislative and judicial branches consisted only of workers and were elected by the workers, the proletariat enabled its institutions to function without first having achieved complete perfection of the whole proletarian system, and to operate in the direction of further and further developing and perfecting the laws in accordance with the interests of the proletariat. And now, at the threshold of the fourth year of the Revolution, the proletariat is able to create a number of codes, in other words, books of law based on a unified basis and constructed in a systematic manner, embracing the national structure, the organization of labor, the organization of national economy, and the penal code protecting these institutions. This work has been practically undertaken by the People's Commissariat of Justice. But already now it may be said that the proletariat will assign to the code of laws created by it that place which appropriately belongs to a code of

laws in a proletarian state: the code will not become a time-honored, century-old code like that of the bourgeoisie, such as for instance the Code Civil,* but will be primarily a systematic book of reference for the administration and the courts in their daily work, and only for the duration of the transition period until the proletariat shall have eliminated class rule and with it the state itself. This practical character of proletarian justice and of its organs may be traced through the course of the last three years; the substance of the law, in its perfected forms, in other words the code, as well as the organs of law themselves have passed through a constant transformation.

Typical illustrations of this transformation are: 1) the organic law (Constitution of the R. S. F. S. R.) of 1918, was supplemented and partly amended as far back as 1919, particularly in the matter of the relation between the central and local authorities by the acts of the 7th Soviet Congress and still further in the next year by a regulation of the Central Executive Committee on *volost* and *uyezd* Soviets; and this process of amending the Constitution is unceasing, for just at this moment a Commission is elaborating the norms of the relation between the People's Commissariats and the Executive Committees; (2) the code of the R. S. F. S. R. on civil law, passed by the Central Executive Committee in 1918, was amended by a number of subsequent decrees

*Code Napoleon.

concerning the bringing up of minors as well as social welfare work for older children; it is to be replaced by a new code now being drawn up by the People's Commissariat of Justice; (3) the code of labor laws of 1918 has been essentially amended and enlarged, both by the decrees on labor duty, as well as by the wage scale regulations of 1920; (4) during these three years five decrees on courts have been issued, which to be sure do not touch the foundations of court organization—collegium courts and relief judges—but offer in each case a great number of new norms, for instance a new procedure for preliminary examination and defence, in the provisions of 1920; (5) in three years ten decrees on revolutionary tribunals have been promulgated; thus in 1920 detailed regulations on government railway military tribunals appeared. Such examples may be cited in every field of the national administration. One might point out also the reasons for and the nature of the amendments, but it is at present important to state only one thing: the legislation of the Soviet Government is of very practical character, and, unlike the aloof and distant bourgeois laws, does not lag behind life, but uninterruptedly undergoes a process of amendment parallel with the development of the proletarian state. The following figures will show the increasing participation of the working class in legal institutions as well as in the people's courts:

Number of—	1918	1919	1920
People's Courts	2887	2942	3708
Revolutionary Tribunals	37	39	51

If one recalls that each people's court in the course of a year requires at least one hundred judges (relieving each other in succession), we shall see that in the last year as many as 1,500,000 workers have directly participated in the court business, notwithstanding the fact that the whole court apparatus is only one fifth as large as that of the pre-revolutionary period. The people's courts in 1920, according to the figures for twenty six provinces, disposed of 708,000 cases, criminal cases constituting about sixty five per cent of the whole number.

The activity of the people's court is best characterized by the nature of the punishments imposed. In the first quarter of the year 1920 there were sentenced: to deprivation of liberty 29,586 persons (11,580 of this number to suspended sentences; to public labor without loss of liberty, 13,201; to fines 36,150; to public censure, 5,618; to other punishments, 6,403 persons.

These figures sharply distinguish the people's courts from those of the pre-revolutionary era: sentenced to work without loss of liberty, suspended sentences, and public censure—these punishments, applied on a large scale, did not exist under the old laws; they were recommended for adoption to be sure by social criminologists (for instance suspended sentences). The division "other punishments" deserves still greater attention: under this

head it has frequently happened that the courts have created types of law that are new in the fullest sense of the word. Thus, for instance, people's courts would sentence persons for counter-revolutionary comments or for anti-political expressions of opinion, to conditional punishment requiring the offender to present to the court before a certain date a certificate of attendance of a course in political science; or, in order to honor the reputation of the revolutionists who died heroically, those offending their memory are required to decorate their graves with flowers; in combating such practices as neglect of duty or exploiting the masses by means of religious prejudices, trials were held with the greatest possible publicity, since the sentences and the opinions in support of them constitute extremely useful material for political propaganda, etc.

Such is the activity of the people's courts. This activity shows that the proletariat is creating ever new forms of social life also in the field of law not merely taking revenge on the criminal, but with the object of adapting the human material that is available, inherited from capitalism as it is, to the new modes of life leading to Communism.

CLOSED TO AMERICAN IMMIGRATION

Our readers will no doubt by this time have read elsewhere of the closing of the Soviet Russian border to immigration from the United States. We have not as yet been informed of the reasons for this measure, but feel that we should recommend to all persons contemplating a departure for Soviet Russia to abandon any very extensive preparations for such a step until they have assured themselves through later official information that the condition announced below has been at least in some measure abrogated.

We are asked to give publicity to the following communication from Dr. Dubrowsky and Mr. Recht. Dr. Dubrowsky's office is at 47 West 42nd Street, Mr. Recht's at 110 West 40th Street, both in New York, N. Y.

The Soviet Government by an order issued April 9 has put a stop, temporarily, to all outgoing emigration from the United States to Russia. According to a cable received here from the Soviet Consul at Libau, Latvia, the Russian border will be closed to all emigrants from America after the 20th of April.

Until an official representative of the Russian Soviet Government, with authority to vise passports of persons desiring to go to Russia, arrives in this country, no one from the United States will be permitted to enter Russia.

DR. D. H. DUBROWSKY
CHARLES RECHT

New York, April 11, 1921.

The New Karelian Soviet Republic

By HAAVARD LANGSETH

(A report of the First Soviet Congress of the Karelian Workers' Commune, held Feb. 10-18, 1921. Karelia lies to the east of Finland, and its population is ethnically and linguistically similar to that of Finland and Esthonia.)

New Organization of the Country

Very few people in Western Europe have paid any attention to the fact that present day Russia is a federated state, consisting of a number of united republics, each of which constitutes within its own boundaries a unified whole, both with regard to the nationality of its population and its specific economic situation. This is expressed in the name of the new federation, which is: *Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic*, usually abbreviated R. S. F. S. R., accompanied by the symbol of the hammer and the sickle. One of the social units belonging to this union of states is the little Karelian Workers' Commune. Like every one of the Soviet Republics that have been thus joined together, it holds its Soviet Congress once every six months, in which representatives of all the Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Soviets of all the districts meet for a discussion of all the more important political and economic questions, and for the election of an Executive Committee and Presidium of the latter. The Executive Committee supervises the political life in accordance with the principles adopted at the Congress, and is responsible to the next Congress. The Presidium of the Executive Committee is, so to speak, its working unit.

The Economic Council, with its own Presidium, similarly conducts the economic life of the country. The Karelian Workers' Commune was founded in August last year; an event that has already been reported in SOVIET RUSSIA. Up to the present a revolutionary committee had been in control of the political life, which was understood to be altogether a temporary arrangement. At the head of this committee was, as is well known, the Finnish Comrade Edvard Gylling. The first Soviet Congress of the Workers' Commune had invited representatives of the Scandinavian parties attached to the Third International. It was quite a large company that left Moscow and traveled by way of Petrograd and the Murman railway to Petrozavodsk, the capital of Karelia. Besides representatives of the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian parties (the author represented the Norwegian party), there were also representatives of the Finnish emigrants in Petrograd and the People's Commissariat for Nationalities, of the Russian Soviet Republic. The latter was represented by Comrade Klinger, who had been earlier associated with the Third International, and who is probably well-known to most of the Communists who visited Moscow. Kilbom represented the Swedish party.

In the sharp winter cold, and in view of the difficult transportation situation in Russia at the time, the journey was anything but a pleasure trip, but our spirits were maintained none the

less by the songs and cheerfulness of our Finnish comrades. Particularly Ussenius, and Rovio contributed splendidly to this end, not to mention our well-known Dano-Norwegian Robert Nilsen, from Bergen, who also gave evidence of his temperamental humor.

The Delegates to the Congress

The Congress was already in its second session when we arrived. The sessions were being held in the banquet hall of what was formerly the Governor's Palace. The apartment was splendidly decorated for the occasion. Our attention was involuntarily directed to two gigantic urns on either side of the platform, which were of a wonderfully tinted reddish-brown Karelian marble. It was an extremely interesting gathering that had come together here. It consisted of 145 deputies from all parts of Karelia. As the country is decidedly of peasant character, it was natural that the majority of the faces present were of the somewhat heavy, profoundly serious peasant type. Here were people from the sources of the Kemi and Kovda rivers, peasants in whose families *Kalevala*, the famous Finnish national epic, had been handed down for centuries by oral tradition from father to son, and thus saved from oblivion. Here were people who had been wont in the deep primeval forests to stand face to face with the bear. Here were Lapps from the great snowy wastes, and fishers from the White Sea coast, industrial workers from the saw-mills that once had belonged to English or Scandinavian capitalists, from the great cannon-foundries that had been in operation when the Tsar was in power; all now came hither as liberated men to discuss for themselves their common interests in their free homeland. It was a delight to see how immense was the faith in the Soviet system and in the present political leadership, shown by these simple peasants and workers. This faith put its mark upon the entire course of the proceedings. We also noticed clearly the unmixed joy in this gathering at the fact that the Scandinavian brother workers were showing their interest in the young Republic by sending representatives to this Congress, as well as their desire for an early understanding and cooperation.

From a purely political standpoint the composition of the gathering was as follows: of the 145 participants, 100 had the right to vote. Of these 100, there were 45 Communists and 55 Non-Partisans. The proceedings were conducted by a Presidium of five men, of which three were Communists and two Non-Partisans. Both the election of the Presidium, as well as the fact that practically all the propositions put forth by the Communist

fraction were later adopted with slight alterations, bear witness to the great confidence of the people in the policies of the Communist party. And they will not be deceived this time, these plain forest and peasant people, who now after almost seven years of war and blockade by hunger and privation, are setting forth toward a new peaceful and happy future under the leadership of this party.

Business Transacted at the Sessions

The order of the day of the Congress was very extensive, and included matters of the greatest importance. First the political situation was reported and discussed; then came a report from the deputies of Karelia to the Eighth All-Russian Soviet Congress. Then Gylling in an address lasting several hours outlined the fundamental principles in the establishment of the Karelian Workers' Commune and sketched the guiding lines for its future tasks, as well as narrated the activity of the Revolutionary Committee. The representatives gave a report on the conditions in the districts. Later, as a sort of main issue, accompanied by many minor issues, came the report from the Economic Council concerning its past activities and future plans (also by Gylling); by the various sections of the economic council there were presented detailed reports, such as those of the section for popular instruction, the department of health, inspection by workers and peasants, etc. Finally came a report of the military situation, the election of a new Executive Committee to succeed the provisional revolutionary committee and a new economic council. In all, in the course of a little more than a week, 18 important items on the order of the day were discussed. Every one had time to express his opinions fully. In connection with a number of items there were very lively debates. It was particularly the Mensheviki who attracted attention to themselves. They always spoke as "Non-Partisans" and thought in this way to win over the real Non-Partisans. But in the able and thorough discussion of these matters they were always finally unable to answer. And the support they had gained was thus always lost. But the free and often very heated debate conducted on these matters was for us a new proof of how shameless a lie it was for the capitalist press in our country and in other countries to say that in Russia all expression of the opposition is forbidden.

Gylling's election as chairman of the new Presidium of the Executive Committee aroused general satisfaction, and his able and self-sacrificing work on the Revolutionary Committee was rewarded with a well deserved vote of confidence.

Recreation and Instruction

Several celebrations were arranged for those who took part in the Congress. Thus the City Theatre presented a musical-dramatic evening, in which the Finnish Teachers' Seminary had its students play among other things the well-known Norwe-

gian operetta "Til Saeters," while the Russian Teachers' Seminary gave us an unforgettable festive evening with music and splendid tableaux executed by its pupils. We visited also the city Museum, with collections of historical, geographical, botanical, zoological and geological material. Particularly interesting was a great collection of old church utensils as well as another of minerals, including a specimen of every type of marble occurring in Karelia, at least 40 different colors and qualities. After having lived as guests in Karelia for a week, we again departed southward, taking with us the heartiest greetings of the Scandinavian brother workers and expressing on our departure the warmest wishes for the future of a Communist society of this newly liberated workers' commune.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR WOMEN

(From a recent issue of Pravda)

At present Russian women receive the same pay as men for the same work. This is, to be sure, a step in advance on the path toward real equality. Yet a man usually still earns more than a woman. Why is this the case? Because the man has mastered some special trade or other, that has required the application of a greater or less period of time; he is a so-called skilled worker. Women are skilled workers in exceptional cases only. This is of course not the case because women are incapable of performing skilled work, but only because they have been so long bound to household duties and cut off from an opportunity to prepare themselves for factory labor, having entered the factory almost against their will, driven by need, as competitors of skilled workers. In order not to be condemned to hard and badly paid work, the working women should have a vocational preparation. At present there is an enormous lack of skilled workers in Soviet Russia. In order to restore industry and agriculture and put them on a higher level, we must have skilled workers. We need them in such great numbers that it would be ridiculous to think that competition in this field between men and women could be produced. The entire working class is interested in having as many working men and women as possible provided with vocational training. It is important for us in this connection not to permit old traditions to control the organization of vocational training, and that working women shall have unrestricted admission to callings that hitherto have been closed to them because of old prejudices. The war, which has drawn women into new occupations, has already shattered many of these prejudices, but they must be destroyed also in the matter of giving vocational training to women. Women should not be taught to stitch handkerchiefs, to make embroideries, but to understand agriculture, cattle breeding, technology, etc., in other words, all the branches of production for which the Republic of Peasants and Workers has most need of skilled labor.

The Kronstadt Mutiny

(The Kronstadt mutiny, now disposed of, has not received much attention in our columns; the following account is from the "Russian Press Review" of March 15):

ON February 13 the "Matin" published a telegram from Helsingfors reporting the outbreak of a mutiny of the sailors in Kronstadt against the Soviet Government. This communication was immediately seized upon by the whole of the West European bourgeois press.

Similar communications have previously appeared in this press, and did sometimes anticipate events, as was the case with Krassnaya Gorka and Nizhni-Novgorod.

When this communication was received in Russia, therefore, it became obvious to everybody that the Entente and her henchmen were organizing a mutiny in Kronstadt. Comrade Trotsky thereupon despatched the following command to comrade Batiss, Chief of the Political Department of the Baltic Fleet:

"The foreign press has recently been publishing incessant repetitions of a communication about plots and mutinies in the Baltic Fleet and Kronstadt. All past experience points to the fact that such rumors usually are the precursors of actual events, for the centre of intrigue is abroad, and the foreign press receive their information from emigrant whiteguard circles.

"This question should be carefully discussed in conjunction with all the responsible organs, and all precautionary measures should be taken."

A little while later the mutiny of General Kozlovsky broke out.

On January 28 a reactionary resolution was carried on board the "Petropavlovsk," but at the demand of the crew it was rewritten and accepted the next day in a new form. The resolution demanded the re-election of the Soviets. Our comrades made no objections, and proposed to call a committee of representatives of the sailors and the workers to decide the question at the "House of Education." The sailors began to elect the members of the committee, but the rebel ringleaders resolved to break up this committee and demanded that it should meet on board the "Petropavlovsk."

The actual mutiny started on March 2.

The leaders of the revolt are the Social-Revolutionaries, under the guise of non-partisans, and ex-officers and clergymen. The official chairman of the insurgents' organization is the ex-purser of the "Petropavlovsk," Petrichenko, and the secretary is seaman Turin. The chiefs of the mutineers are a clergyman named Sergeyev, captain Burtzev, mechanical-engineer Oreshin, ex-clergyman Putinin, and General Kozlovsky.

Having seized power, the insurgents proceeded at once to distribute the food stores. Here elements of demoralization immediately revealed themselves. The sailors drove the officers from the cabins occupied by them. Discord between the leaders of the mutiny and the sailors is growing. The position is felt to be unstable. The endeavors of the officers to bring up questions of a political character for discussion have failed hopelessly. The greater part

of the men do not believe in any chance for success, and regard the affair with indifference. Provisions are running out. The number of men who desert the insurgents and come over to the side of the Soviet troops is growing every day. The mass of the rank and file are prepared to surrender. This is the state of affairs in the insurgents' camp at the present moment.

On the other hand the mutineers do not find any support among the workers and peasants, not even among the sailors of Petrograd.

Complete calm reigns in Petrograd. The workers in the few factories which had lately been the scenes of meetings and individual attacks against the Soviet authorities, have become aware of the provocation of the Allied agents and the counter revolution. The meeting of the sailors at Petrograd—consisting of 8000 men—unanimously passed a resolution in favor of the Soviet Government, and the Petrograd garrison remains firm all the time.

From the strategical point of view as well the Kronstadt rebellion is doomed to failure. Kronstadt, as a military unit, represents no danger for Petrograd, in view of the fact that Fort Krassnaya Gorka, which commands Kronstadt, is in the hands of the Soviet troops and could be used to destroy Kronstadt at any moment.

The moment for the liquidation of the Kronstadt adventure is advancing. This is proved by the demoralization among the mutineers, and by the hostile attitude of the Russian proletariat towards this adventure, which is reflected in the following order issued by Trotsky on March 6:

"The Government of the Workers and Peasants has decided to return the mutinous Kronstadt ships immediately to the Soviet Republic. It is hereby decreed:

"That all who have raised a hand against the Socialist Fatherland immediately lay down their arms, that those who refuse be disarmed and handed over to the Soviet authorities, that the commissars and the other representatives of the Soviet authorities that have been arrested be immediately released. Parallel with this orders have been given to prepare everything to crush the mutiny and the mutineers by armed force. The responsibility for the calamities that will thereby fall upon the civil population, rests entirely upon the heads of the whiteguard mutineers. This warning is the last.

"President of Revolutionary War Council of the Republic: TROTSKY.

Commander-in-Chief of all the Armed Forces of the Republic: KAMENEV.

Army Commander: TUKHACHEVSKY.
Chief of General Staff: LEBEDEV."

Thus, everything goes to prove that before these lines will reach the reader the Kronstadt adventure will have been suppressed. The events in Kronstadt will merely cement the unity of the Russian workers, who know that the motive power was the endeavor of the Entente to frustrate the amicable American policy toward Russia and bring pressure to bear on the Turkish Delegation in London.

—Russian Press Review, March 15, 1921.

THE END OF THE KRONSTADT AFFAIR

The Russian Telegraph Agency gives the following details of the winding up of the Kronstadt affair:

Shortly after the surrender of the fortress to the Government forces the Petrograd Revolutionary Tribunal began hearing the cases of those leaders of the mutiny who failed to escape. Only the actual ring-leaders, who refused the opportunity for surrender and amnesty offered by the Soviet Government, are to be tried. Their misguided followers have been forgiven, as was promised.

The session of the Petrograd Soviet on March 26 was devoted to the Kronstadt events. Chairman Zinoviev explained how the Soviet Government, after temporizing as long as possible, was compelled to resort to force because its patience was misinterpreted as a sign of weakness. The Kronstadt lesson, said Zinoviev, will serve as a warning to all waverers against deception by the new mask chosen by the wily counter-revolutionists. The Soviet ordered a detailed inquiry into the causes of the mutiny.

The Petrograd newspapers describe the imposing obsequies to the heroic Red warriors who fell in the assault upon the fortress of Kronstadt. Numerous Red Army and Navy units, in the presence of many Trade Union organizations, rendered the last honors to the comrades who paid with their lives for the victory of the workers.

NON-PARTISAN PEASANT CONFERENCE

The Decree of the Eighth Soviet Congress concerning the consolidation and development of peasant farming is a great revolutionary asset for the peasant masses.

All information received from the provinces speaks of the fact that the peasants have accepted the new law systematically. This attitude was most vividly demonstrated at the recent conference of non-party peasants that was held in the Moscow province.

All apprehension about the peasants being apathetic to this Decree was demonstrated to be groundless at this conference.

It became obvious, soon after the speeches of the first non-party peasant speakers, that the conference was entirely in favor of the new law, and the debates assumed the character of practical discussion of the measures to be adopted in the fulfillment of that law.

Two or three speakers from among the *kulaks*,* who came forward with demagogic speeches about the "oppression by the Soviet Government," had no success, and in the course of the voting their resolution gathered 15 votes out of an audience of 700.

The unanimity with which the conference approved the Decree shows that the political and practical question of assisting peasant farming has been properly settled.

The attitude of the conference was particularly sympathetic to that clause which says that all the

*Rich peasantry.

work of strengthening peasant farming will be done by the peasants themselves. All pointed out the importance of that clause.

Indeed, the indication of the necessity for the broad development of the spontaneous activity of the peasantry is not a political declaration, but is the primary condition for victory on the agricultural front. It is the duty of the Party to pay special attention to this side of the question.

There is a vast amount of organizing power latent in the villages. These forces are at present standing outside; they have not yet been drawn into our work. It was very difficult to recruit these forces from among the peasant masses when our work on agriculture was mainly concentrated in the Soviet Farms and Collective Farms, embracing a very limited circle of the peasants in the sphere of its activity. Now, however, in beginning to organize and improve the peasants' farms, we are drawing the interest of the whole of the peasantry and attracting it to active Soviet construction. In working at the execution of the Decree of the Congress, we shall not only be able to attract new strata of the peasant masses to creative work but, what is of no less importance, we shall vastly further the process of the *Sovietization* of the peasant masses.

The economic and organizing talent of the peasantry, which has hitherto lain dormant, being familiarized by us with the work of strengthening peasant farming, will come out into the arena of Soviet construction and fill our ranks.

("Pravda," January 12.)

The Laws of the Revolution

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SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

THE attitude of the *New York Globe* towards Soviet Russia is usually considered as "liberal" when compared with that of the big morning papers such as the *New York Times*, *Tribune*, etc., whose editorial policy resembles the psychology of the exploiter in the morning when, a hungry beast of prey, he goes forth for plunder, while the *Globe* (and a couple of years ago the *Evening Post*) appeals to that side of the exploiter's soul which—after the day's bargain has been struck—is open to sentimental talk of justice and fair play. But while the *Times* can afford to be consistent in its policy, the *Globe* is from time to time bound to rehabilitate itself in the eyes of those who might be tempted to attack it as "pro-Bolshevist." And it is of course that venerable philosopher of the commonplace, Dr. Frank Crane, who assumes this amiable task. Among the six reasons why, according to him, the Soviet Government should not be recognized, the weightiest one is the argument that the "present rulers represent a small minority and rule by military force alone." And he adds: "That the Bolsheviki claim to be a sort of Socialists and against Capitalism, has nothing to do with the case."

Has it really nothing to do with the case, Mr. Crane? Did the Tsar represent anything else but a small minority and rule otherwise than by military force? Do the present rulers of Japan represent the majority of their population—of which figuratively speaking only those have the right to vote who are living on the Riverside Drive or the Park Avenue of Tokio? And is it unknown to you with what non-military means they are ruling fifteen millions Koreans? And do these facts prevent any "democratic" nation in the world from recognizing the government of the Mikado? Do the present rulers of the British Empire represent a majority of their 450,000,000 subjects, or rather the descendants and favorite lackeys of those few thousand Norman pirates who nine hundred years ago took possession of all the soil of England, enslaved her inhabitants and later extended their plunder over the best parts of the world? Are the murders of peaceful Hindus in Amritsar, the shooting up of onlookers at football games in Ireland, anything else than a rule of a "small minority, and by military force alone"? True, these are "conquered territories," and as such—according to the

"democratic" principles of our times, not entitled to self-government—but can Dr. Crane mention a single "recognized" country which is not ruled by and for a "small minority"?

True, in the "democratic" countries this minority rules with the electoral "consent" of the majority. That this consent is obtained through ownership of all the means of mental influence, the press, the schools, the churches, and the editorial-writing philosophers, by the parasitic minority, which always succeeds in effectively drugging and hypnotizing its victims—makes no difference to Dr. Crane and his fellow philosophers. But it makes all the difference in the world to those who consider the true aspect of things and not the form alone, who declare that a "consent" obtained under such circumstances is not worth more than the dissent of those whose petty-capitalistic peasant prejudices—an inheritance of a barbaric past—can be overcome only by the practical results of the new system, and not by argument.

Bernard Shaw, who, shortly after the British general elections were won for Lloyd George and Churchill by mendacious and silly slogans such as "Let the Germans pay" and "Hang the Kaiser"—had "given up democracy as hopeless," stated at that time in an article in the *Labour Leader* that the ruling minority in England as well as in Russia had the same opinion of Henry Dubb (the majority); but that, while Lloyd George and Churchill "cajole and coerce the masses" in the interest of capitalism, "Lenin coerces and cajoles in the interests of those whom he coerces and cajoles."

And this is in reality the *only* reason why the Soviet Government "should not be recognized."

ANOTHER interesting statement of Dr. Crane's—and one which he likes so much that he makes it twice in varying language—is to the effect that the Soviet Government has no honor, that it will regard any undertaking it makes in writing as a mere "scrap of paper," that it will take no pains to redeem its given word. If this were so, Dr. Crane would be ascribing to the Soviet Government precisely those international practices that have characterized capitalist governments throughout their history, but Dr. Crane should know that the Soviet Government has every intention to keep good faith. For Dr. Crane is making a definite expression of opinion on a serious subject and owes it to his reputation as a man of sense to read at least the newspaper accounts of the situation. Dr. Crane knows therefore that on February 10, 1920, Great Britain signed an Agreement with Soviet Russia regarding the mutual repatriation of prisoners (we can furnish Dr. Crane with the text of this Agreement, as printed in the columns of *SOVIET RUSSIA*), and that Great Britain's recent decision to sign a full Commercial Agreement with Soviet Russia, which she did on March 16 of this year (the text of which appeared in *SOVIET RUSSIA* last week) was taken after more than a year's experience with the reliability of the Soviet Govern-

ment in international affairs. This act is all the more striking if it be true, as *The Nation* (New York, April 20) maintains, that the signing of the new agreement with Russia was suddenly permitted by France in return for a free hand in Germany. For then we are forced to believe that England has for months been more than eager to sign the Agreement, and has been prevented from doing so only by France's stubborn insistence on the assumption of the Tsar's debts by the Soviet Government, an insistence which she relinquished only after obtaining the much desired *carte blanche* in Germany, together with a number of more remote arrangements, including joint action by France and Great Britain against the United States. It is interesting, in view of these assumptions, to note the swiftness, "astonishing especially to the Russians themselves," with which Great Britain suddenly dashed into the signing of a treaty that she had been dickering over for more than a year.

Dr. Crane may safely assume that there is at least as much honor in the acts of proletarian governments, and in their dealings with capitalist states, as there is in and between capitalist states themselves. One might even say that the strained situation between Capitalism on the one hand and Communism on the other is productive of an exceptional inducement to plain speaking.

ALEXANDER KERENSKY deplors the disadvantageous position of Soviet Russia under the new treaty with Poland. His words on this subject are quoted from a recent issue of *Pour la Russie* (Paris) by the *New York Globe* of April 13:

"Poland obtained not only 140,000 square kilometres (54,040 square miles) of Russian territory, with a population of nearly 7,000,000 souls, of whom only 4 per cent are Poles, but Poland also is freed from all responsibility for the old Russian debt, and even the debt incurred in the war which resulted in Poland's freedom. Better still, it is the greatest victim of the Russian war, which is to pay restored Poland 30,000,000 gold rubles (\$15,000,000). It is Russia, dying of transport paralysis, which must give Poland the equivalent of this same sum in rolling stock.

"It is Russia which must reimburse Poland in gold for all requisitions made during the course of the war, and for all Polish property removed to Russia in that time for any reason. Russia also must return to Poland historic treasures, archives, pictures, and manuscripts which have been in Russian state museums since 1772. The Bolsheviki have accepted everything. They have light-heartedly sacrificed millions of Russians whom they have delivered over to Polish oppression, and have sacrificed Russia's most vital political and economic interests."

Comrade Kerenky's patriotic recriminations require the following comment:

Assuming that his figures on population and area are correct. Poland has obtained, for temporary domination until they throw off her yoke, more foreign subjects than she can possibly swallow. But it is Kerenky's Paris friends who backed Poland in this imperialistic ambition, and he now complains that the Soviet Government has yielded to a pressure which he helped to exert!

To free Poland from the responsibility of sharing a debt which the Soviet Government does not

recognize, and which the latter will never pay except as a price for substantial concessions from France or her Allies, does not seem monstrous. This scruple of Kerenky's is apparently dictated by French rather than by Russian interests.

The payment of money and delivery of transport facilities to Poland is of course for the purpose of facilitating traffic with other countries through Poland. Similar clauses went into the treaties with Esthonia and Latvia. Kerenky's sympathy for Russia's "transport paralysis" is touching, but he is hereby informed that the concessions were made in order to aid in curing the paralysis.

Very serious to the mind that feeds on glorious memories is the turning over of art treasures to Poland. The Polish delegates probably fought hard for this concession, being cultured and book-fed diplomats, and had to pay something in order to get it. The Republic of the Workers, building a new civilization, turns over a few of the remnants of the old to the temporary charge of a petty tyranny that needs the trappings of past splendor to raise its own self-respect.

* * *

ON the morning of Tuesday, April 19, our glance strikes a paragraph in a portion of the *New York Times* that we confess we have never looked into before—the "Post Office Notices," under "Shipping and Mails." Here is the paragraph:

"Postmasters are hereby authorized to accept fully prepaid unregistered letters and postcards addressed to Russia (in Europe) for onward transmission to destination via New York and England."

Anyone who has had occasion to meet Russians frequently during the last few years will recall that invariably they express a desire to get into postal communication with their home country, in order that they may learn what has become of relatives from whom first the war and then the blockade has cut them off for years. At last there is an opportunity for Russians in America to write to their friends at home, and—presumably—to receive letters from them. Also, it will make it no longer necessary for us to give discouraging answers to the many letters we receive from Russians all over the United States, asking about the possibility of postal communication with their native land. Unfortunately we are compelled to continue our practice of advising those intending to visit Russia, either for the purpose of permanent domicile or temporary sojourn, to make no irrevocable preparations for such a journey, especially in view of the recent announcement of Dr. H. Dubrowsky and Mr. Charles Recht, printed elsewhere in this issue.

* * *

LETTERS are one of the few means through which an editorial office has contact with the readers of its output. Often the letters ask information; often they give it. When they ask information, we give what we know. We also welcome expressions of opinion from our readers as to the matter with which we provide them in this weekly.

“Fit to Print”

AS far as we remember, none of the great American dailies could afford the expense and the space for having the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement cabled from London and printed in their columns. According to them it was probably nothing but “propaganda” — as were according to Messrs. Lansing and Colby all the peace proposals of the Soviet Government which they therefore never gave out for publication. But the same papers could very well afford to pay for a “special cable” referring to a “document” of about 1000 words “embodying the instructions issued to the Soviet trade delegation at Constantinople as to methods of subversive propaganda to be followed by that delegation.” And it was this “document” that the very next day served those papers as a pretext for a vigorous editorial attack against the naiveté of that guileless idealist, Lloyd George, who seemed to believe that Lenin and his “gang of cuthroats” had become as honorable and as gentle as the distinguished cousin of Mrs. Clare Sheridan and the heroes of Margot’s *Memoirs*.

But it seems as if a sort of fatality were pursuing all the “documents” with which the champions of “truth and civilization” have for more than three years been relentlessly unmasking the perfidy and barbarity of the Soviet Government. They invariably turn out to be forgeries, and rather inept ones, for the men who perpetrate them are usually busy and have not the time to familiarize themselves with all the details of the matter to be misrepresented. Thus it happened that in the Sisson documents in the portion referring to Bolshevik activities before the Revolution—a number of persons are reported as working together along a common plan — while in reality they were dispersed in all the countries of the world—Sweden, Switzerland, the United States, as well as in prisons in Russia and Siberia. Similarly it happens that the present document is signed by “N. Bukharin and Berezin” for the Executive Committee of the Third International. A little more careful study of the Communist publications would have revealed to the author of this misrepresentation the fact that instructions to Soviet representatives are usually signed by the Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, and that the Third International has as much to do with such matters, as the Pope at Rome has with the enforcement of the Prohibition regulations in the United States. And that moreover it would be at least strange that such instructions to other representatives should be signed by Bersin (not “Berezin”), who is the Representative of the Russian Soviet Government in Finland. Has no one yet suggested to these industrious “document” manufacturers that instead of using such round-about ways for earning their living, they might resort to “direct action” and employ their art and natural predilection to the forging of checks, which requires much less industry, although it involves a little more danger?

It is of course clear that the London *Daily Telegraph* and *Times*, which first bestowed upon the world this “secret document,” could not remain the only papers that are publishing interesting and original copy about the malicious designs of the Russian enemies of civilization. And so it happened that the *N. Y. Evening Post* was also printing a correspondence, from Geneva—the Helsingfors of Central Europe—reporting from an extremely well informed source that all the bomb outrages in Italy as well as the insurrections in Germany were engineered in Russia and that Dzierzynski, President of the Extraordinary Commission, has given orders for the organization of terroristic actions in all European and non-European countries. The fact that Soviet Russia is just now seriously endeavoring to bring about trade relations with all countries, which in the eyes of every reasonable man would seem to disprove all these fantastic reports, is of course for these papers and the interests behind them, only further proof that trade relations are for Soviet Russia merely a pretext for smuggling bombs and their throwers into the various countries. For, the publishers of these papers know perfectly well that, as far as their readers are concerned, Anatole France was right when, with his benevolent contempt, he said that “man is *not* a thinking animal.”

But it was la belle France that proved to be the master mind in this gentle art of creating anti-Bolshevist “news.” The famous and time-honored French news agency *Agence Havas*, in reporting a search made in the editorial offices of the Belgian Communist paper *L’Exploité*, adds that “a voluminous correspondence in the Russian language had been seized in the search, written on letterheads that bore in French the imprint “Moscow Soviet Propaganda Abroad” (!). The people of the *Agence Havas* probably know the mental make-up of their readers, but we hesitate to believe that war and victory could really have had such terribly devastating effects on the mind and credulity of a people that has given to the world Rabelais, Voltaire and Anatole France.

As a companion-piece to these ultra-capitalist and imperialist publications, we may mention here a paper that pretends to address itself to readers with liberal or socialist leanings. It is *Pour la Russie*, a “Bulletin of Information” published in Paris by the “Socialists” of the Kerensky-Chernov type—those “Socialists” who only a very short time ago established a common democratic front with the out-and-out capitalists and imperialists of the Cadet party of Milyukov. On the occasion of the signing of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement, an editorial in *Pour la Russie* (March 19, 1921) comes to the following conclusion: “All the masks have fallen; all camouflage is abandoned; the role of Bolshevism as a vanguard of international capitalist reaction is evident to every unprejudiced mind.”

More Lies

The following statement, issued by the People's Commissariat of War at Moscow was dispatched by radio on March 22, 1921. It is a significant commentary on the present state of communications in the civilized world that the American people, fed upon these very lies, were denied an opportunity to read this exposure sent broadcast from Moscow by wireless.

"The Russian counter-revolutionary press published abroad naturally serves the European press as its source of information on everything concerning Russia. On the other hand, the Russian White Guard newspapers lend weight to their statements by referring to the leading organs of public opinion in Europe. Consequent upon such an arrangement of mutual insurance and shifted responsibility the information concerning Russia attains an extraordinarily unbridled character wherein falsehood lags far behind stupidity. Even one who has studied the press of the world for decades is bound to ask, who fabricates it, for whom? Why is such an unpalatable character given to these fabrications? Why is evil intent confused by such intense ignorance?"

"Here are several Russian, French, English and German newspapers recently arrived. Choosing a copy at random, we find the report that Comrade Sadoul was arrested as the result of an intrigue by Guilbeaux, Trotsky's assistant. Here, from beginning to end is a lie. There was not and could not have been anything which could even be misconstrued as an arrest of Comrade Sadoul. Comrade Guilbeaux was never Trotsky's assistant, nor was he the cause of Sadoul's arrest, which never happened. The story belongs simply to the realm of stupid gossip.

"In the next column we find something much more serious. This deals with nothing less than an alleged secret report of the Red Army. According to an article in the London *Morning Post*, Commander Petin of the Southern front, in his report proposed presumably to advance on Poland in the direction of Lemberg and Warsaw in April, 1921. Petin is alleged to express confidence of German aid. Trotsky replies, under 'Number 17,' consenting to Petin's plan with a single change, namely: postponing the advance until May, according to an alleged suggestion of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. This is no longer gossip but the deliberate fabrication of false information for provocative purposes. But how stupidly done! The front commander presumably reports to headquarters that in his opinion German aid is assured. Quite obviously to evolve such schemes the commander must have taken orders from Entente journalists. It must be added that Petin never commanded the Southern front, nor did he or the actual commander ever make a report in the remotest way resembling the one in the *Morning Post* and its Russian understudies.

"Let us pause another moment on statements concerning our military policy and intentions. The

Berlin Cadet paper *Rul* states that at the end of February Trotsky toured the Ukrainian cities adjacent to the Roumanian border. Particularly prolonged, according to this story, was Trotsky's stay in Kiev, where a series of secret military conferences took place, etc. The purpose of reporting visits to cities 'adjacent to the Roumanian border' is quite obvious. The entire story is fabricated from beginning to end. There were no military conferences. There was no visiting of Ukrainian cities adjacent to Roumanian border. Trotsky has not been in Kiev in the past eighteen months.

"Next we read quotations from a speech by Trotsky. The Red Army, after traversing Poland and Germany, would approach Paris. The time and the place of the speech as given always vary in different papers. Several February newspapers report that Trotsky has fled and that his whereabouts are unknown. Two or three days afterwards, without refuting the previous story, Trotsky is declared to be the military dictator of Russia. Needless to say both stories are equally ridiculous.

"What does it mean? That bourgeois newspaperdom has lost the last remnants of shame and common sense is obvious. But how do readers in civilized countries endure such mockery? One explanation remains: The more enlightened and interested readers of course do not believe these newspapers, but they will believe that such misinformation is useful to bring doubt and confusion to the working masses. However, with every new paroxysm of lies and calumnies the truth paves the way for itself to ever-widening circles, while the credit of the capitalistic mind-poisoners sinks ever lower and in final account the liars, calumniators and provocateurs are working to the advantage of the Revolution."—*Commissariat of War*.

THE RETURN OF THE COSSACKS

Krasnaya Gazeta, in its issue of February 24, announces that 2000 Cossacks from the armies of Denikin and Wrangel have returned to Odessa. Amnesty has been granted them.

Russian Trade

What has Soviet Russia to offer for sale to nations that will trade? What nations are trading with Russia now? Under what terms?

This information, and much valuable historical data, is contained in Volume III of SOVIET RUSSIA, covering the last six months of 1920. There are 652 pages of text, maps and illustrations. Bound in cloth. Sent post-paid on receipt of price, \$5.00. Address

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Prospects of Foreign Trade

(The signing of the Trade Agreement between Soviet Russia and England, of which the full text appeared in last week's SOVIET RUSSIA, makes it important to emphasize the resources with which Soviet Russia will enter the new trade.)

PREPARATIONS FOR FOREIGN TRADE

Moscow, March 25.—In addition to extensive dock and breakwater improvements which have been under way for some time, large dredging operations have been begun by the Petrograd Harbor Commission in preparation for the opening of navigation.

Moscow, March 26.—Petrograd is actively preparing for the opening of navigation. Steamers are already being loaded with cargoes for export. Large deliveries of timber and other materials are arriving at Petrograd docks ready for shipment. The Petrograd Timber Commission intends to export this season 734,000 standards* of sawn timber, of which amount about half is already on the docks.

Moscow, March 27.—The Petrograd Harbor Commission is busy repairing seagoing craft in preparation for the navigation season. Several Petrograd wharfs have been set aside for this purpose as well as space in Kronstadt harbor.

The Baltic factory at Petrograd has been ordered to construct a floating canning factory for conserving fish on Lake Ladoga to be completed in time for the navigation season.

Comrade Kremlevsky, the Black Sea delegate to the All-Russian Transport Congress at Moscow, reports that the harbor authorities at Odessa take steps to accelerate the repair of a large number of seagoing craft in preparation for extensive navigation. Now that the trade agreement is signed with England and the blockade removed and the Causasus is under Soviet rule, said Comrade Kremlevsky, we can freely navigate the Black Sea, resuming the Crimea-Caucasian lines and the routes to the Anatolian coast and Constantinople.

Extensive dredging operations are in progress on the Volga and its tributaries in preparation for a busy navigation season. The river Flotilla is being put into shape.

Moscow, March 28.—All the Russian ports are busily preparing for the reopening of ocean trade. A careful examination of the Nicolayev harbor has shown that despite the damage caused by the successive occupations by the White Guards, Germans and the French, etc., the greater part of the equipment is still quite serviceable. Two million poods of manganese ore are ready for shipment. Ship repairing is continuing successfully.

Moscow, March 30.—In view of the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian trade agreement and the prospects for a large foreign trade, the Petrograd authorities are hastening preparations for the open-

ing of navigation. Dock repairs are being made with all possible despatch. All the docks are already cleared and ready to accommodate fifty five boats simultaneously. The city tramway system is being linked up with the wharfs.

The railway workshop at Odessa has completed a rolling repair shop to travel over the railways for the repair of rolling stock. A similar traveling workshop has been equipped for the repair of agricultural implements. These traveling shops are completely equipped for every detail of the work for which they are intended.

FIVE HUNDRED MILLION RUBLES ON HAND

Moscow, March 16.—The Commissariat for Foreign Trade at present has at its disposal for export to foreign countries goods of various kinds to the value of 500,000,000 gold rubles in all. The goods include, naphtha, lubricants, skins, flax, wood, and tobacco.

A rational forestry plan will make it possible to export six times as much wood as is now being exported by Sweden.

In the spring months there will be forwarded from the provinces of Vologda, Olonets, North Dvinsk, and Cherepovets, a total of 4,900,000 logs, 900,000 railroad ties, 130,000 cubic sazhen of raw wood and 30,000 cubic sazhen of mine props and struts. (1 sazhen=7 feet.)

RUSSIAN FLAX FOR EXPORT

Moscow, March 29.—The Statistical Department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade has issued the following statement regarding the export of Russian flax:

As a result of the economic havoc caused by the war, Russian flax supplies have considerably diminished while the European demands have increased. Russia needs great quantities to supply her own spindles and is thus able to export much less than in pre-war times. Yet the quantity of flax which Russia can spare for export is important owing to the present all-European shortage of raw materials. The determining role in the direction of Russian flax exportation will be played not by political considerations but exclusively by the economic advantages offered to Soviet Russia by that country to which the flax will be exported. All the European countries are almost equally in need of raw flax, and Soviet Russia, being able to spare only limited quantities, will undoubtedly dispose of her supply to those who will give in exchange machinery and articles necessary for regenerating Russian economic life. From this viewpoint alone

*1 standard=165 cubic feet.

will Russia consider the question of trading and exporting flax. Of her present supplies Russia proposes to export about twenty six thousand tons of flax, representing about 10 per cent of the pre-war exports, and ten thousand tons of hemp, representing 20 per cent of the pre-war exports. In the present shortage of raw materials these quantities represent valuable compensation for real wealth imported from abroad. With the gradual regulation and improvement of general economic conditions in Soviet Russia it is confidently expected that Russian flax exports will increase and will eventually reach pre-war standards, thus offering a substantial fund to pay for imported goods.—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

NORWEGIAN BUSINESS MEN WANT TRADE

SOVIET RUSSIA for December 25, 1920, printed the full text of the negotiations between the Norwegian Government and Litvinov, representing the Soviet Government in Christiania, which terminated October 5, 1920. Among the other interesting material contained in this correspondence, which was ended by the Norwegian Government's refusal to consider further communications, was the full text of a proposed commercial agreement between Soviet Russia and Norway, resembling in many respects the trade agreement that has since been concluded between Great Britain and Soviet Russia, which was published in SOVIET RUSSIA two weeks ago. We stated then our surmise that the inability of the Norwegian Government, as repeatedly emphasized by the Norwegian Department of Commerce in this correspondence, to undertake any commercial negotiations that would involve a practical recognition of the Soviet Government, was probably due to orders from a more powerful Government abroad, which might desire not to have other states conclude such trade agreements before its own interests had been taken care of. Great Britain has now signed such an agreement; Norway, it would seem from the opinions quoted below, now also has permission to consider such an agreement.

In connection with the report of the conclusion of a trade agreement between England and Soviet Russia, the bourgeois newspaper *Aftenposten* of Christiania, Norway, on March 16 interviewed a number of well-known persons on the attitude of Norway towards Soviet Russia as far as the trade agreement is concerned.

Minister for Commerce, Councillor of State, Meyer-Bruun, expressed himself as follows:

"It is clear that when a great power like England acknowledges the Soviet Government *de facto*, for that may now be said to be the case, a considerable portion of the objections raised by the Norwegian Government when it was conducting negotiations last year on the resumption of commercial relations between Norway and Soviet Russia is removed. As the situation stood during Litvinov's stay here, the Government of Norway could not assume the responsibility for the consequences

that might have arisen if Norway had been the first and only country to recognize the Soviet Government *de facto*. Now the situation is quite different for our country. There are not at present any official negotiations with the Soviet Government, and I cannot state what will be the course taken by events. It might perhaps be best to wait for more detailed communications as to the various portions of the agreement."

The well-known ship-owner L. G. Movinckel said that he was glad the trade agreement between England and Soviet Russia had been concluded. "I hope," he added, "that this agreement offers us the possibility of also reaching an understanding, for this matter is self-evidently one of the very greatest importance."

The President of the Norwegian Board of Trade, Thune Larsen, told the newspaper among other things: "As for the trade agreement with Russia, it is absolutely plain that the Russian market may furnish opportunities for placing goods that may to no slight degree overcome the difficulties now prevailing in Norway, particularly in the matter of the great stores of goods in the warehouses of our country."

THE RUSSIAN MISSION AT ROME

By JACQUES MESNIL

(While business men in Norway, as would appear from the above article, are ready to trade with Soviet Russia, the Italian Government seems to give political considerations preference over the economic needs of its population. The new elections are impending and the Lloyd George of Italy obviously intends to use the anti-Bolshevist scare fabricated by the papers in connection with the incident described below, as a campaign argument against his Socialist opponents.)

After long vacillation and dragging on the negotiations for about a year, the Italian Government had decided to resume commercial relations with Russia and had regulated the conditions and modes of this relation.

The Russian Commercial Mission, directed by Professor Vorovsky, and officially accepted by the Italian Government, arrived at Rome on March 14, after a month of travel. They were as welcome as a dog in a bowling alley: not a single representative of the Government, not a single official of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs met them at the station. The Government had not taken the slightest care to assure a night's lodging to the members of the Mission and to their families (22 persons in all) and they would have had to shift for themselves if the Socialist Deputies and the delegates of the Cooperatives had not been on the spot to aid them. Meanwhile, the Tsarist ex-Ambassador still occupies the Palace of the Russian Embassy! But this is not all. After having formally undertaken to grant the mission a number of privileges, notably that Mr. Vorovsky would have the right to carry with him one or more sealed pouches, which

would be exempt from every sort of inspection, on board the ship as well as in Italy, the Italian Government claimed the right to subject the parcels of the Russian Mission to a customs examination, and on Vorovsky's refusal to consent, had them opened by force, which was contrary to the obligation that had been assumed.

From this time, all the bourgeois papers, the entire paid press, outdid each other in howling against these persons who had been invited by the Government and who had come to Italy to renew commercial relations of which the country stands in the greatest need; and faithful to its habits, this press engaged in the most extravagant, indecent conjectures concerning the contents of the packages, while the *fascisti* tried to take possession of them; then when they were unsuccessful in accomplishing their act of banditry, they demanded that one of their delegates also be present at the customs examination.

A private individual who would treat in this manner guests whom he had invited, would be rightly considered by everyone as a vulgar ruffian.

The Italian Government tries to justify itself by claiming that the privilege granted applies only to "diplomatic pouches" in small number and of small dimensions, and that the Italian laws do not permit the exemption of parcels from the customs examination. But the text of the treaty read in the Chamber by Deputy Caroti really includes the word "parcels" without modification; and on the other hand, everybody knows, that bourgeois newspapers like the *Secolo* agreed that it is one of the practices of customs authorities not to open any packages belonging to diplomats and their suite (including their servants and mistresses!).

The treatment accorded to the Russian Mission therefore is a breach not only of a signed agreement but of all the customs followed in cases of diplomatic missions.

Vorovsky's protests were entirely justified, and he was right under the circumstances to refuse to see the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Sforza, before he had received Chicherin's instructions on the conduct to be followed in view of this act of bad faith. He did not immediately leave as was erroneously reported, and as he would truly have been justified in doing.

The opening of the packages of the Mission had a negative result: the paid press nevertheless continues to make much ado on this subject and noises about the discovery of a little sack of gold roubles (altogether a matter of a few thousand francs), and a certain number of jewels. Now, since Russian paper money has no value in foreign countries, we may well ask how the Mission could manage to live in Italy if it did not possess some objects having value in foreign countries?

But the public must be prevented from making these simple reflections: therefore the newspapers in the pay of the capitalists do not hesitate, in their work of concealing the truth, to invent moving picture scenarios in which a letter of the Soviet

Government to Serrati (horror of horrors!) discovered among the papers of the Mission, plays a great part.

In reality the Soviet Republic is considered as the great enemy by all bourgeois governments, and when they treat with the Soviet Government it is only under the spur of necessity and always with the intention of breaking their engagements at the first possible occasion.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL

Moscow, March 22.—A flotilla of floating workshops has been launched upon the river Don to repair agricultural implements in the villages along the course of that river.

A conference of experts has opened at Tomsk for the purpose of exploring and utilizing the water energy of Siberia. It is proposed to electrify Siberia by water power.

Moscow, March 23.—Petroleum has been discovered in the Theodoia district of the Crimea.

Vast peat deposits have been discovered near the hamlet Vassilevsky in the Orenburg district.

Moscow, March 24.—A greatly increased petroleum output is reported from the Grozny district.

Successful experiments have been concluded at Baku for the production of crystalline sugar from maize. Special refineries are being built for this purpose. Four thousand poods of rice have been dispatched from Baku to help the children of the workers of liberated Georgia.

Moscow, March 25.—A message from Baku reports the output of petroleum in February exceeded 12,000,000 poods. The average daily output is more than 400,000 poods (1 pood = 36 lbs.).

Moscow, March 27.—The Ukrainian Council of Public Economy has decided to unite all the electrical stations in the Donets region in one circuit. The existing stations will be increased and new stations will be installed to provide power for the entire mining region. Orders for importing the necessary equipment from abroad have already been placed with the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade.

The Submarine Salvage Expedition of the northern flotilla reports successful operations in diving in the White Sea for submerged treasures in sunken ships. Some boats have already been raised and huge quantities of valuable metals, machinery, rifles, etc., have been brought to surface.

Moscow, March 28.—The Public Works Committee has decided to build a new railway bridge across the Volga at Saratov.

THE HERO OF THE FRENCH BLACK SEA FLEET SENTENCED

Paris, March 12.—It has been reported from Toulouse: Non-commissioned officer Badina, who in April 1919 influenced the crew of the French battle cruiser "Protée" to suspend hostilities against Soviet Russia, has been sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment and to demotion.

Proclamation of the Revolutionary Committee of the Georgian Soviet Republic

Tiflis, March 10. (Via Stockholm).—The Revolutionary Committee of the Georgian Soviet Republic addresses the following proclamation to all the workers:

Comrades and Brothers!

The Russian Revolution overthrew the bloody rule of the Tsars. But in its place there came the rule of the bourgeois democrats, traitors to the Revolution. The bourgeois reaction, making use of its tools, the petit bourgeois lackeys, struggles and intrigues tirelessly against proletarian Russia and also tortures in its most cruel manner the working masses of Georgia, for their sympathies for the Russian proletariat and its November Revolution. The working class of Georgia lived under the yoke of the capitalists and speculators who were flooding the realm of the Georgian democrats from all the corners of the earth. The peasants received no land, and their situation was in no way improved. As in times gone by, the knout of the Tsarist headles was swung over the heads of the Georgian peasants. The peasant insurrections which were in progress all over Georgia were brutally put down by the Georgian Government. The slightest, most obvious demands for national independence, that were put forth by the Adzarians, the Abkhazians, and the Ossetians, were crushed literally with fire and sword by the Government, while punitive expeditions, reprisals and violent abductions of peaceful inhabitants from hundreds of the villages on the Georgian boundary were undertaken. Three years passed, during which the peasants and workers in this hell of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie lived in perpetual torment; the persecution of the nationalities inhabiting our country went on during all these three years. The counter-revolutionary, imperialistic character of the Menshevik Government was expressed to us with sufficient clearness on the occasion of the attack made on the young Soviet Republic of Armenia in which a rule of terror was erected not only in the neutral zone between Armenia and Georgia, but also in districts belonging without doubt to the Armenian Soviet Republic. These criminal adventures led to the disgraceful collapse of the Mensheviks. The nationalities and workers against whom they had proceeded with murder and oppression finally resorted to their inalienable right to revolution. First the Armenian and Russian population in the district of Borchalinsk (province of Tiflis) rose. Immediately thereafter came uprisings of the Tartars and Georgians of the district of Said. A mighty wave of revolution rolled toward Tiflis, the stronghold of the counter-revolutionists of Transcaucasia. After these movements had united they were joined not only by all the workers of Georgia, but also the neighboring republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan offered their aid.

The Red Army of these Soviet Republics came to the aid of the rebels on their expressed wish and on the request of the Georgian Revolutionary Committee, in order to guide the struggle of the Georgian, Tartar, and Abkhazian working masses, and bring it to a successful conclusion. In this act, the Red Army of Workers and peasants gave evidence before all the world of its high courage, its steadfastness, its discipline, and the extremely high development of its feeling of responsibility for its task as liberator of the oppressed of the world, an example that is unparalleled in history. The workers of Georgia have shaken off the yoke of their exploiters, and are beginning to enter upon their life under the dictatorship of their own class. Do not believe the lies and calumnies of the overthrown yellow Socialist Government and their mental consorts who would represent the Georgian revolution as a military intervention. For the first time in history Georgia has real independence and self-determination. After having lain and languished for many years in the chains of counter-revolution, it has now returned to the bosom of the family of revolutionary peoples.

Comrades, brothers!

We are now in the open light of proletarian revolution; we take warmth from its life-giving rays. We have entered into the era of the history of the workers' control of the earth, into the epoch of the rule of the workers over their exploiters. Long live the proletarian world revolution! Long live the Soviet Republic of the World! Long live the overthrown yellow Socialist Government and peoples!

(Signed) THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF THE GEORGIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC.
Shakaya, Makharadze, Oradze, Alashvili, Eliava, Akudzkhava, Omar Ferik Mazarti, Elisoheshvili, Kvikelia, Todia, Dumbadze.

CHUVASH COOPERATIVES

Moscow, March 22.—The cooperative farm movement has spread to the recently created Chuvash Soviet Republic. A report from Cheboksary says that numerous Cooperative Farming groups have been organized to conduct collective agriculture after the model of Soviet Russia.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

CHILDREN FED IN AZERBAIJAN

Moscow, March 22.—A message from Baku says that the Azerbaijan Government has issued a child-feeding decree by which all children from birth to the age of sixteen shall receive all necessities, food, clothes, etc., from the state free irrespective of their parents' social condition.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

Free Trading and Tax in Kind

(The following extract from Lenin's speech at the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party as well as the appeal of the Central Executive Committee deals with the recently reported changes as to the mode of grain delivery by the peasants.)

Lenin's Speech

Moscow, March 9.—Nicolai Lenin opened the Tenth Convention of the Russian Communist Party. After greetings delivered by Comrade Geyer on behalf of the German Party, by Quelch on behalf of the English Party, and by Shakaya on behalf of the Georgian Communists, Comrade Lenin presented the report of the Central Committee on the internal and external position of the Soviet Republic and on the tasks before the Russian Communist Party.

Already in April, 1918, said Lenin, it had been supposed that the civil war had come to an end. In March, 1920, Soviet Russia had supposed that a period of peace had begun. Yet in April the Polish offensive began. This experience prevents us from any relapse into undue optimism, although at the present time there is not one enemy soldier on Russian territory. Our internal difficulties are connected with the problem of demobilization, provisioning and fuel. We have committed blunders in the distribution of food supplies, which have, however, considerably exceeded the supplies of previous years. The fuel difficulties arose because we began reconstructing our industries to an excessive degree. We over-estimated the rate of progress from war time to peace time economy. Our agriculture is passing through a crisis not merely as the result of the imperialistic and civil wars, but also because the new governmental apparatus, only gradually evolving its methods of activity, has committed mistakes. The most important political question now is the relation between the city workers and Russia's predominating peasant population. During the period in which the international situation is marked by the extremely slow development of the revolutionary movement of the world we can in no way base our policy on its speedy victory. Considering all this, Soviet Russia finds it necessary to treat with bourgeois governments and to grant concessions in Russia to foreign capitalists.

With respect to our internal position, it is necessary to dwell on the events at Kronstadt. The mutiny engineered by France aided by the Social Revolutionaries, will be crushed within a few days. Nevertheless it should make us ponder seriously over the general internal situation of Soviet Russia. The peasant thinks that the Tsarist General does not menace him any longer and that he is getting too little from industry to justify the sacrifices demanded of him by the state. We must meet the wishes of the peasantry. We shall introduce a food tax in kind which will be apportioned according to the peasants' degree of prosperity, leaving a free field of action to their proprietary interests. This tax will absorb only a part of the peasant's harvest. The surplus left on his hands

he will be able to sell through local trading. Just as the concessions must give us the means of production for our industries, so by meeting the peasants' wishes, we shall alleviate the agricultural crisis and improve the relations between the city workers and the peasantry. The question of the food tax in kind is the most important practical question of Soviet Russian policy. Its introduction encounters serious difficulties and demands the greatest unity of party and a clear conception of the difficulties facing a proletarian dictatorship in a petty bourgeois country.

Decree of the Council of People's Commissars

Moscow, March 29.—In order to carry out the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of March 23rd to permit the peasant population to dispose freely of surplus food products after discharging all obligations to the state, the Council of People's Commissars today issued a decree authorizing immediate free trading and bartering in agricultural produce in all provinces which have fulfilled the state food levy. The list included nearly all the provinces of the federation.

Another decree has established the food contributions under the new tax at a rate much lower than the amounts of the previous levy. Instead of 423,000,000 poods* asked last year, only 240,000,000 poods of grain will be asked during the current year, estimating an average fair crop. Detailed regulations for every province will be published shortly.

Appeal to the Peasants

Moscow, March 23.—An appeal to the peasantry, signed by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, refers to the Russian triumph over the assaults of the world's reactionaries which has introduced Soviet Russia to the great powers as an equal, thus enabling the Soviet Government to obtain through foreign trade manufactured goods to exchange with the peasants for their surplus products. The appeal declares that the moment has now come to ease the peasants' burden without risk of jeopardizing the conquests of the revolution.

In place of the former food levy, a recent decree has established a moderate tax in kind of much smaller volume, to be equitably apportioned among the peasant agriculturists according to their means, leaving them freedom to dispose of the balance of their products as they deem best. The amount to be contributed to the state will be fixed before the spring sowing in order that the peasant may know beforehand how much he will be able to dispose of, so that he may at once

*1 pood=36 lbs.

offer some of it to the Government in exchange for domestic manufactured articles or articles imported from abroad. The peasants should remember, the appeal points out, that even this moderate tax is only temporary until the Government shall develop home industry and foreign trade sufficiently to dispense altogether with any taxation. In fact, the tax will be gradually diminished as production and imports increase and will be abolished as soon as circumstances permit. The appeal urges the peasants to strain all efforts to leave no acre uncultivated. The peasants are reminded that the more they sow the more surplus they will have at their disposal. The peasants should remember that the Government is now able to reduce their burdens, thanks to the victories of the Red Armies over the enemies of the toilers, which have demonstrated the stability of the Workers' Government.

The appeal is to be read in all villages, hamlets, railway stations, factories, etc.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

Moscow, March 24.—Seven hundred schools for adults with twenty thousand pupils have been opened in the city of Moscow in the campaign against illiteracy. The Province of Moscow has over sixteen hundred adult schools with forty thousand scholars.

A special astronomical expedition is being fitted out by the Commissariat of Education to study the solar eclipse on the Murman coast on April 8. This partial eclipse will be visible throughout European Russia, but particularly from the Murman coast.

Moscow, March 25.—The Commissariat of Education has opened training courses for instructors in children's theatrical performances and school entertainments. The training will include stage technique, scenic art, elocution, etc.

Moscow, March 26.—A Turkish national delegation has arrived at Petrograd from Moscow on a visit of inspection. The delegation will study the Turkish manuscripts preserved in the public library and in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences.

The training schools for teachers established last year by the Soviet Government of Azerbaijan have graduated thousands of native teachers principally for the elementary schools.

Moscow, March 28.—Numerous villages throughout Russia have established practical agricultural schools on their own initiative with subsidies from the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the Commissariat of Education. A typical example of such schools is the Popular Agricultural Academy just opened in the village of Malmyg, in the province of Viatka. This academy forms a centre from which are organized throughout the district long and short term courses on many subjects of interest to the peasants. The courses which are administered by a committee of the scholars have proved

very popular from the outset. The academy has opened a branch for Moslem natives in the province.

Moscow, March 30.—The Central Council of the Russian Young People's Communist Federation has begun the publication of a new organ entitled "Red Youth." First issue will appear in April.

The first crystallographical institute was opened at the Petrograd Mining College, dedicated to Prof. Feodorov, who has laid the foundation of the study of the nature of crystals. The institute will be headed by Prof. Nikitin, who was the closest collaborator of Prof. Feodorov.

The department for the preservation of ancient art and monuments at Petrograd has decided to assume the care of the church at the former Marinsky palace as a rare art monument of the pre-Renaissance period.

A new electrical station is being erected by the agricultural institute at Dyetskoye Selo to supply schools, laboratories and children's colonies, etc.

—Russian Telegraph Agency.

THE PARTICIPATION OF THE JEWS IN THE BOLSHEVIK ADMINISTRATION

(The following article is reprinted from "Yevrey-skaya Tribuna" of Paris, a bourgeois Jewish weekly, only for the reason that it is taken by the "Tribuna" from Burtsev's paper, "Obshcheye Dyelo," and therefore, its assertion that Tsarist generals are cooperating with the Soviet Government of their own free will and not as a result of any physical compulsion, emanates from Burtsev himself, who is an irreconcilable enemy of the Soviet Government. In spite of Burtsev's attempted exculpation of Leon Trotsky, it is very probably that much of the credit for "the menace now hanging over civilization" is still due to Trotsky.)

In *Obshcheye Dyelo* of February 10 (No. 210) there is printed a list of sixty commissars and political workers in the Red Army, to which the editor adds the remark that in the entire number there are altogether eight Jews.

In the issue of February 12 of the same paper there appears a list of fifty military officers serving under the Soviet power; of them not one is a Jew. On this question there is printed in *Obshcheye Dyelo* of February 17 an article by A. Vetlugin, "How they sold themselves to the Third International," from which we quote the following passage: "The list of officers serving in the Red Army, published by *Obshcheye Dyelo* is producing lively discussion in Russian circles abroad.

"It is not true," say some, "these people were driven by hunger."

"It is true," others will answer, "but you cannot say that they produced the victory, for they were only pawns."

"They were doing their patriotic duty, first in their struggle against the Germans, then against the Poles," another group will say.

We should have clearness on this matter.

Fortunately (or shall we say unfortunately?) an accident put me in a position to follow in my capacity as a private correspondent at the very center the negotiations of the Soviet power with the "war specialists" (from spring to autumn 1918), who had been invited to serve the International in accordance with the decision of the Central Executive Committee of March 29, 1918.

And out of the list published in No. 210 of *Obshcheye Dyelo*, of fifty-six men I have absolutely accurate information concerning the conditions, the rank, and the character of work of the following persons named: (1) Brussilov, (2) Parsky, (3) Gutor, (4) Zayonchkovskiy, (5) Verkhovskiy, (6) Klembovskiy, (10) Cheremissov, (29) Lebedev, —in other words the most prominent figures in the list.

And besides, from the standpoint of the importance of the services rendered and the proportions of the betrayal involved, we should add also the names of Colonel Dalmatov, General Sytin of the General Staff, General A. Baltyiskiy of the General Staff, and General M. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, also of the General Staff. The remaining persons are,

as a matter of fact, only figures of temporary importance.

The persons above enumerated by name are discharging their duties in a manner that will enable the Russia of the future to judge definitely of the nature of their services. In other words, they (a) entered the Soviet service voluntarily; (b) they filled posts of exceptional importance; (c) they worked not through fear but from conviction and through their military operations they brought about a complete defeat of the armies of Denikin, Kolchak, Petlura (Gutor, Klembovskiy); (d) they created the administrative apparatus, after having recreated the General Staff Academy (Baltyiskiy), a regular infantry organization (Bonch-Bruyevich), an artillery organization (Verkhovskiy), and introduced an original system for the conduct of attacks by means of great masses of cavalry which have become known in history under the name of the cavalry operations of Budenny (Dalmatov). All twelve prepared the victory of the Bolsheviki over the remnants of the Russian patriots; all twelve have been even more than Trotsky responsible for the menace that is now hanging over civilization.

Books Reviewed

By A. C. F.

THE MEMOIRS OF COUNT WITTE. Translated and edited by Abraham Yarmolinsky. Published by Doubleday, Page and Company.

Count Witte is an admirable historian of the decline and fall of the Russian Empire. His vigorous searching analysis of the causes which led to the downfall of the Tsarist regime is all the more convincing because his political principles are thoroughly monarchial. Unlike the Cadets of 1905 he was farsighted enough to realize that a bourgeois revolution was impossible in Russia, where the sweeping away of the Imperial power, with its apparatus of governmental terror, would inevitably leave a small minority of capitalists and landowners face to face with the great masses of insurgent workers and peasants. He quite properly regarded the autocracy as the indispensable foundation of the capitalist social order in Russia. But he also knew that autocracy, in order to survive, must be strong and enlightened. He repeatedly expresses his disgust at the shameless corruption, the planless brutality, the mingled weakness and cruelty which characterized the administration of Nicholas and his courtiers. Commenting on the massacre of the Lena miners by the gendarmes he prophetically observes:

"A regime under which such slaughters are possible cannot long exist."

Again, describing the White Terror under Stolypin, he remarks:

"Capital punishment, in fact, has become an act of assassination by the Governmental authorities."

Witte himself favored the policy of a rapid development of Russian industries, stimulated by foreign capital, combined with the enactment of a program of social reform which would counteract the revolutionary agitation among the workers and peasants. Under Tsar Alexander III he enjoyed practically a free hand. He placed the Russian currency upon a gold basis; he built a network of railways in European Russia; and he linked Russia up with the Far East by constructing the Trans-Siberian line.

Under Nicholas, Witte fell from favor: for, as the author shrewdly observes: "His Majesty does not tolerate

about his person anybody he considers more intelligent than himself." In spite of his personal dislike for Witte the Tsar was compelled to make use of his abilities on several occasions. Witte was called on to liquidate the Russo-Japanese War, which he strongly opposed, and gives an interesting account of the peace negotiations at Portsmouth. He was also nominally invested with supreme power during the critical period of the 1905 Revolution, and played a leading part in framing the constitution which the Tsar pretended to accept. As soon as the immediate danger had passed, however, Nicholas showed an inclination to break all his promises and to resort to a policy of ruthless terrorism; and Witte resigned as Premier, to be succeeded by the mediocre reactionary, Goremykin, and the brutal tyrant, Stolypin.

Witte gives an illuminating picture of the late Tsar's personality, and quite effectually dispels the sentimental conception of Nicholas as a kindly, well meaning man, who was habitually misled by wicked ministers. The following incident shows Nicholas in his true colors:

"During my premiership (1906) I received a despatch from Governor-General Sologub, describing the measures taken to suppress the uprising in the Reval district and requesting me to exert a moderating influence upon Captain Richter of the punitive expedition, who was executing people indiscriminately without the least semblance of legality. I submitted the despatch to His Majesty, who returned it to me with the following words jotted down opposite the lines describing the Captain's bloody deeds: 'Fine. A capital fellow.'"

Witte also testifies that the late Tsar was a violent anti-Semite, and that he rewarded and encouraged officials who organized pogroms.

M. Iewolsky, in his "Recollections of a Foreign Minister," reproaches Witte for accelerating unduly the development of Russian industry, thereby creating an urban proletariat which was destined to carry through the Revolution. Witte would probably have replied that he sought to provide the necessary palliatives in the shape of social reform legislation; but that he was thwarted at every turn by the stupid reaction of the Court. In this

connection he relates an anecdote which is very characteristic of the Tsarist regime. The author tried to persuade Nicholas to appoint a commission for the study of the needs of the peasants. The Tsar, acting upon the advice of Von Plehve, with unconscious humor proceeded to appoint a commission for the study of the needs of the landowners!

Despite his severe criticisms of the autocracy for not adopting a more intelligent and paternalistic attitude towards the masses, Witte never pretends to be a Liberal. He opposed the bestowal of wide powers upon the Duma in the 1905 Constitution. He tells in some detail the story of how he was able to secure from a syndicate of French bankers the loan which was needed to make the bankrupt autocratic government independent of the Duma. The proceeds of this loan were used to take away from the Russian people the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of 1905, to support the Tsar's conscript army, and Stolypin's army of spies and provocateurs. And the French reactionary government, with cynical impudence, has been waging merciless war against the Russian workers and peasants in order to compel them to pay back money which was entirely devoted to their enslavement and exploitation.

Witte's book shows very clearly that a fundamental revolution in Russia was inevitable, even if there had been no Bolsheviki. Tsarist Russia, a feudal anachronism in the twentieth century, a savage despotism based upon the precarious support of a small minority of bureaucrats, landowners and capitalists, was destined to destruction just as certainly as the French feudal regime in 1789. What the Bolsheviki have done is to impart cohesion and direction to an elemental revolt that was inevitably chaotic and destructive in its first phases. In the midst of the wreckage of the old order they have successfully organized the first Socialist state.

THE WORLD AT THE CROSS ROADS. By Boris Brasol. Published by Small, Maynard and Company.

We cordially recommend Mr. Brasol's book to lovers of light fiction. The author is connected with a Russian society in this city which has published an illiterate pamphlet aiming to show that the Soviet government is entirely controlled by Jews; and the book is a first-rate exhibit in Black Hundred mentality. It is also, quite unconsciously, one of the funniest literary productions that has appeared for a long time. Mr. Brasol professes to believe:

- (1) That the League of Nations and "international Bolshevism" "work in the same direction, tending to undermine the fundamental basis of national development";
- (2) That "both the Kaiser and Trotsky were merely tools in the hands of one and the same sinister group—Judo-German finance";
- (3) That the policy of the Peace Conference towards Russia was profoundly influenced by Jewish advisers who insinuated themselves into the counsels of the Allied statesmen;
- (4) That ex-President Wilson and Signor Graziadei, leader of the Italian Communists, are both "elements of disintegration";
- (5) That the population of Petrograd is mathematically certain to disappear within sixteen years (Mr. Brasol is here more cautious than most anti-Soviet propagandists);

This engaging nonsense book contains many other diverting statements. The author has a most original explanation for the failure of the Allied attempts at intervention in Russia. Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich and Wrangel all failed because "they were forbidden to stand for the one policy which can triumph in Russia, besides Bolshevism, that is, the *monarchical* policy." "The Russian people," cries Mr. Brasol, "would rather have a Trotsky for another three years than a Kerensky for another three months."

Occasionally the author stumbles upon an accurate characterization of a movement or a personality. The following passage hits off the Cadets rather well:

"They were excellent revolutionary poseurs when under the protection of the steel bayonets of the Imperial

regime. Then they posed as extreme radicals, as enthusiastic believers in the blessings of a revolutionary storm, but whenever the first grumblings of the storm were heard, they were the first to implore the government for protection of their estates and of their 'sacred property.'"

Mr. Brasol is an ardent nationalist; but he is an international imperialist. He goes out of his way to praise the British General Dyer, who ordered the horrible Amritsar massacre. And, by some rather involved intellectual processes, which are not altogether clear to readers who are not blessed with the Black Hundred mentality, he links up the Indian discontent with British rule with his all-embracing Jewish plot for world domination.

Of course the author is a devout believer in the mystical virtues of Holy Russia. He gives the following lurid and imaginative interpretation of the Russian Revolution:

"The eternal theme of world drama, Judas vs. Jesus, assumed in Russia the form of a gigantic revolt of the international Ghetto against a Christian nation which served hitherto as the great European reservoir of religious thought and moral achievement."

Among the "moral achievements" of the "Christian" Tsarist regime which Mr. Brasol so fondly apostrophizes, the pogroms and Bloody Sundays, of course, take a high place. The Russian workers and peasants have smashed this regime forever; and neither the guns and bayonets of the counter-revolutionists, nor the money and lies of the Allies, nor even the eloquent pen of Mr. Brasol, can ever restore it.

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE

We are asked by the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee to bring the following financial statements to the attention of our readers. The Committee is about to start a new campaign in the interest of the underfed women and children of Soviet Russia, this time a campaign for the purchase and forwarding of milk to Soviet Russia. We shall print the Committee's appeal for assistance in this field next week.

April 1, 1921.

Total shipped up to January 31, 1921	\$78,010.34
Shipped during February and March 1921:	
On the SS. Ripon, via Reval:	
3 cases of various instruments and drugs	\$300.00
On the SS. Lackawanna Valley via Reval:	
5400 vials mixed Typhoid Immunizations, donated	1,000.00
2000 oz. Quinine Sulphate USP	1,220.00
2239 lbs. Green Soap USP	195.91
1153 lbs. Cascara Sagrada Bark	201.78
200 lbs. Tannic Acid USP Fluffy	220.00
200 lbs. Camphor Slabs Refined	150.00
100 lbs. Salol USP	75.00
9111 lbs. Carbolic Acid USP	1,002.21
1 case instruments and drugs, donated	100.00
Condensed Milk	2,500.00
Cartage for above shipments	13.45
Insurance	142.32
Freight	165.37

Grand total of shipments made up to	
April 1, 1921	\$85,296.58
Payments made for above shipments:	
Paid out in cash up to Jan. 31, 1921	\$51,663.34
Paid out in cash during Feb. and March ..	11,600.07
Donated Goods received up to Jan. 31, 1921..	3,000.00
Donated Goods received during Feb. and March	1,400.00
Balance Payable on Goods shipped	17,633.17

Grand Total

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE
Room 506, 110 W. 40th St.,
New York City.

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE, FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE MONTHS OF JANUARY, FEBRUARY AND MARCH

New York, April 1, 1921.

RECEIPTS:

Contributions of District and Local Committees:

Canadian District:	
Winnipeg District Committee	\$10,480.00
Vancouver	152.00
Ottawa	60.00
Chicago Committee	1,458.40
Washington Committee	1,000.00
Los Angeles Committee	978.80
Czecho-Slovak Committee N. Y. C.	652.00
Wilmington, Del. Committee	600.00
Denver, Colo. Committee	600.00
Philadelphia Committee	515.00
Portland, Ore. Committee	450.00
Rochester, N. Y. Committee	390.00
San Francisco Committee	300.00
Newark, N. J. Committee	292.98
Southeastern District Committee	175.00
Madison, Wis. Committee	162.75
Spokane, Wash. Committee	150.00
Bayonne, N. J. Committee	147.27
Baltimore Committee	100.00
New Haven, Conn. Committee	100.00
Duluth, Minn. Committee	68.15
Yonkers Committee	65.60
San Diego, Cal. Committee	60.00
Oklahoma City Committee	30.00

Waterbury, Conn. Committee	30.00
Houston, Texas Committee	26.00
Lawrence, Mass. Committee	15.50
Des Moines, Ia. Committee	8.50
Donations from Individuals and organizations	4,281.56
For Pamphlets and Post Cards	425.19

Total Receipts for January, Feb. and March	\$26,376.92
Balance on hand January 1, 1921	1,768.35
	<hr/>
	\$28,145.27

DISBURSEMENTS:

For Medical Supplies	\$20,681.28
Organization Expenses:	
Wages and salaries	1,295.83
Postage, Stationery	270.14
Office rent and office expenses	208.08
Pamphlets and Postcards	832.95
R. R. Fares, telegrams & Miscellaneous..	328.08
	<hr/>
	\$2,975.06
Balance on Hand April 1, 1921	4,488.91
	<hr/>
	\$28,145.27

RECAPITULATION:

Total Receipts to April 1, 1921	\$74,755.51
Total Disbursements:	
For Medical Supplies	63,263.41
Other disbursements: Printing, wages, office and traveling expenses, loss on exchange, etc.	7,003.19
Balance on hand April 1, 1921	4,488.91
	<hr/>
	\$74,755.51

Next Week's

SOVIET RUSSIA

will be a

Special May Day Number

It will contain eight extra pages of pictures—half tone reproductions of new educational posters from Soviet Russia, and the following new articles:

Eugene Varga, President Supreme Council of National Economy, Hungarian Soviet Republic, on **AGRICULTURAL QUESTIONS IN SOVIET RUSSIA**. An able discussion of the past and future lines of development in the agricultural economy of Soviet Russia.

Wallis Walter Lefeaux: **PERSONS AND THINGS IN SOVIET RUSSIA**. Concrete observations from the pen of one recently returned from Soviet Russia.

N. Lenin: **POLITICAL EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA**. Shows the necessity of specific propaganda to stimulate production, rather than of general theoretical agitation on the nature of Communism.

Paul Louis: **TROTSKY ON THE PARIS COMMUNE**. A restatement in light popular form of the points scored by Trotsky against Kautsky, in Trotsky's exposition of the parallel between the Paris Commune and the Soviet Government that will be welcomed even by readers of Trotsky's recent article in **SOVIET RUSSIA**.

Treaties: Full texts of the treaties between Soviet Russia and Persia, and between Soviet Russia and Afghanistan.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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Russia and Europe



The Inscriptions Read: "R. S. F. S. R.—Celebration of the First of May, 1920. Proletarians of All Lands Unite." First Panel: "In Soviet Russia, Saturday Work to Resist Disorganization." Second Panel: "Abroad, Strikes and Struggles for the Soviet Power." See additional posters on inside pages.

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The Development of Russian Agrarian Policy

By EUGENE VARGA

(The President of the Supreme Council of National Economy in the former Hungarian Soviet Republic, who is now living at Moscow and who is himself an authority on agrarian and economic questions, contributes the following general view of the Russian agrarian situation, and the way in which that situation is being met by Soviet policy.)

TO develop the Russian agrarian situation is the essential point of the Russian economic policy. It has always been so, and is so today still. For the gigantic fact that about eighty per cent of all the workers in Russia are engaged in agriculture has not been altered by the proletarian revolution. The fundamental problems also remain the same.

How can the Russian peasants be made to attain a higher average crop on their extensive fields? How can the distribution of land and of the products of the land be shaped in accordance with the political system ruling at this moment?

As far as the first question is concerned the solution was always sought in one way only before the proletarian revolution: the effort always was to secure to the land holders as high an income as possible, at the expense of the workers, in other words, to force up the rents. Up to the time of the abolition of serfdom, this was done by the most brutal confiscation of the product of the serf's labor. This led, in Russia as everywhere else, to the opposite of the end pursued: the serf economy declined more and more; production also ceased, except for the mere existence of the serfs themselves, and this existence was all the more wretched.

The abolition of serfdom did not alter very much the situation itself. Although the burden of the peasants, in the form of instalments, taxes, interest, was now a fixed one, no longer exposed to the arbitrary decision of the landed proprietors, the burden remained nevertheless almost impossibly high to the peasants. The reason for this was that the peasant in most parts of Russia obtained too little land to use up all his labor power, and that because of his ignorance of reading and writing, his absolute lack of any knowledge of scientific farming, his great conservatism, and his poverty, the yield of the soil was too low to enable him to raise the enormous allotments. The Russian peasants starved while Russian grain was being forwarded to Italy and England, and the entire Russian agricultural system was falling into decay. The *mir* system, which, briefly stated, is a system of three-field economy, combined with a periodical redistribution of all the peasant holdings, prevented even those few peasants who were prepared mentally to abandon the traditional bad method of farming from doing so, owing to the fact that the *mir* organization was committed to these methods. The impoverishment of the Russian peasant village in general led to the agricultural disturbances in the first Russian revolution (1905).

After the crushing of the first revolution came the attempt to carry out an agrarian reform on a bourgeois basis. This was the Stolypin agricultur-

al reform, the fundamental principles of which were: politically, the creation of a well-to-do peasant class as the broad basis of the bourgeois classes; economically, the abolition of the *mir* organization, the amalgamation of the parcela held in common into large farms complete in themselves, in order thus to provide the ambitious peasants with the possibility of advancing economically.

These reforms also involve: annulling the right of those living far from the village to have a share in the village lands, in other words, the final cutting off of the semi-peasant industrial proletariat from the soil; the proletarianization of the village poor owing to the distribution of the communal lands simultaneously with the dissolving of the *mir*. Besides, the large estates were bought up to a great extent, and small sales were made to well-to-do peasants with the aid of the National Peasant Bank.

The Stolypin agricultural reform was taken up rather energetically.

But the carrying out of it proceeded much more slowly than the revolutionizing of the mental attitude, which seems moreover to be the lot of all bourgeois agrarian reforms. The Kerensky regime gave a certain impetus to the agrarian question: but the solution continued to vacillate within bourgeois limits.

Changes Under the Proletariat

Then came the proletarian revolution, and with it the revolutionary solution of the agrarian question, in which the following four phases may be distinguished.

The first phase is that of the dividing of the great estates, which was accomplished in a revolutionary manner, with the participation of all the peasants, rich and poor. In fact, the rich peasants in most cases even appropriated more land and cattle and machines from the big estates than did the poor. Politically, this phase is equivalent to the destruction of the class of great landed proprietors, who possessed the only rural organization capable of bringing about a counter-revolution which was of nation-wide proportions. The great mass of non-propertied peasants, at first not differentiated as to the degree of their wealth and social classification, was thus won over to the Soviet system and the Bolsheviki and removed forever from any possibility of an attempt to use them for the reconstruction of the landed proprietor system of the Tsar. "Long live the Soviet system, long live the Bolsheviki," became the slogan of *all* the peasants.

For most of the peasants the revolution was disposed of with the distribution of land and the

destruction of the great estates. All they wanted now was to live well, to sell their goods in the open market for the highest attainable prices, to pay no taxes. The rich peasant as a matter of fact is always an anarchist, although not an intellectual anarchist. For the village poor, however, the revolution was by no means disposed of after the first distribution of the great estates. Nor was it disposed of for the industrial proletariat. For the village poor, the matter had not been disposed of because the first distribution gave them too little land, and no cattle and no implements for working it, and because the inequality of fortunes and of the division of income in the village itself remained the same. This was the phase of the revolution that became immortal in the western European Social Democratic press and its literature under the pretense: "The Bolshevik Revolution in the villages even increased the inequality already existing."

The Committees of the Peasant Poor

But this solution of the agrarian question was absolutely unsatisfactory for the urban proletariat also. For the rich peasants were willing to deliver foodstuffs to the city dwellers only for big prices and possibly also for industrial commodities. Therefore, after the first task, the destruction of great estates, had been accomplished, the work had to be pushed and the struggle against the rich peasants in the village itself had to be taken up.

There ensued the period of the "Committees of the Peasant Poor." Under the guidance of class-conscious industrial workers, committees of poor peasants were installed in every village for a new adjusting of the economic life and of the relative economic status. There was a hard struggle against the big peasants—they are called the *kulaks* in Russia, a struggle that is completely past in Central Russia, but which is still in progress in those sections that had first to be cleared of counter-revolutionists, namely, the Caucasus, Siberia, Ukraine. The results of the activity of the Committees of the Peasant Poor are as follows:

1) *The soil was redistributed in each district, and the redistribution was carried on equitably, according to the number of persons.* In this redistribution there were included not only the former lands of the great landed proprietors, but also the former holdings of the prosperous peasants. Each individual received the same share. It is therefore quite a common thing to find the former rich peasants holding today, after the carrying out of the agrarian reform and the distribution of the great estates, less land than they had before.* The

* The reader who is entirely under the influence of European conceptions will very probably believe that the taking away of his land must have harmed the prosperous peasants considerably. But this is by no means the case, as I have frequently been able to convince myself from personal observation. As it has become impossible since the social revolution to make use of hired laborers for work in the fields, in holdings exceeding the possibility of the owner's working them with his own labor, the latter entirely lost their value.

land allotment of all village inhabitants in the same region has been equalized; as far as land is concerned there no longer exists the disparity between so-called big and small peasants.

2) The Committees of the Peasant Poor also introduced a levelling of the movable instruments of production, in other words, allotments of cattle and implements. In the form of "extraordinary" taxes, a great portion of the wealth of the big peasants was confiscated and handed to the village poor.

3) Finally, the Committees of the Village Poor, before the supply of foodstuffs by the Soviet Republic had been well organized, served as units for the collection of such foodstuffs. With their aid the first comprehensive view of the stocks of the rich peasants was afforded; they took care of the collection of these supplies on the spot.

After the equal distribution of the soil had been carried out, as well as a partial equalization of movable property, and the development of the national organization of provisions, the *Committees of the Poor became superfluous and disappeared*. In all the great extent of Russia there were now no longer any rich and poor peasants in the old sense of the word. There were only "middle" peasants. In place of the Committees of the Poor there now appeared the Soviets elected by the *entire* village population. This whole evolution was finally sanctioned by a decree issued in May, 1920, which *established the existing distribution of property in land and forbade any new distribution of the village property for the period of twelve years*. The agrarian policy of Soviet Russia is now moving in the direction of the "middle peasant." The social democrats of Western Europe, who know nothing of the actual course of events and want to know nothing, declare with proud gesture that the tactics of the Committees of the Peasant Poor have suffered shipwreck and are being abandoned. And as for the "middle peasant" policy, they declare that the Soviet Republic has made peace or intends to make peace with the peasants—more generally speaking, that it is giving up the fight against them; and other things with just as little sense.

Meanwhile, however, the course of events in Russia is moving on tirelessly. After the levelling of the conditions of property and income has been completed, the attachment of the private peasant economic system to the national collective economy will be taken up.

The first step was the elaboration and extension of the system of deliveries. A certain portion of the yield of the peasant economy in all forms—grain, fodder, potatoes, cabbage, meat, butter, eggs, milk, hides, wool, bristles, horns, claws, hemp, flax, cotton, fruit, etc., must be delivered to the state at fixed prices. And the point is the Socialistic backbone of the idea—that *it is not the individual peasant that is under the obligation to deliver, but the whole village as a social unit*. How the village dwellers raise the amount of the delivery to be made by them is entirely their own affair, which is

regulated in an absolutely *democratic* way, by consultations of all those in the village. In the Russian village there is a genuine democracy, for the inhabitants no longer stand in the relation of exploiter and exploited. The common duty of delivery weaves a firm bond about the individual farm economy, makes each peasant interested in the economic success of the other.

On this basis higher forms of social life are already developing among the peasants. Whole villages constitute unified labor organizations—*artels*—while still larger villages divide up into three or four portions for a common working of the soil, a common carrying out of improvements, etc. Their union often becomes even closer. The peasants are led to pool *their fields and all their means of production*, form a commune, which not only produces in common but also consumes in common, not in accordance with the number of workers, but in accordance with the number of eaters, of “mouths,” as is the expression in Russian. These forms of evolution are supported by the Soviet Government with all possible means, with money, machines, seeds, and cattle.

New Plans for the Future

But this development, splendid as is its progress, is not advancing rapidly enough. We must therefore take further steps in the direction of attaching new units. This is the program of the winter and spring of the present year. We may express the situation precisely in the slogan: “*state-regulation of peasant cultivation.*” In all Russia—we speak here of Central Russia, which has been without interruption the backbone of Soviet Russia, since the other regions which we have mentioned are still in an earlier stage of development,—cultivation committees are being formed. These committees will teach the peasants how much grain and other crops they must sow, when and how deep they must plow, etc. Theoretical innovations are not aimed at, and the stimulator and mental leader of this magnificent program, Comrade Ossinsky, has expressed the goal in the following manner: “*We must see to it that the entire village cultivates its soil as well as does the best and most intelligent peasant of the district.*” In other words, we are to have proletarian organizational work with a compulsory guidance by state organs.

In order to secure success, the seeds that the peasants would need in their spring sowing were taken away from them by the state, and they are to receive in the spring carefully selected seed grain of the best quality, assigned to them by the state in accordance with the varieties best suited for cultivation. This is a very important step in the socialization of peasant economy, but by no means the last. At present great energy is being devoted in Russia to the building of “tractors,” deep plowing machines propelled by gasoline, and some are even being imported from America. The state will plow up great tracts of black earth for the peasants by which, even without the use of any fertil-

izer, a higher yield is assured. The machines are to be owned in common and not to pass into the private possession of the peasants. Of the peasant's former private economy there will finally only remain his own private household.

This development is necessary not only in order gradually to help the peasant over the transition into the system of collective economy, but also for reasons of production itself. We must not forget that the conditions of the distribution of the soil in Russia vary considerably. Especially in Central Russia the area held by the big land owners was very small.*

The enlargement of the peasant land was therefore not considerable. *As the harvest yield, owing to the six year's war, presents an insufficient increase,*** and furthermore as, owing to the absence of a free market, the peasants are beginning to show a tendency to return to isolated domestic economy, which has an unfavorable influence on the total production, and since, finally, the *consumption of foodstuffs by the peasant himself also has considerable increased,**** there still exists in central Russia with its relatively dense population, an agrarian question, an agrarian crisis, in spite of the distribution of the great estates. In extensive regions, the land allotted to the peasant according to population is hardly sufficient, *under the present primitive mode of exploitation*, to cover the peasant's own needs. While there are in the East, in the Volga districts and in Siberia, millions and millions of hectares of *unowned fruitful territory*, great regions that are mowed once a year by the soldiers, and which constitute the land reserve of the Soviet Republic, there are districts near Moscow where there is today still land poverty. Therefore it is the manifest duty of the agrarian policy of Soviet Russia: 1) to exploit the existing land more fully, by improving the peasant cultivation; 2) to resettle the superfluous peasant population now in the central regions by means of a large scale colonization directed into the unoccupied land on the Volga and in Siberia, wherever possible in higher collective forms of social life.

* * *

Many a reader will find that the outline here

*In 1916, in the 39 gubernias of Central Russia there were only 2,900,000 dessiatins of great landed estates, out of a total of 39,000,000 of arable land, in other words, seven and one half per cent.. In the remaining portions of Western Russia, the proportion was twenty per cent. (Larin-Kritzmann, “*Outline of the Economic Life and Economic Organization in Soviet Russia.*” In Russian, October 1920.)

**According to Larin-Kritzmann, the average harvest of winter rye, the most important grain used for bread, was per dessiatin: 41 poods, 1909-1913; 46 poods, 1914-1918; 44 poods, 1918; 43 poods, 1919. But it is a universal fact that a decrease in yield is always *apparent in statistics* when there is any obligatory impost.

***Statistical data are available only with regard to grain. The average consumption of grain by the peasants in the “superfluous” provinces was 640 pounds per person per year; in 1918-1919, on the other hand, it was already 676 pounds. The Russian pound is not fully .41 kg. (Larin-Kritzmann, page 24).

given of the Russian agricultural policy is not as clear as it should be. But I am not to blame. It is not I who am writing unclearly, but it is the facts which are in flux, which is necessarily the case in a revolution. Many of the lines of development have already run their full course in certain parts of the country, while in others they are only be-

ginning. Sometimes attempts are made to combine or even skip certain stages of evolution. The life of Soviet Russia, a state with one hundred million population, occupying a whole continent, can hardly be forced into specific formulas. I shall perhaps have an opportunity later to present detailed treatments of individual regions.

Trotsky and the Commune

By PAUL LOUIS

(Some of our readers will welcome this short restatement of a few of the points contained in Trotsky's "The Paris Commune and Soviet Russia," which appeared in SOVIET RUSSIA for March 26 and April 2. The author of the following lines is now one of the principal contributors to the pages of "L'Humanite," from the March 20 issue of which we take the following article.):

I HAVE just read Trotsky's Book "Terrorism and Communism" so full of facts, examples, historical perspectives, and food for meditation. Doctrine is here mingled, at every point, with the thoughts called forth by the continued struggle, with deductions of a practical order, with the personal reminiscences of one of the most capable protagonists of the Russian Revolution. Superior vision is here allied with a profound psychological knowledge of masses and individuals.

This book is an answer to Kautsky and its subtitle is "Anti-Kautsky," but it is not merely a polemical work; it throws sharp lights on all the conditions of the great and universal proletarian effort. What surprises and strikes one most about the leaders of the Bolshevik movement, is that in spite of the continuous struggle, they have found the leisure and means of setting down in writing the lessons of their experience, and, apparently to devote long hours to thought. History offers us very few parallels of this kind.

It is very natural that in this book, in the period in which we live, attention should be given at once to considerations connected with the Commune. For the world proletariat has just celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of March 18, 1871, in other words, the first seizure of power by the workers. The Soviets, which respect all the great revolutionary periods of France, and which are devoting to them a special branch of instruction (these French struggles are better known at Petrograd and Moscow than at Paris), and not without reason, have given special attention to the Commune. Between the Paris Commune and their own victory they behold a living bond. And that is why they are celebrating, together with the workers of France, with an unforgettable enthusiasm, this first overthrow—unfortunately for a short period only—of the capitalist power.

There is no lack of works that treat the Commune, works written by bourgeois publicists, who have blackened and defamed this period, just as their successors are systematically calumniating the Russian Revolution: there is nothing new under the sun. There are also works by Socialists,

some of them, like Marx and Lavrov, among the greatest names in our history. The thirty pages that Trotsky has devoted to the Commune period in the book, which has just appeared in French, of course do not exhaust the subject, but they bristle with original opinions that should be brought to the attention of all who are interested in the accomplishments of the Commune.

The pages begin with these words: "The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first weak attempt in history at domination by the working class. We venerate the memory of the Commune in spite of its limited experience, the lack of preparation of its militant sections, the confusion of its program, the lack of unity among its directing elements, the indecision of its plans, the excessive fussing in execution, and the frightful disaster in which it so fatally ended."

This is apparently a summary of Trotsky's view. He honors the Commune, without concealing from himself the errors of its leaders, and he passes them all in review.

But, at the same time, he suggests the origin of this powerful insurrection. No one forgets that the *petite bourgeoisie* played a role in this insurrection as well as the workers, that national sentiments were connected in it with those of the purest internationalism, that the men charged with responsibilities were recruited from the most varying environments and parties. This explains the internal conflicts that broke out in the Assembly, as well as the contradictory solutions that were formulated and the losses of time that were encountered at every moment up to the final catastrophe. Trotsky carefully points out the continuous desire that was expressed by certain individuals to attain a conciliation with the bourgeoisie, and the vacillation which was shown, by others, between the fiction of democracy and the reality of dictatorship.

Lavrov has already called attention to these things.

This uncertainty governed particularly the military action of the Commune and served as an aid in the evil preparations of Thiers. If the Russian Revolution had passed into this same slough, Mil-

yukov, who was preparing to be the Thiers of Russia, would have had an easy time of it. But fortunately the Russians had the example of 1871 before their eyes.

It is not true, however, says Trotsky, that the Commune was, as Kautsky maintains, a formal democracy, and he again undertakes the demonstration of this fact that has already been offered by Lenin. The elections did not take place until after the flight of a portion of the Paris bourgeoisie, and the neutralization of another portion, and in addition, the Blanquists, faithful to the memories of 1793, desired a revolutionary dictatorship of the Paris Commune over peasant France.

Trotsky draws a number of brief parallels. The duty of the Commune was to proceed definitely against the National Assembly. There could be no compromise between the two. Similarly in Russia the Soviets would have been crushed by the Constituent Assembly if they had permitted it to live, for the new proletarian apparatus could not possibly be reconciled with the old form of democracy, and this is proved if only by the fact that wherever the latter remained in existence, and where the Cadets associated themselves with the Socialist non-Bolshevik factions in order to defend the

Constituent Assembly, in the Kuban, in Ukraine, in Siberia, counter-revolution had an easy time of it, and a reactionary coup d'état was easily brought about.

Was the Paris of 1871 as mature for the destruction of the capitalist system as the Petrograd of 1917? Trotsky does not think so.

"The *petit bourgeois* and crafts union character of the old and in part of the new Paris is totally absent in Petrograd, a center of the most concentrated industry of the world." Besides, if the Parisians were rich in revolutionary memories, the wage workers of Petrograd had still fresh in their minds the memories of 1905 and the longing to avenge their defeats. There were also additional elements to be considered.

In all our branches, these pages of Trotsky should be read on the fiftieth anniversary. In spite of their critical observations, which are quite reasonable and most timely for us, they present the mature homage of one of the greatest revolutionists of all times, one of the most able representatives of the Russian Revolution, to the men who inscribed their heroic acts in letters of fire in the history of the proletarian revolution throughout the ages.

Persons and Things in Moscow

By WALLIS WALTER LEFEAUX

(The following article is from the pen of a young English-Canadian who recently returned from Soviet Russia and is now making a lecture-tour of the United States.)

It was a new world to me, the world I stepped into one morning last September. We had left Petrograd late the previous night on a train composed of a long string of sleepers and ordinary day coaches, every seat on the train apparently occupied. Without as much fuss or noise as usually accompanies the departure of a long distance train at any other European terminal, we had glided out of Petrograd on a Bolshevik train with a Bolshevik crew over a Bolshevik railroad and arrived in Moscow on schedule time. The schedule was not as fast as the pre-war time. Locomotives are scarce in Russia. Meantime long distance trains have to do a lot of local work. Wood for fuel is not the most efficient method of raising steam to handle a heavy train; at night the locomotive smoke stack pours out a steady deluge of golden rain. But cutting, loading, and firing green wood was only one of the small handicaps of the Bolsheviks. Oil from Baku and anthracite from the Donets Basin is now relieving the fuel situation a little.

The Moscow Northwestern Railway Station presented a most animated scene. Our train had deposited several hundred passengers, who, surveyed casually, might have been an ordinary suburban trainload. Closer inspection did indeed reveal a marked absence of linen collars, fancy

shoes, and new clothes; in fact the general appearance of the outer garments betokened a continuous usage of several years, but that was not unexpected.

Within a few minutes after our arrival another train steamed in. This one had a passenger list that was different. How a train composed of from thirty to forty short passenger coaches could accommodate the crowd that emerged from that train, and the quantity of bundles and baggage under which every individual in the crowd was struggling, is more than I have yet been able to understand. Some of them simply dragged their bundles and sacks out of the station and, depositing them on the sidewalk, sat down on them with an air of satisfaction and relief. I presumed that assistance was soon expected.

The loads were composed chiefly of potatoes with a small percentage of apples and cabbage. The passengers were mostly from Moscow's semi-peasant proletariat, with a sprinkling of peddler speculators, who had been visiting their village holdings and peasant relatives or buying stocks for the approaching winter. Wonderful progress has been made in the collection and distribution of farm products in Soviet Russia but the work is not by any means complete. War has demanded the almost exclusive attention of the administra-

tion, and private provisioning and small speculation has had to be winked at until such time as adequate attention can be given the matter.

The next question was to get myself transported to the Foreign Office, or whatever might be the equivalent under a Soviet Administration, and report myself to Nuorteva. Fortunately there was a courier on the train and he was bound for the Foreign Office. His offer to mediate between me and the driver, or an *isvoschik*, was gladly accepted. We duly arrived at the Hotel Metropole, now the headquarters of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, and in consideration of the sum of six thousand roubles got rid of our jehu.

I had previously met Nuorteva in London, upon which occasion he had not been at all enthusiastic over my expressed wish to visit Soviet Russia. A few days after my interview with him he had been deported from England by the British authorities and upon arrival in Moscow had been given charge of the British and American section of the Foreign Office there. I had followed several weeks later but not having any special invitation to visit Moscow, and not being an appointed representative of any special body, I had good reason to be somewhat apprehensive as to what view Moscow would take of the appearance of an uninvited Englishman. Taking into consideration the blockade, deportations, open and indirect hostilities by Great Britain, also the number of visitors that had been connected with counter-revolutionary plots, there was every reason to excuse a passing reflection on the question as to what form my reception would take. Would it be a brass band or a sudden appearance before the Chrezvechaynaya Kommissiya (Extraordinary Commission)?

The streets did not appear to be the scene of any unusual excitement. A few small shops seemed to be open. Empty windows of up-to-date stores are not quite so much in evidence in Moscow as in Petrograd. We bumped along over the cobbled streets, being passed occasionally by motor cars on official business. Part of the business of the chauffeurs appeared to be to see how near they could come to knocking one over and to find out how much rough usage the cars would stand. However, they had more business there than I had and I must say that all the time I was in Moscow I never saw or heard of any accidents. A bunch of prisoners going out to work under military guard was somewhat interesting. I felt a remote possibility of my joining them.

My welcome by Nuorteva was not, at first, pronouncedly cordial. Had he taken the attitude that to project myself into Moscow in such an unceremonious manner upon the strength of a few minutes acquaintanceship was a little too much of a strain, I do not know that I would have had any reason for complaint. However, having gotten over his first surprise and having expressed himself upon the subject of officials who would allow me to advance on Moscow without reporting first to the Foreign Commissariat, we got down to a dis-

cussion of affairs in the outside world and the reason for my visit to Moscow.

Every minute or two a messenger or a stenographer would rush in with a message or question and I noted an apparent disposition of his eyelids to close as if he were struggling against an almost overwhelming call of nature to sleep. He told me that he never got more than five hours' sleep and that the night previous he had had no sleep at all. He said that that was the state of affairs with nearly all the executives, which I afterwards found to be quite true. There and then I decided that to take up the time of the heads of Soviet Russia with interviews, unless they expressed a wish to see me, was no part of my function in Moscow.

About the first man I ran into was Humphreys, of whose lectures on Soviet Russia in the United States I had often heard. A well-known English journalist has recently referred to him as "an American comrade with a large camera." His many friends in America will no doubt be glad to hear that he finds plentiful occupation in Moscow.

With one of the girl messengers acting as guide I betook myself to the Savoy Hotel and presented a slip of paper given me by Nuorteva which secured my installation as a guest of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. This hotel accommodates, among others, most of the employees of the Foreign Office and there with Nuorteva, Humphreys, Arthur Watts (Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee), and many others, I ate my daily allowance of bread, kasha, cabbage soup and tea with a varying and not very regular ration of sugar, butter, and meat or fish. Considering the great dearth of skilled help and materials, the hotels all seem to be very well kept under Soviet administration. Although short of bedding and everything necessary to facilitate the accommodation of guests and residents, I found, during my four weeks' stay there, that nothing was left undone that could be done with the help and material available.

Not sure that I would be allowed to stay any length of time, I started out to hunt up John Reed and Louise Bryant (Mrs. Reed). Having read their books on Soviet Russia, I wanted to make sure of seeing them and getting their impressions in case the authorities should decide that my company was not desired—a quite unnecessary anxiety on my part for I was not questioned or even asked to show my passport from the day I arrived until the day I departed.

With "Dyelovoy Dvor" written in Russian characters on a piece of paper I started out to find the hotel of this name, where I was advised I would find my quarry. It was rather fortunate for me that I had that slip of paper and another with the name and address of my own hotel. Looking back over the matter I have come to the conclusion that the friend who spoke some English and gave me my directions was just a little bit mixed as to the English words "left" and "right."

Anyhow I proceeded up the hill by the Chinese Wall, turned to the left and after about half an hour I found myself in the Sukharevka or Moscow Public Market that reminded me of Petticoat Lane in London enlarged a hundred times and set down amid a quaint mixture of modern and medieval architecture. The big square was packed with a mass of small peddlers, petty speculators, and potential buyers. Electric street cars noisily made their way through the crowds.

Although the chief industries in production and distribution have been taken over and nationalized by the Soviet State, there are still a large number of petty traders and small industrial producers not yet absorbed into the organization, and on the Moscow Sukharevka I found almost as many offering things for sale as there were buyers. Practically everything was obtainable there from pins to fur coats. The quantities were very limited and the prices unlimited. Numbers were apparently successfully evading the order to work although I was afterwards told that measures were being taken to close the market. It may be closed by now but customs that have been in vogue for many generations and have their professional attendants and a steady clientele are apparently not to be closed in a day, even with a threat of jail hanging overhead.

Nobody took any notice of me. There may have been agents of the much heralded secret police about but I never came in contact with them. Often, during my stay I wandered into public buildings with Red Guard sentries posted outside but was never asked to produce my papers.

Looking for John Reed

By this time I began to think that I had better obtain some fresh directions. But, ask whom? I remembered having passed what might have been a Bolshevik policeman; a soldier leaning against a building smoking the inevitable Russian cigarette; a rifle with bayonet fixed being his emblem of authority. Retracing my steps I found that he was still there. My Dyelovoy Dvor slip of paper produced, what was apparently meant to be, a long and explicit direction but my quite evident lack of understanding soon reduced him to humanity's primitive language and he pointed back in the direction from which I had originally come. My first encounter with a member of the Bolshevik Red Army had proven quite unexciting. What anticipations of trouble I had had were rapidly fading away.

Returning to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, I obtained directions anew and started off once more to find Reed. The only interesting thing I came across was a gang of women, apparently of the peasant class, unloading fuel logs from what had once been street cars. About one half of the Moscow cars appeared to me to be engaged in the task of distributing wood to the various storing places for the winter fuel supply. Public squares and courtyards seemed to be the chief storage

places. Huge piles had already been gathered but the Fuel Commissariat of the Moscow Soviet had not nearly finished its work for the quickly approaching winter. Running a city of over two million population, and its various industries, with wood for fuel through a Russian winter is only one of the incidental problems faced and overcome by the Bolsheviks. Long strings of one-horse wagons were also bringing in wood from the forests—an enormous expenditure of labor compared to the pre-war oil and coal fuel.

Eventually I reached the Dyelovoy Dvor. It was now supper-time and having introduced myself to the Commandant I was invited to join the crowd going into the dining room. Long tables with table cloths, knives, forks, and spoons conveyed a suggestion of eating that was not at all objectionable to me for I had had nothing since early morning. This hotel had been the headquarters of the foreign speaking delegates to the Third International and there were still a number who had not yet left. Added to these there were a number of "men without a country" such as Freeman of Australia and Bela Kun of Hungary, men whose ideas had violently conflicted with the ideas of their own ruling classes, and several English and American comrades working in the various Soviet departments, with a sprinkling of visitors like myself.

The tavarish (comrade) who was waiting upon us had just handed me my plate of cabbage soup when I noticed a slim girl, with short black hair and decidedly American clothes and action, walk in and take her seat at the next table to me. Asking my neighbor who she was I was told Louise Bryant (Mrs. John Reed). Our meal of soup, bread, boiled millet and tea being very soon over, I joined the English-speaking group of which she appeared to be the center and introduced myself by conveying the regrets of Vancouver, British Columbia, over the fact that she had not been able to speak there during her recent lecture tour in America.

John Reed was not feeling well that night and had gone to bed so we took along some cabbage soup and bread, but the men contained nothing that an invalid could eat with any zest. Quite a number of the delegates who had attended the Oriental Congress at Baku had returned with varying symptoms of sickness, and John was one of them. A physical weakness caused by the effects of an operation in America was a great handicap to his struggle. The food was not what one would wish for sick people, although, after several days had elapsed, he was prevailed upon to accept the doctor's attentions and go upon a sick diet.

There is a terrible shortage of doctors, trained nurses, medicines, and suitable food for the sick in Soviet Russia, and John Reed, thoroughly acquainted with this state of affairs, refused to give in and accept what was available until his wife and the rest of us overpowered his mind on the subject. He was up and around for several days after my first visit to him and the three of us

visited the opera twice. At one of the performances we met an English sculptress and an American financial representative who was at the time negotiating concessions with the Moscow administration.

But John soon took to his bed from which he was fated never to rise again, except to be conveyed to the hospital. At first his case was diagnosed as one of influenza and we scoured the city for fresh milk, dependable eggs and anything appropriate we could think of, but the hunt was not particularly successful. Of oranges and such like we never hoped to obtain a supply. No one knew of anybody who had heard of anyone who had seen or heard of any for three years.

We had many long discussions over his adventures and experiences. We also surveyed capitalism, the advancing Polish armies and the relentless European Powers as we could see them from Moscow, the lookout point of the advanced section of the revolutionary workers. Sometimes over our glasses of tea and cigarettes we would relapse into silence. I often found myself wondering if it were all a dream and whether I would wake to find myself back in London. Once John broke the spell with the remark "Do you know, comrade, when I die I would like to be buried alongside those fellows." We had previously been talking about the Red Square and the grave of the Communists under the shadow of the Kremlin Wall. We had no idea that within a few weeks his wish in that respect was to be fulfilled.

THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF ABKHASIA

Moscow, April 4.—The first Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets of Abkhasia has met and the small Soviet Republic of Abkhasia, a part of the former republic of Georgia, has been definitely created. The Revolutionary Committee of the Republic of Abkhasia has issued a manifesto in which it states that by the will of the workers the new Socialist Soviet Republic of Abkhasia has come into being. In the name of the working masses of Soviet Abkhasia, the Revolutionary Committee sends its greetings to the great Soviet Republic of Russia and to all Soviet Republics and expresses the determination of Abkhasia, in alliance with the other Soviet Republics, to defend the great conquests of the proletarian revolution and to help in the work of the liberation of the toilers.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

BOUND VOLUMES

Volume III of SOVIET RUSSIA, cloth bound, 652 pages, including maps and illustrations, covering the period from July 1 to December 31, 1920, will be sent postpaid on receipt of price, \$5.00. Address

SOVIET RUSSIA
110 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.

MEDICAL RELIEF FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

The Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee has received the following letter from the Commissariat of Public Health at Moscow:

March 22, 1921.
Moscow, Petrovka. 17
N. 44.

"R. S. F. S. R.
People's Commissariat of Public Health.
Foreign Information Division.

Dr. M. I. Mikhailovsky,
Chairman, Soviet Russia Medical Relief
Committee
New York.

Dear Comrade:

On behalf of the People's Commissary of Public Health, Dr. N. A. Semashko, and on behalf of the Foreign Information Division of the Commissariat of Public Health, I ask you to convey to the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee our heartiest thanks for the aid rendered Soviet Russia by the Committee during the short period of its existence.

Your aid and your activities fill us with joy, particularly because they prove that the sympathies of the broad mass of the American people are with Soviet Russia.

Of this sympathy we are also convinced by Comrade Martens and Dr. Katzva, who on their arrival at Moscow, gave us reports about the conditions in America and the activities of your Committee.

Everything shipped by you has been received, and we are glad to establish a closer and more regular contact with you.

I should like to draw your attention to the fact that Soviet Russia needs very badly medical equipment, particularly sanitary ambulances, quinine and dietary foods, as for instance condensed milk, bouillon, etc.

With the next mail we shall send you data on the activities of the People's Commissariat of Public Health. We are very desirous of being informed by your Committee about such American sanitation methods and medical regulations as may be of interest to the sanitary organizations and the medical profession of Soviet Russia. The Department hopes that with the establishment of closer relations with your committee it will become possible in time to exchange scientific medical treatises and publications.

We ask you to send all mail and packages to our representative at Reval, with mark in red "Very Urgent," so that it should not be kept long at Reval.

With fraternal greetings and deepest gratitude.

(Signed) DR. J. KALINA
Manager Foreign Information Division.
People's Commissariat of Public Health

Watch for the 1920 calendar in our next issue: Full chronology of events and movements important to Soviet Russia.

Russian Treaties in the Middle East

CONCESSIONS TO PERSIA: SUBSIDY TO AFGHANISTAN

A special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian sends the texts of the Russian Soviet Government's treaties with Persia and Afghanistan. Below we give the essential parts of these documents:

I.

The Treaty with Persia

Clause I.

The Government of the R. S. F. S. R., in accordance with its declarations set forth in notes of January 14, 1918, and June 26, 1919, of the principles of the R. S. F. S. R.'s policy with regard to the Persian people, once more solemnly declares Russia's immutable renunciation of the policy of force with regard to Persia pursued by the Imperialist Governments of Russia that have been overthrown by the will of her workmen and peasants.

Accordingly, wishing to see the Persian people independent, flourishing, and freely controlling the whole of its own possessions, the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. declares all tracts, treaties, conventions and agreements concluded by the late Tsarist Government with Persia and tending to the diminution of the rights of the Persian people completely null and void.

Clause II.

The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. brands (as criminal) the policy of the Governments of Tsarist Russia, which, without the agreement of the peoples of Asia and under the guise of assuring the independence of these peoples, concluded with other states of Europe treaties concerning the East which had as their ultimate object its gradual seizure. The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. unconditionally rejects that criminal policy as not only violating the sovereignty of the states of Asia but also leading to organized brutal violence of European robbers on the living body of the peoples of the East.

Wherefore and in accordance with the principles set out in Clauses I. and IV. of the present treaty, the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. declares its refusal to take part in any measures whatsoever tending to weaken or violate the sovereignty of Persia and declares completely null and void all conventions and agreements concluded by the late Government of Russia with third Powers for the harm of Persia and concerning her.

Clause IV.

Recognizing the rights of each people to the free and unhindered settlement of its political fate, each of the High Contracting Parties disclaims and will strictly refrain from interference in the internal affairs of the other party.

Clause V.

Both the High Contracting Parties bind themselves:

1. Not to permit the formation or existence on their territory of organizations or groups, under whatever name, or of separate individuals who have made it their object to struggle against Persia or Russia, and also against States allied with the latter, and similarly not to permit on their territory the recruiting or mobilization of persons for the armies or armed forces of such organizations.

2. To forbid those States or organizations, under whatever name, which make it their object to struggle against the other High Contracting Party, to bring into the territory or to take through the territory of each of the High Contracting Parties anything that may be used against the other High Contracting Party.

3. By all means at their disposal to prohibit the existence on their territory of the troops or armed forces of any third State whatsoever, the presence of which would constitute a threat to the frontiers, interests, or security of the other High Contracting Party.

Clause VI.

Both the High Contracting Parties are agreed that in case on the part of third countries there should be attempts by means of armed intervention to realize a rapacious policy on the territory of Persia or to turn the territory of Persia into a base for military action against the R. S. F. S. R., and if thereby danger should threaten the frontiers of the R. S. F. S. R. or those of Powers allied to it, and if the Persian Government after warning on the part of the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. shall prove to be itself not strong enough to prevent this danger, the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. shall have the right to take its troops into Persian territory in order to take necessary military measures in the interests of self-defence. When the danger has been removed the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. promises immediately to withdraw its troops beyond the frontiers of Persia.

Clause VII.

In view of the fact that the combinations set out in Clause VI. might similarly take place in relation to security on the Caspian Sea, both the high contracting parties are agreed that in case in the personnel of the ships of the Persian fleet there shall prove to be citizens of third Powers making use of their presence in the Persian fleet for purposes unfriendly with regard to the R. S. F. S. R., the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. shall have the right to demand from the Government of Persia the removal of the said harmful elements.

Clause VIII.

The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. declares its complete rejection of that financial policy which the Tsarist Government of Russia pursued in the East, supplying the Government of Persia with financial means not in order to assist the economic development and flourishing of the Persian people but in the form of a political enticement of Persia. The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. therefore resigns all rights to the loans furnished to Persia by the Tsarist Government, and declares such loans null and not to be repaid. It similarly resigns all demands for the use of those State revenues of Persia by which the said loans were guaranteed.

Clause IX.

The Government of the R. S. F. S. R., in accordance with its expressed condemnation of the colonial policy of capitalism, which served and is serving as a reason for innumerable miseries and sheddings of blood, renounces the use of those financial undertakings of Tsarist Russia which had as their object the economical enticement of Persia. It therefore hands over into the complete possession of the Persian people the financial sums, valuables, and in general, the assets and liabilities of the Discount Credit Bank of Persia, and similarly the movable and immovable property of the said Bank existing on the territory of Persia.

Clause XI.

Proceeding from the consideration that, by virtue of the principles set out in Clause I. of the present treaty, the peace tractate concluded between Persia and Russia in Turkmancha on the 10th of February, 1828, Clause 8 of which deprived Persia of the right to have a fleet on the Caspian Sea, has lost its force, both the high contracting parties are agreed that from the moment of the signing of the present treaty they shall equally enjoy the right of free navigation on the Caspian Sea under their own flags.

Clause XV.

The Government of the R. S. F. S. R., proceeding from the principle it has proclaimed, of the freedom of religious faiths, wishes to put an end to the missionary religious

propaganda in the countries of Islam, which had as its secret object action on the popular masses and supported in this way the rapacious intrigues of Tsarism. It therefore declares all those religious missions closed which were established in Persia by the late Tsarist Government, and will take measures to prohibit in future the sending of such missions into Persia.

Clause XIX.

Both the High Contracting Parties in the shortest time after the signing of the present treaty will set about the renewal of trade relations. The means of organizing import and export of goods and payment for them and similarly the order of collecting and the amounts of customs duties set by Persia on Russian goods shall be defined by a special trade convention, which shall be worked out by a special commission of representatives of both parties.

Clause XX.

Both the High Contracting Parties mutually give each other the right of transit of goods through Persia or through Russia into a third country, and further goods taken through must not be taxed with a duty larger than that on the goods of the most favored nation.

Clause XXI.

Both the High Contracting Parties in the shortest time after the signing of the present treaty will set about the renewal of telegraphic and postal relations between Persia and Russia. The conditions of the relations shall be defined in a special telegraphic convention.

Clause XXII.

With the object of supporting the good neighborly relations established with the signing of the present treaty and for the strengthening of good mutual understanding, each of the high contracting parties shall be represented in the capital of the other party by a plenipotentiary representative, enjoying in Persia as in the R. S. F. S. R. the right of extraterritoriality and other prerogatives, according to the rules current in both countries with regard to diplomatic representatives.

TREATY BETWEEN RUSSIA AND
AFGHANISTAN

Clause I.

The High Contracting Parties, recognizing their mutual independence and promising to respect it, mutually enter into regular diplomatic relations.

Clause II.

The High Contracting Parties bind themselves not to enter with any third State into a military or political agreement which would damage one of the Contracting Parties.

Clause III.

Legations and Consulates of the High Contracting Parties will mutually and equally enjoy diplomatic privileges in accordance with the customs of international law.

Note I. including:

- (a) The right to hoist the State flag.
- (b) Personal inviolability of the registered members of Legations and Consulates.
- (c) Inviolability of diplomatic correspondence and of persons fulfilling the duties of couriers and every kind of mutual assistance in these matters.
- (d) Communication by radio, telephone and telegraph, in accordance with the privileges of diplomatic representatives.
- (e) Extraterritoriality of buildings occupied by Legations and Consulates, but without the right of giving asylum to persons whom the local Government officially recognizes as having broken the laws of the country.

Not II:

The military agents of both contracting parties shall be attached to their Legations on a basis of parity.

Clause IV.

The High Contracting Parties mutually agree upon the opening of five Consulates of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic on Afghan territory and seven Consulates of Afghanistan on Russian territory, of which five within the boundaries of Russian Central Asia.

Clause VI.

Russia agrees upon the free and untaxed transit through her territory of every kind of goods bought by Afghanistan either in Russia herself, through the State organs, or directly from abroad.

Clause VII.

The High Contracting Parties agree upon the freedom of Eastern nations on the principle of independence and in accordance with the general wish of each nation.

Clause VIII.

In confirmation of clause 7 of the present treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree upon the actual independence and freedom of Bokhara and Khiva, whatever may be the form of their government, in accordance with the wish of their peoples.

Clause IX.

In fulfilment of and in accordance with the promise of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, expressed by its head, Lenin, to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Sovereign State of Afghanistan, Russia agrees to hand over to Afghanistan the frontier districts which belonged to her in the last century, observing the principle of justice and the free expression of the will of the people. The order of the expression of the free will and expression of the opinion of the majority of the regular local population shall be regulated in a special treaty between the two States through the Plenipotentiaries of both sides.

Clause X.

In order to strengthen the friendly mutual relations between the High Contracting Parties the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic agrees to give to Afghanistan financial and other help.

SUPPLEMENTARY CLAUSE

In development of clause X. of the present treaty the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic gives to the Sovereign State of Afghanistan the following help:

1. Yearly free subsidy to the extent of one million rubles in gold or silver in coin or bullion.
2. Construction of a telegraph line—Kushka-Herát-Kandahar-Kabul.
3. Over and above this the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic expresses its readiness to place at the disposal of the Afghan Government technical and other specialists.

REPATRIATION OF WAR PRISONERS

Moscow, April 2.—Fulfilling article 13 of the Russian-Turkish treaty of March 16 relating to the repatriation of prisoners of war, the Russian and Turkish plenipotentiaries at Moscow have signed a detailed convention for the speedy repatriation from their respective countries of all prisoners and their dependents, if any, with facilities for bringing back with them their personal property. This convention goes into force immediately upon its signature and needs no ratification.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

IT really does seem as if Soviet Russia would be left in peace by her capitalist neighbors during the next few months. England has signed a treaty (the Trade Agreement) that will make it impossible for her to participate directly in any military attack on Russia. France is apparently satisfied with this arrangement, for England could hardly otherwise have signed. French authorities themselves have announced their unwillingness to continue to finance and support Wrangel and, in spite of Wrangel's opposition to any disbanding or emigration of his army, they are sending it, in instalments, back to Soviet Russia, via Odessa, in order that its disaffected remnants may neither join the Turks in an attack on Constantinople or the hard beset Greek army, nor fall into the ways of Bolshevism to a sufficient extent to induce them to aid in an overthrow of capitalist domination in Turkey. We expressed our feeling last week that France's permission to England to sign the treaty was given in return for England's consent to prospective French occupation of the Ruhr District and a general sharpening of the French demands on Germany. In this case again, the situation created by the imperialist war elsewhere in Europe relieves Soviet Russia of the attacks of her enemies. But it should not be forgotten that it was the stubborn resistance of the Russian people to the foreign and native "interveners" that made France decide that it was easier to intervene in Germany than in Russia. And there is hardly any doubt that the new French occupations in Germany will accelerate a consummation abhorred by France herself—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Germany—and thus bring nearer the day when Russia may really have access to foreign industrial production in order to cure what Kerensky calls her "transport paralysis" and then rebuild her economic life. The situation may be summed up thus: France, driven out of Russia, devotes herself with all the greater energy to another field, and thus is about to procure a new ally for Russia.

FRANCE desires to disembarass herself of Wrangel's men. Not all of them can be used as street-cleaners in Constantinople, if only for the reason that they will learn the various languages spoken there and thus be able to add their

mite of discontent to the great waves of unrest in that city, to which they would be more than likely to impart a healthy direction. It is perhaps for this reason that Wrangel officers are preferred, as street sweepers, to Wrangel privates. The officers are relatively incorruptible by Bolshevism, so that even this social indignity would do no more than produce feelings of personal discomfort in their souls. Some of the men are to be sent to Brazil, says France, and while General Wrangel protests, France insists she cannot support them and makes arrangements to forward 10,000 of them to South America. The Brazilian Government, less timid to admit "undesirable" elements than some of its neighbors, and interested more in their ability as farmers than in their probable infection with Bolshevism, "has consented to accept ten thousand Cossacks" (Constantine Brown in the *New York Globe*, April 12.)

"Reports were spread that the French would use machine guns to force the Russians to embark, but are denied by responsible officers, who say that no pressure will be brought to bear on General Wrangel's troops, but that French and Russian lecturers make addresses in the Gallipoli camp daily pointing out to the soldiers the necessity of their emigrating to Brazil or returning to Russia, the present financial situation in France not permitting that country to continue to care for 10,000 men."

Wrangel, however, is interested in Serbian agriculture rather than that of Brazil. "He is asking the French for help to remove the entire force of about 25,000 to Serbia, where, he says, they can "work on the land and also be ready to fight the Bolsheviki again when the opportunity occurs." For it is probable that Brazil would accept her ten thousand Cossacks and not ask Wrangel to accompany them (Brazil is a backward country and her industrial development has not yet produced great areas of factory lands in which a "Cossack" general might distinguish himself), while Serbia, being a good point of support against Bolshevism not only in Russia, but in other countries nearer to Serbia, could not be a bar to Wrangel's remaining in office. Let it be Serbia by all means; General Wrangel's talents should not be wasted.

* * *

ODESSA is said to have received some of the returning Wrangel soldiers (French ships are reported to have brought them) and declined to receive other consignments of men. Mr. Brown, in the *Globe* article above quoted, says that when the second boat with men arrived at Odessa the captain was notified that the men would not be allowed to land until France officially approached the Soviet Government, with a view to the repatriation of Wrangel's army. Here is clearly the act of a Great Power sincerely demanding that another country declare its intentions and sign a plain agreement. France can no longer ignore Soviet Russia. The Red Army's exploits, directed by necessity more against French troops and French hirelings than against those of England, are brilliant enough and solid enough, not only to exert pressure on France to consent to the signing of an

SOVIET POSTERS

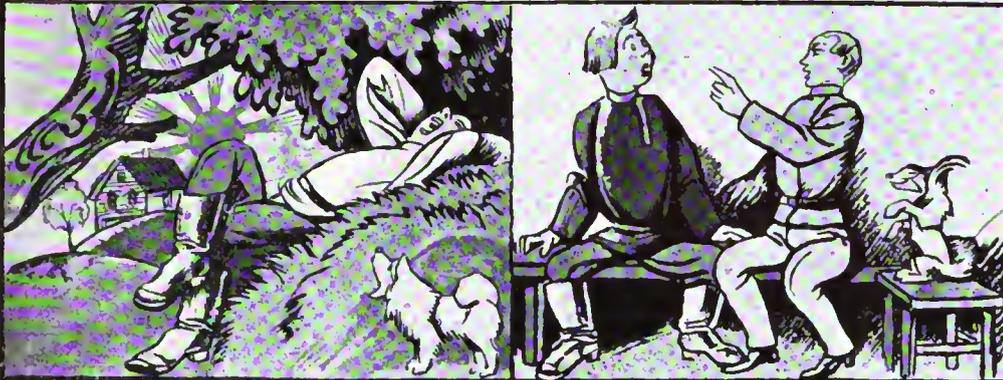
A True Friend

(Translation)

Vanya was idling reading no books, taking to no occupation. Life was a bore to him: the days dragged on endlessly; he did not know what to do with himself! But then he met his friend Pavlik to whom he complained that life was a bore. Pavlik says: "If you like I shall introduce you to a friend of mine, and immediately life will become a pleasure to you; you will be a new man; a whole day will pass with the swiftness of a single minute." "Introduce me to him," said Vanya. "Good, come to see me on Sunday. On Sunday Vanya went to see Pavlik." "Here is my friend," said Pavlik, "a book. It will acquaint you with everything; it will inform you what peoples are living on the earth, as well as what peoples lived here millions of years ago; you will learn what is taking place on the surface of the earth, as well as under the surface and in the sky. Your friend the book will teach you, how you may live fully and with advantage to yourself and to others. You will never be bored again. It will change you so that you will no longer know yourself. It will give you a hundred eyes, the strength of a giant, the wisdom of a sage! And you will never find a more faithful friend to advise you truly in the most difficult moment of your life."

ВЕРНЫЙ ДРУГ

Ваня целыми днями лежачичал, книг не читал, заниматься не любил. Скучно ему было жить, день без конца тянется, не знает он, чем себя занять! Встретился он со своим знакомым Павликом. Жалуется Павлику, что скучно ему жить. Говорит Павлик.—Хочешь и тебя познаюмлю со своим другом, и сразу станет тебе весело жить, сам себя не узнаешь, весь день, как одна минута, пройдет! —Познаюм, пожалуйста—говорит Ваня.—Хорошо, приходи ко мне в воскресенье!



II

Пришел Ваня в воскресенье к Павлику.— Вот мой друг,— говорит Павлик — это книга! Со всем она тебя познаюмлит. Она расскажет тебе, какие народы конут и жили на свете миллионы лет тому назад, узнаешь, что делается на земле, под землей и на небе. Книга-друг научит тебя, как хорошо и с пользой для себя и других прожить свою жизнь. Ты никогда не будешь больше скучать. Сделает она то, что ты сам себя не узнаешь даст она тебе сто глаз, силу великана, ум мудреца! И не надевай ты себе более верного друга, который дал бы тебе верный совет в самую трудную минуту твоей жизни.

КНИГИ

по огородничеству и скотоводству, по свиноводству, почвоведению и по вопросам сельского хозяйства

книги можно получить в свободном государственном магазине, расположенном по адресу: Москва, Советская улица, 28

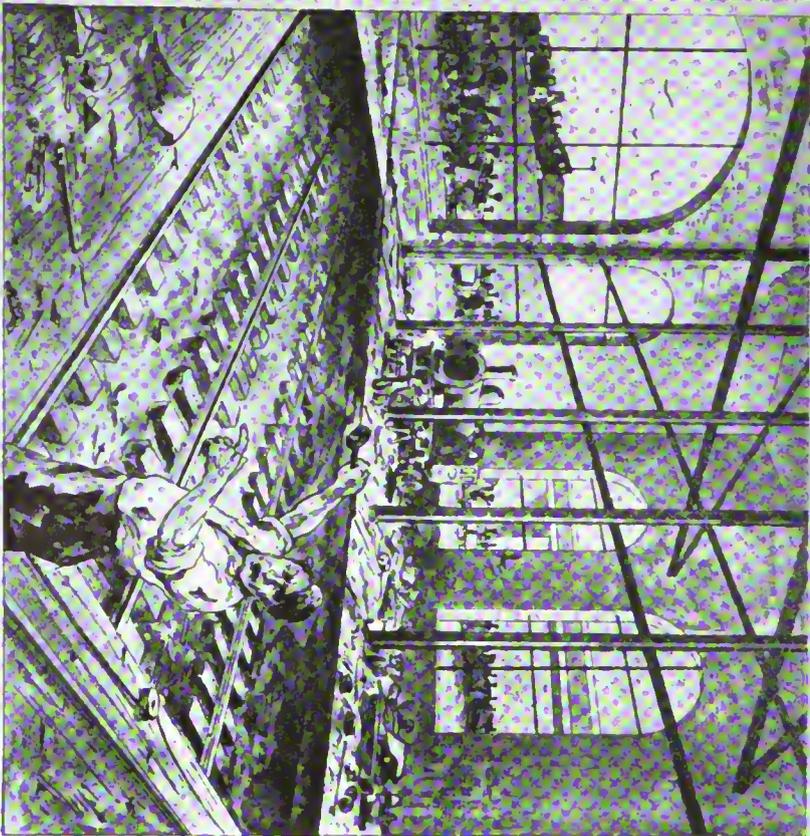
Books on Gardening and Cattle-Breeding, on Pig-Breeding, Care of the Snail, and Agricultural Questions generally. Books may be obtained in the Shops of the National Publishing House: Petrograd, October 25 Street, 28; Moscow, Soviet (Tverskaya) Street, 28 & 11.



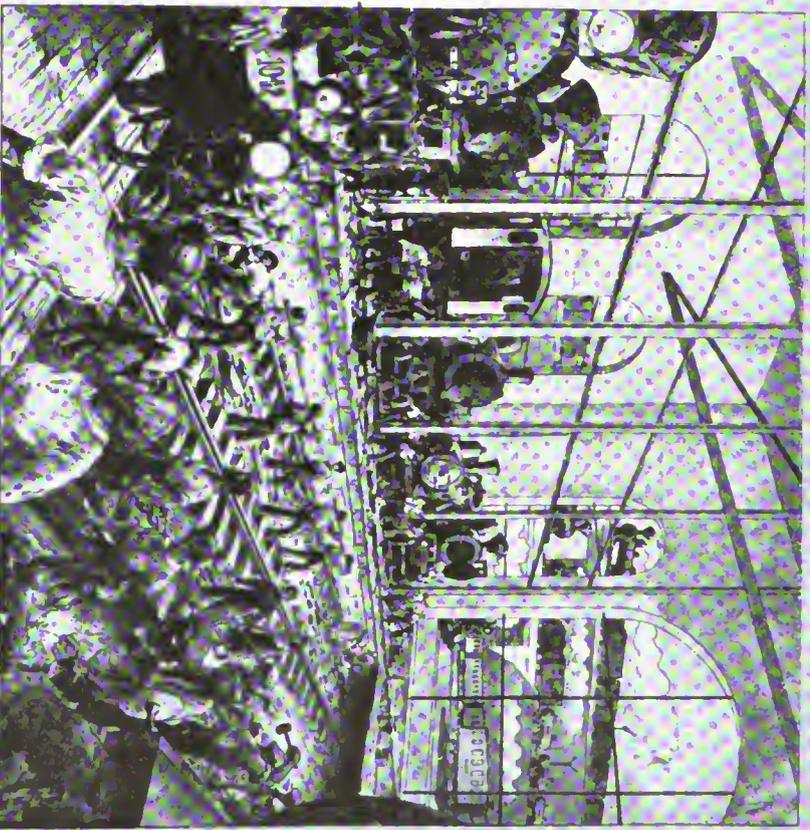
Редизертальное Издательство, Петербург, 1920

NOW FOR FOUR AND ONE-HALF YEARS OF HARD WORK!

ДЛЯ ЗАРЯВСТВУЕТ 4½ ГОДА УПОРНОГО ТРУДА.



У нас к 1 июля 1920 г. больных 9,600 и здоровых 6,400 паровозов.



У нас к 1 января 1925 г. будет 3,200 больных и 12,800 здоровых паровозов.

ЧЕСТНО ВЫПОЛНИТЕ ПЛАН РЕМОНТА ПО ПРИКАЗУ № 1042.

On July 1, 1920, we had 9,600 sick and 6,400 healthy locomotives.

On January 1, 1925 we shall have 3,200 sick and 12,800 well locomotives.

CARRY OUT CONSCIENTIOUSLY THE PLAN OF REPAIRS OUTLINED IN ORDER NO. 1042.

"Order No. 1042" is a famous order by Leon Trotsky, Commissar of War, to devote all energies to repair of transportation roads and rolling stock.





KNOWLEDGE AIDING IN THE STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISM

Translation: "The union of the workers with Science, once they have been joined, will crush to its iron embrace all the obstacles on the path to Progress."—Lassalle.



Страшно жить безграмотному! Живет он, как в темном лесу. Ничего не понимает. Всюду ему страхи мерещатся. Филин ночью закричит,—безграмотный думает, что это леший кричит, в чертей да ведьм верит; что полезно, что вредно, не знает. Молния избу спалит, он говорит, что Бог его за грехи накажет; того не знает, что эту молнию на громоствод можно поймать! Урожай нет, он молобны молит; а знает он из книжек, как за земляк-кормилицей лучше ходить, и был бы урожай. С друзьями человека—животными—скверно обращается! Нам за ними ходить, не знает, пользы из них извлечь не умеет. А пройдет безграмотный школу,— сразу из слепого зрячий станет! Все ему понятно, все ясно! Видит он, чего раньше не замечал. Точно сто глаз у него стало, и весело жить ему на свете. Все у него видится. А случится беда, посоветуется он со своим другом-книжкой,— она не обманет,— и узнает он, как из беды выпутаться!



CHILDREN!

(Shown passing through a School House)

The life of an illiterate is terrible! He lives forever in a dark forest. He understands nothing. Everything will frighten him. An owl howls at night,—the illiterate will believe it is the were-wolf howling; he believes in devils and witches and does not know what is useful or what is harmful. If the lightning strikes his hut, he believes God is punishing him for his sins; he does not know that it is possible to catch the lightning with a lightning rod! he crop is poor—he will pray to God; but would he know from books how better to cultivate the Mother Earth that feeds us, his harvest would be rich. He treats animals badly—the friends of man! He does not know how to tend them or utilize them. But when the illiterate has gone through school—he, a blind man, will immediately have his eyes opened. He understands everything, every thing is clear to him. He sees what he did not see before. It is as if he had acquired a hundred eyes; life for him begins to be a joy. All matters begin to take a good turn. And if he is in trouble, he will take advice from his friend the book—whom will not deceive him—and he will learn how to get out of his trouble!

КУЛАК МИРОЕД.



На наредил тармак разжирел мироед:
Слово бороз, кулак,— чутя не полнит
жылт.
Бедноте не взодекнуть, беднота а ко-
муте,
Ездит он весь свой ебя на мешок бед-
ноте.

Маш амбары полны? — Кулака, кулака!
Маш лошма тяжела? — Все его — паука!
Кто везет кулака? Наш нормалец раз-
ной-
Местный труженик—пакарь, народ тру-
доч.

Гей, деревня, оставай на врага-кулака!
Пусть в рожьтальной севатке не дрогнет
рука.
Сбрось с наравенных плеч вековечный
годуат,
На Советской Руси правят бедность в
труд.

Да вожжамы арагу надо руки скрутить.
Чтобы рабства опять он не мог возар-
тить.
Чтобы вновь не давя он деревню
лошной,
Чтоб свободно взодекнул наш народ
трудоч.

СРЫВАНИЕ И ЗАПЛЕЧКА ПЛАКАТА СТРОГО ПРЕСЛЕДУЮТСЯ!

The Man-Eating Land-Shark (see editorial page for translation of poem).

PORTRAITS



Leon Trotsky at the Front (October 1920); General Budenny, with whom Trotsky is speaking, is unfortunately not covered by the camera.



Kamenev and Litvinov at Christiania. Kamenev began the negotiations at London which recently ended in the conclusion of the Trade Agreement. Litvinov is now Soviet Representative in Estonia.



RECEIVING A NEW CITIZEN

Santeri Nuorteva, formerly Secretary of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York, in his Office at the Foreign Commissariat, Moscow. Seated by his side, under guard, is an American lumber-jack who had crossed the lines at Archangel without permission. A few minutes later, the American was released and provided with the job he had come to Russia to seek.

FOOD AND HEALTH FOR CHILDREN

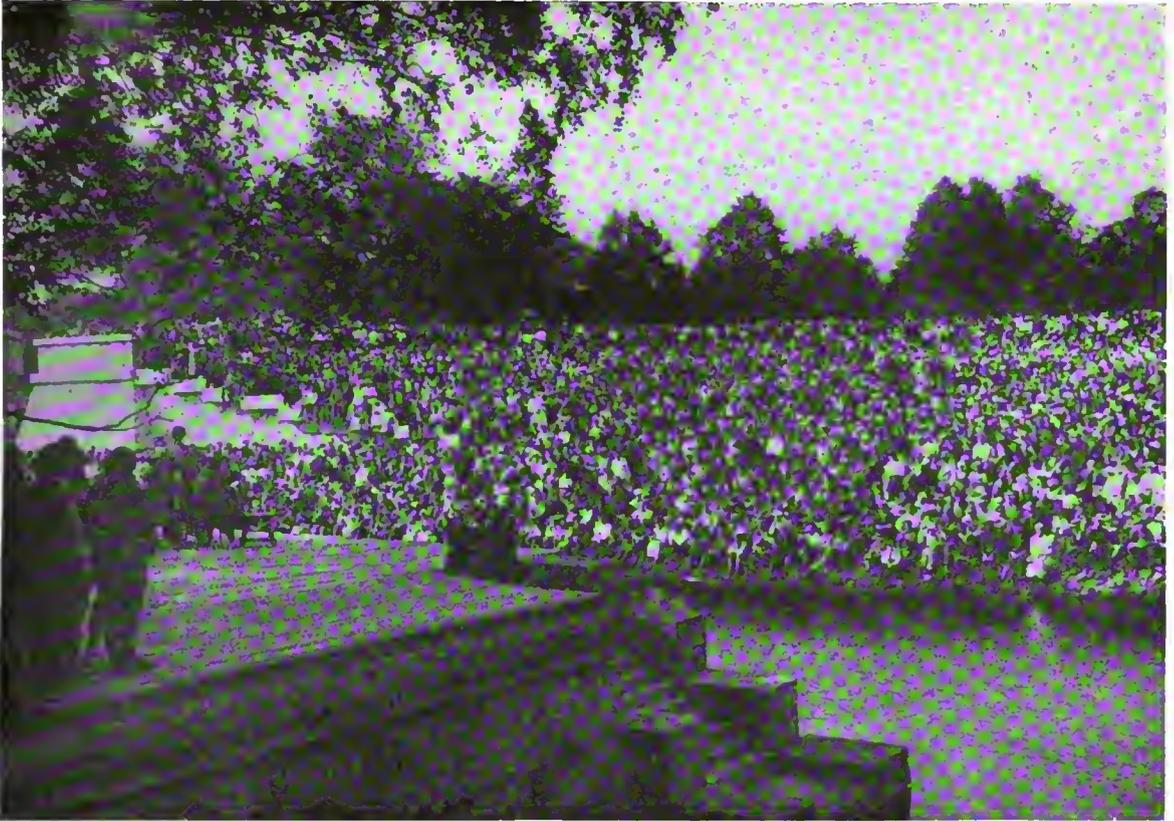


A former chef of the Tsar preparing food for the children in a Soviet institution. The children themselves are helping him.



Workers' children washing up in one of the Moscow institutions. They are in a former school for young nobles, as is suggested by the excellent faucets and the great marble slab.

AN OPEN-AIR PERFORMANCE ON THE ISLAND OF REST



1. The Audience. (Some of our readers will recall the remarks of John S. Clark, in a recent article in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, on a performance of *I Pogliacci* on this island near Petrograd).



2. The Play seems to require rather sumptuous scenic effects, including real water and real ships.

DESTRUCTION AND CONSTRUCTION



A great Bronze Eagle, symbol of Empire, from a Palace of the Tsar, dismantled and ready to be melted down for other uses.



Part Beauty Preserved and Restored. The Church of St. Basil at Moscow: Reconstruction in Progress (Summer of 1920).

Agreement by England, but also to force her to sign a Treaty with Soviet Russia herself. The day is no longer far distant.

* * *

POSTERS speak a lively language, and we hope our readers will enjoy those we are printing this week. Our cover bears one that was issued just one year ago (May 1, 1920), presenting in its two panels a comparison between the peaceful work of the toiler in Soviet Russia and the bloody struggles in which the European proletariat was still—and is still—engaged, in its fight to establish its own Dictatorship. The workers on the barricades in Western Europe, in Ireland, Italy, Germany, Hungary, and elsewhere, are still fighting on this First of May, 1921, but it must not be forgotten that the part of the picture that deals with Russia also presents a struggle. For Russia is fighting (as it was in the 1920 poster) against poverty and disorganization. It is natural, therefore, that the propaganda carried on by the Soviet Government among the Russian workers should assume more and more the form of an exhortation to produce, rather than engage in mere theoretical discussions of Socialism, Communism, and the general desirability of overthrowing Capitalism—for of that the Russian people are convinced—Capitalism is already overthrown in Russia. It is now necessary for them to keep on the job—keep the factories going, the river-steamers and railroads running, the fields tilled and sown and weeded and harvested. The reader will therefore not be surprised that this First of May Number of SOVIET RUSSIA should be filled with material emphasizing the peaceful work of the Russian masses, rather than their hard fight with the capitalist and the invader from abroad. This fight has been won—the struggle against disorganization and non-production is still in progress. It is *work* that is required of Soviet Russia's people now, and it is of *work* that this week's articles and posters speak.

* * *

INTERNAL propaganda is still being carried on in Russia along class lines, however. Those of our readers who know the Russian language will appreciate the little poem that accompanies the picture-poster of the fat peasant, the rich *kulak*, ruthlessly working his poor neighbors. For the benefit of non-Russian readers we here print a translation (in prose) of this poem; it well reflects the as yet not completely broken power of the *kulak*:

THE KULAK—THE PEASANT-EATER

The Kulak (rich peasant) has fattened on the food of the people; He is like a great pig—his vest is almost bursting. The poor peasantry does not even dare to sigh; the poor peasantry bears the yoke. And he is all the time riding on the dumb poor peasantry.

Whose granaries are full?—The Kulak's, the Kulak's!
Whose purse is heavy?—His, the spider's! Who carries the Kulak?—It is he who nourishes us—the honest toiler—the farmer, the toiling people.

Arise ye villagers, against your enemy the Kulak! May your hand not falter in the decisive struggle. Throw off

the yoke of ages from your sore shoulders—The poor and the toiling rule in Soviet Russia.

It is necessary to tie the foe's hands with his own reins, so that he may not introduce slavery again, that again he may not oppress the village with his purse, and that our people may breathe in freedom!

* * *

BUT propaganda is not the only work of education that is now going on in Soviet Russia. The workers are not only exhorted to read books, but also provided with books. In fact, the work of printing books is resulting in a production that is quantitatively astonishing, when we consider that printing offices, like all other productive enterprises, are seriously handicapped by lack of raw materials and skilled labor. In addition to numerous periodicals of informative and class propagandist nature, purely educational books and pamphlets of the conventional type are being turned out in great numbers. A recent consignment of books to this office, direct from Soviet Russia, includes the following titles (author's name first, in italics): *Larin*, Production Propaganda and the Soviet Economy on the Eve of the Fourth Year (48 pages; this is No. 1 of the Series: "How the Workers and Peasants Must Organize Their Economic Life"); *S. S. Kislyansky*: Who Gains by the Agricultural Commune, and Who Fears It? (15 pages, this is No. 55 of the so-called "Workers' and Peasants' Leaflets"); *G. Pyatak*, How to Conquer the Cold (8 pages; No. 56 of the "Workers' and Peasants' Leaflets"); *V. P. Nekrassov*: The Industrial Program for Rebuilding Locomotives (16 pages; published by the Publication Section of the Commissariat for Means of Communication); *Romain Rolland*: Danton (a play, one of the Series: "The Theatre of the Revolution"); *G. N. Sorokhtin*: Guide for Zoological Water Excursions (128 pages; an introduction for amateurs into the aims and methods of the study of fresh water fauna, with many illustrations); then there are copies of the *Bulletin of the All-Russian Central Council of Trades Unions*, and the first issue (60 pages) of the *Messenger of the All-Russian Union of Collective Farms*. It is a very respectable output and we have received many bundles of books and pamphlets from other countries that are less interesting. None can deny that learning and organization are encouraged in Soviet Russia, and the fact that the printed word receives so much of the country's labor and resources is a good sign. Next week's SOVIET RUSSIA will include an article by the famous Academician, Professor Sergei Oldenburg, on the labors of the Academy of Science, which will give added evidence of the fact that the Soviet Government is doing all it can to place its printing facilities at the disposal of abstract learning wherever the demands of immediate instruction to the young are not too great.

As we go to press, a notice reaches us from the United States Post Office Department, informing us of the conditions of the new postal facilities with Soviet Russia. We shall print it next week.

Political Education in Soviet Russia

By NIKOLAI LENIN

(The following speech by the President of the Council of People's Commissars was delivered at the All-Russian Conference for Organizations for Political Education, November 5, 1920.)

Comrades! Permit me to impart a few thoughts to you that occurred to me in the Central Committee and in the Council of People's Commissars in our discussion of the question of an organization of a central body for political education. Personally I take the liberty to remark that I have been opposed to an alteration of the name of your institution. What better name could be used than the designation "free culture," which has now been replaced by the stilted Soviet designation, "Main Center for Political Education"? But as this question has already been decided, I beg of you to regard this observation as one that is personal only, and if the entire alteration is not to be limited to a change of name, if you are to succeed in attracting new members and to reestablish your activity in the field of education, it will be possible to adapt ourselves to the foible of the Soviet organs, to provide each thing and each authority with a special label, and in that case the new designation can perhaps even be welcome.

The most important point at present for the comrades engaged in the work of culture and education is that of the relation between education and our political aim. In bourgeois society it has always been, and still is maintained, that the spirit of knowledge is apolitical, or unpolitical. This is a piece of hypocrisy on the part of the bourgeoisie, nothing more or less than a refined method of deceiving the masses, 99 per cent of whom are oppressed by the domination of the church, of private property, etc. Under these circumstances, every "free" expression is directly or indirectly prejudiced by capital. Every state mechanism—and the larger the significance of this mechanism, the more is this dependence a fact—depends absolutely on capital and its policy. The connection between the bourgeois political parties and the educational system is in capitalist countries particularly firm and solid; but bourgeois society cannot openly admit this.

One of our chief tasks is that of opposing to bourgeois deception and hypocrisy our truth, and of obliging the bourgeoisie to recognize our truth.

The educational task must at present therefore be put in the foreground because it is urgently necessary to make the masses ripe for the Socialist order.

This is particularly important in Russia, where the urban proletariat constitutes a minority of the population. There could have been no possibility of a dictatorship of the proletariat, if the latter had not reached a high degree of consciousness, discipline, and fidelity in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. We do not take a utopian viewpoint, according to which the working masses *per se* are mature for the Socialistic society. We know through

precise data taken from the entire history of the Socialism of the workers, that this is not the case, that maturity for Socialism is only attained through great industry, through struggle in strikes, through political organization. In order to carry the victory, in order to put through the Socialistic transformation, the proletariat must be capable of acting in solidarity to eliminate the exploiters, must be capable of playing the role of a pioneer. These class peculiarities and class abilities of the proletariat must be transformed into actual deed. For the comrades active in the field of education, this must be taken as one of the most important tasks. The Communist Party must here serve as a vanguard of the proletariat in the education and training of the working masses, must help them slough off the old habits, the old practices which we have received as an heirloom from the old regime, the practices and habits of private property, with which the great mass is still more or less permeated.

Main Center for Political Education

This fundamental task of the entire Socialistic transformation must never be lost sight of in the examination of specific questions. How the main center for political education is to be constructed, how it is to be united with the individual institutions, not only with the center but also with its own special divisions—these questions will be treated in your presence by comrades who are more competent in this field, who have already had great experience and engaged in the study of these things. I should like only to emphasize matters of principle.

We must treat this question frankly and in complete opposition to tradition, must combat the erroneous conception that education may under no circumstances be combined with politics. We are living in a historical period, in the period of struggle against the world bourgeoisie, which is still very much stronger than we are. In such a moment of struggle we must defend our Socialist work of construction and wage a conflict with this bourgeoisie, both in a military and—what is more important—in a spiritual sense, in the way of education.

It is necessary that the convictions, the ideas, that the working class has acquired in these decades, in the struggle for political freedom, that these habits, practices, may serve as weapons for the education of all the workers. The conviction must be imparted that it is not possible, that it is not permissible, to stand outside the struggle now being waged by the proletariat, which is embracing in increasing measure all the capitalist countries of the world without exception. The union of all great capitalist countries of the world against Rus-

sia, against Soviet Russia—this is the whole business of the present international political situation, and we must be entirely clear as to the fact that the fate of hundreds of millions of workers in the capitalist countries depends on this fact.

This shapes the situation—and we may say this quite openly—in such a way as to force us to take sides for one party or the other, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, or for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is possible only for either extremely ignorant people, who lack the necessary information, or for conscious betrayers, to stand aloof in this division.

In our country we experienced such a manifold shaping of events in the Kerensky period, among the Social Revolutionists and the Social Democrats, such a variegated color scheme in the various towns of Russia, that we may say that we have been tested more than any other people. If we look toward Western Europe we shall see that the same thing is now going on there that happened in our country. We are beholding a repetition of our own history. Almost everywhere you may see the Kerensky people by the side of the bourgeoisie. In a great number of states, particularly in Germany, they are at the head, and everywhere the same fact may be observed: the impossibility of assuming a middle position, and a clear understanding: either there will be a dictatorship of the Whites—the bourgeoisie in all the nations of Western Europe are preparing for this dictatorship and arming themselves against us—or a dictatorship of the proletariat. We have had to feel this so keenly and profoundly that I need not dwell on this in speaking to Russian Communists. But I draw only one inference, and one that must be laid at the basis of all the discussions and instructions connected with the Main Center for Political Education: we must openly recognize the predominance of the Communist Party in our policy.

The party may express the interests of its class more or less, may pass through alterations of one kind or another, but we do not yet know of a better form: no other form has as yet been found in any country. The entire struggle of Soviet Russia in the course of its three years' resistance to the onslaught of world capitalism is based upon a realization of the task of supporting the proletariat, of executing its function as an educator, organizer, and leader, without which the downfall of capitalism is impossible.

Liberation from the Intellectuals

The working masses, the mass of peasants and workers, must free themselves from the tutelage of the intellectuals and educate themselves anew for the constructive activity of Communism, for it is otherwise impossible to approach this activity of construction. Our whole experience teaches that we are dealing with too serious a situation and the discussion of the activity of organizational reconstruction must begin with the recognition of the guiding function of the party. How this construc-

tion is to be realized—on this we shall have more to say later.

After the decree on the Main Center for Political Education shall have been published, you will see that it lacks a direct declaration of its attitude toward the party. The entire juristic and practical constitution of the Soviet Republic is built upon the fact that it is the party that is improving and determining everything, reconstructing everything according to a single principle, in order that the Communist elements in close contact with the proletariat may permeate it with their spirit and liberate it from the heritage of capitalism, which we are so ardently striving to overcome. The Commissariat for Public Education already has passed through a long struggle. Already for a long time the teachers' organization has been fighting against the socialist transformation. In pedagogical circles the bourgeois prejudices have taken particularly firm root, and we are compelled to conquer our Communist position slowly, step by step. For the Main Center for Political Education, whose function it will be to spread information outside of the school, the decisive task of such instruction and enlightenment of the masses will be the necessity of putting in the foreground this leadership of the party, of subordinating this gigantic apparatus, this half million army of teachers, which is at present in the service of the workers, filling them with its spirit, fanning the flame of their initiative. The teaching staff, which grew up in bourgeois prejudices, was at the bottom of its heart hostile to the proletariat and had no contact with it. We must now raise a new army of pedagogical workers, which must be more closely connected with the party, more intimately acquainted with its ideals, more fully impressed with the spirit of these ideas. The teaching staff must itself attract the working masses, fill them with the Communist spirit, interest them in what the Communists are doing and win them over to the Communist standpoint.

The Nature of the Communist Leadership

In principle there cannot be any doubt for us that the leadership belongs to the Communist Party, that it is the aim of political education, of political culture, to educate true Communists, who shall be in a position to combat victoriously the lies and prejudices, and help the working masses in putting down the old order and carrying out the reconstruction of the state without capitalists and exploiters. How may this be done? It is only possible after we have gained all the knowledge that the teachers have received as a heritage from the bourgeoisie. All the technical achievements of Communism would be impossible without this, would be an empty illusion. The question now arises—how are those co-workers who are not accustomed to working in connection with a definite policy, in accordance with a policy necessary for us and particularly for Communism, to be adapted to this policy? This is a very difficult task, for which we have no ready-made solution.

We have taken up this question in the Central Committee of the party and made every effort to acquaint ourselves with all suggestions made in this field, and believe that the work of such conferences as yours will be of great importance in this connection.

We must now regard each propagandist, who formerly was considered only as a man belonging to a certain circle, to a certain organization, from an entirely different point of view. Every propagandist belongs to the party, which is guiding and directing the entire state, the world struggle of Soviet Russia against capitalism. This propagandist is a representative of the fighting class and party that controls and necessarily must control this mighty state apparatus. Many Communists, who were splendidly efficient in our former illegal work and who are tested and trusted workers either will not or cannot grasp the full significance of this time, the transition period, in which he who was an agitator and propagandist in the mass meeting must now become a leader of the gigantic national organization. If in this connection he should receive an inappropriate or misleading title, such as that of an "administrative official for public schools," etc., the damage would not be great. It is important and necessary that he should be capable of guiding the masses of teachers.

Hundreds of thousands of teachers constitute an apparatus that must push our work forward. The fact that the masses of teachers are permeated with the heritage of capitalistic culture, must not and cannot prevent us from placing them in service of Communist education. The Communist active in the field of popular education must learn and understand to conduct this mass, which runs into hundreds of thousands.

This task is complicated, difficult, full of contradictions, but we can overcome it. We have already solved it in our Red Army. In this army tens of thousands of representatives of the old army were incorporated, and they adapted themselves to the army in a definite although rather extended process, fused themselves into a single unit with the army. Their victories are a proof of this. We must attain the same result in our work of culture and enlightenment. To be sure, this work does not appear so brilliant but it is not less important. Only after mastering this task, can we guide on the proper path the masses that capitalism had kept down and isolated from us. This is the goal that every agitator and propagandist must pursue in his work outside of the school. You must help Communism overcome in every way the resistance of the capitalists, not only the military and political resistance, but also their ideological resistance. The mightiest and most profound work is the mental transformation of the masses. Their eagerness for knowledge, their striving for education, for an understanding of Communism, which is apparent to us, afford us a guarantee that we shall be the victors here also, to be sure, not so quickly as at the front, and perhaps with greater

difficulty and occasional defeats, but we shall nevertheless finally be the victors.

I should like to dwell on one point a little. Perhaps the designation: "Main Center for Political Education" is not properly understood as far as the use of the word "political" is concerned. Of course politics are here under discussion, but how are we to understand politics? If we think of politics in the bourgeois sense, we may fall into a grave error. Our politics are those of the proletariat struggling against the world bourgeoisie for its liberation. In our struggle two main factors are apparent. On the one hand there is the task of destroying, of annihilating the heritage received from the bourgeois regime, of suppressing the ceaselessly repeated attempts of the bourgeoisie to destroy the Soviet power. This task has hitherto taken up most of our attention and prevented us from going about the other task, that of reconstruction. Politics, as the bourgeoisie understands it, is to a certain extent detached from economics. The bourgeoisie said: "Workers, peasants, if you would attain the possibility of subsistence, work. Work, in order to buy in the market the things you need in order to live; the economic policy will be taken care of by your employers." But with us the case is different. Politics must be an affair of the entire people, the business of the proletariat. And let us here emphasize that we have hitherto been obliged to devote nine-tenths of our working time to the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The victories over Wrangel prove however that this stage of the conflict is approaching its end, that we have conquered peace with a number of countries, that every victory on the military front is liberating us for the internal struggle, for the reconstruction of the state. Every step that brings us nearer to a victory over the White Guards is a part of the gradual transfer of the center of gravity in this struggle to the field of economic policy.

Old and New Propaganda

The old style propaganda aimed to make clear what Socialism is. This old propaganda is at present of no use. We must now not describe but prove by practice how Socialism is to be constructed. Our whole propaganda must be based on the political experience of economic construction. This is our most important task. If anyone should grasp the situation in the old sense of the word, he would have to be regarded as backward and as not fitted for propaganda activity among the worker and peasant masses. Our main policy at present is directed at the economic reconstruction of the state; it has the object of gathering as much grain as possible, of distributing as much coal as possible, and of solving the problem of how this grain and this coal is to be used to the best purpose, in order to eliminate hunger. This is our policy. On this all our agitation and propaganda must be based. We must have fewer phrases, as phrases cannot fill the needs of the working population.

As far as the course of the war may afford us the possibility of transferring the center of gravity from the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against Wrangel, against the White Guards, to this new field, we shall devote our main attention to these economic questions. And it is in this matter that agitation and propaganda must play an increasingly enormous role. All tasks of agitation must be devoted to the practical reconstruction of national economy. Every agitator must be a national leader, must be a director of the peasants and workers in economic reconstruction. He must awaken in them the understanding that in order to be a Communist it is necessary to know the contents of a certain pamphlet, of a certain book, and to read such works attentively.

This is the way we shall take in order to elevate our economy, to make it more productive, to place it in a still higher measure in the service of the common good, to increase production, to shape the grain situation more favorably, to perfect the distribution of food, to raise the efficiency of coal mining and to reestablish industry without the capitalist spirit, all of which taken together constitute the essence of Communism. All our propaganda must be conducted in such a way that the result will be a practical control of the national structure. Communism must be easily accessible to the working masses, as it is a matter of life and death to them.

At present the matter is not yet being well formed; thousands of mistakes are being made. There is no reason for our concealing this.

It is not we, but it is the peasants and workers, who with our help, with our cooperation, with our slight and weak powers, must regulate and order the entire apparatus. For us, Communism has already ceased to be a program, a theory, a problem. For us it is an affair of actual constructive activity of today. Even when our enemies, in this war, inflicted the most cruel defeats upon us, we always learned something from them and ultimately reached victory. Now also we must learn from every defeat in the field of education, and improve our understanding accordingly. If from these examples, failures, mistakes, from our repeated misses, we gain knowledge for application in our constructive activity, we shall succeed in turning unfit Communist officials into true rebuilders, particularly of our economic life. We shall attain all that is needed, shall overcome all the obstacles placed in our way by the remnants of the old regime. We must reeducate the masses, which is possible only by propaganda and agitation. We must put the masses in direct contact with the reconstruction of the entire economic life. This must be the chief, the most important point in the activity of every agitator and propagandist; if he is clear in his own mind on this point the success of his activity is certain.

The cuts in next week's issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will be admonitions to read books and equip the mind with useful knowledge.

PROPOSED PROGRAM OF LOCOMOTIVE REPAIRS FOR 1921

The number of locomotives requiring capital repair to be carried on the railways is estimated by the Technical Department of the Commissariat for Ways and Communications for 1921 at 800. Average repairs are calculated at 11,400 units, or a total of 13,800 units.* These figures are 30 per cent higher than those contained in order No. 1042 and 73 per cent higher for 1920. In comparison with the actual output of locomotive repairs in the second half of 1920, the increase is 21 per cent.

The number of locomotives capable of being repaired at the works of the Metal Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy is estimated in round figures at 120 locomotives capital repairs and 240 average repairs.

The total number of locomotives estimated to be repaired in the railway workshops and at the works during 1921 is 1010 capital repairs and 11,640 average repairs. Calculated in units of average repairs this is 14,670 which comprises 92 per cent of the task given in Order No. 1042 for 1921.

The number of locomotives which will require capital repair by January 1, 1922 is estimated by the Technical Department of the Commissariat for Ways and Communications to increase to 290, while the number of locomotives requiring average repairs it is estimated will be reduced to 1,640. Thus, the number of disabled locomotives it is estimated will be reduced to 1,350.

The execution of this plan is divided over four quarters of the year. In the first quarter, 2,531 units of average repairs will be carried out, representing 18 per cent of the task for the whole year, in the second quarter 3,373 units, or 24.5 per cent, in the third quarter 4,525 or 33 per cent and in the fourth quarter 3,372 units or 24.5 per cent. As the execution of light repairs has advanced, the railways are permitted to increase the number of locomotives requiring capital repair as against the standard fixed on the condition that they carry out repairs to the previously fixed number of locomotives and maintain the standard of average repairs. —*Russian Press Review, March 15, 1921.*

RAILWAY RECONSTRUCTION IN CAUCASUS

Of the North Caucasus Railways, the Vladikavkaz Railway suffered most during the civil war. The revolutionary railway workers of Vladikavkaz, however, managed rapidly to restore the railway destroyed by Denikin and in a short time raise the productivity of the railway workshops. During the last nine months, 3,910 various articles of railway equipment were turned out, which exceeds the program by 1,205 articles and also exceeds the pre-war output.

*A capital repair is calculated as being equal to 3 units of average repair.

Revival of Industries in the Urals

The Council of the People's Commissars has lately despatched a special commission, instructed to carry on investigations on the spot as to the causes of the delay in the development of the most important branches of the Ural industry, and to apply measures for the immediate removal of these causes. Among the members of this Commission were Comrades Trotsky (President), Zinoviev, Emchanov representing the Commissariat of Ways and Communications, Lobachev representing the Commissariat for Food, the member of the presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy Comrade Siromolotov and others. A number of specialists and experts of the Ural mining industry worked in conjunction with the Commission. The Commission worked in the Urals from February 6 to 20.

Upon their return the members of the Commission gave the following interesting information concerning the state of the industry in the Urals. Notwithstanding the extraordinary difficult conditions in which the mining industry was placed in 1920 it has nevertheless to a considerable extent recovered from that state of ruin in which it was found after the departure of the White Guards.

The productive program in most districts was successfully carried through. In the Kiselovsk district the program was 20 million poods of coal and this was executed to the extent of 77 per cent (15,000,000 poods). The Chelyabinsk district yielded 30,000,000 poods of coal for 1920 (137 per cent of the program). The Yegorshinsk district gave 3,150,000 poods (105 per cent), the Bogoslov district 8,520,000 poods (85 per cent).

It is worth mentioning that the output of coal in the districts of Chelyabinsk, Bogoslovsk, Yegorshinsk for 1920 was almost the same as the output in the normal pre-war period. Only the Kiselovsk district gave 25 per cent of the output of 1914, and this is easily explained by the lack of workers, food, etc.

The Commission paid special attention to the urgent increase of the output of the coal in the Kiselovsk and other districts. Naturally, this cannot be attained immediately. For that reason, a special yearly program has been drafted for the following five years: 1921—63 million poods of coal; 1922—89 million poods; 1923—110 million poods; 1924—132 million poods; 1925—151 million poods. Thus, by 1925 the output of coal will have increased two and a half times. In order to successfully carry out this program, it has been decided to recognize all the Ural mines as "shock" mines. Immediate measures must be taken for the expedient supply of food, workmen's clothing and equipment. Considerable attention must be devoted to the immediate construction of an electric station in the Kiselovsk mines.

Besides the mining industry, the commission has also worked out a program for 1921 for the metal-

lurgical industry. Five Ural districts (Perm, Bogoslov, Bisogorsk, Yekatorinburg, and South-Ural) with all metallurgical enterprises appertaining to them have been recognized as "shock enterprises." The following program for 1921 was set: cast iron—6 million poods, Marten steel—7 million poods, castings—1 million poods, and rolled iron—6 million poods.

As the successful work of the metallurgical enterprises greatly depends upon the sufficient supply of the works with charcoal and wood, the commission formed a special committee of three to carry out a timber felling campaign in the Urals. The Commission also accepted a program for the construction of a number of branch-lines to increase the transport of fuel.

The improvement in the economic life of the Urals has already made itself felt. The Ural workers, who felt all the weight of the White-Guard yoke, display great conscientiousness, and are ready to work continuously in order to raise themselves out of the state of ruin. The Ural workers feel inseparably bound with the whole of Soviet Russia and their readiness to come to the help of Russia and to Red Petrograd in particular, and their readiness to come to the help of Soviet Russia in general, has found brilliant reflection in the following resolution passed at the general meeting of the workers of the Kiselovsk mining district:

"We, the miners of the Northern group of mines of the Kiselovsk mining district declare that the honor of the Kiselovsk miner will be maintained as high as it has been during the whole period of the revolutionary struggle, bearing in mind that the economic welfare of the country entirely depends upon the supply of fuel."

INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY IN SOVIET GEORGIA

The revival of industrial activity in Georgia since the establishment of a Soviet Government is indicated in the following items reported by the Russian Telegraph Agency:

Telegraphic communication has been established between Tiflis and Batum. Direct railway service has been resumed between Baku and Tiflis. Navigation opened at Baku on April 5. Great quantities of petroleum will be shipped from that point to Soviet Russia.

According to a message from Tiflis, Soviet Georgia is giving earnest attention to developing the exploitation of its rich mineral deposits. The Commissariat for Foreign Trade of the Georgian Republic is actively preparing the ground for large international trade.

The Georgian Government has appointed a commission to compensate its citizens for damages sustained through military activities during the war for liberation.

TRADE UNION WEEK

A special "trade union week" was inaugurated on March 21 throughout Soviet Russia. The purpose of the Week was to strengthen the existing trade unions, to organize the few crafts hitherto unorganized and, above all, to invigorate the trade union movement at the bottom in shop and factory councils. Consequent upon the decision of the Tenth Convention of the Communist Party, the trade unions in Russia are called upon to play a part altogether unprecedented in European trade union history. The Russian trade unions, being the undisputed masters of industry, are quite free from the common trade union struggle against the employing class for higher wages, shorter hours, etc. All these industrial conditions are determined by the Russian trade unions through labor legislation which they control absolutely. But the Russian unions at the present juncture need increased organization for the purpose of managing and controlling industry on a state-wide scope. The Trade Union Week aimed to call into active participation all the creative forces of the Russian ruling class—the proletariat conscious of its historic destiny.

The newspapers devote much space to the Week. Editorials and special articles and reports from all parts of the country describe the successful campaign in the organization and marshalling of all the crafts and trades of the mighty Soviet Federation for a concentrated effort in economic reconstruction. The organ of the Central Union Council, *Trud*, says that the campaign should result in bringing information about trade union methods and principles to the knowledge of the wide masses of the population throughout the remotest corners of the Soviet Federation. Moreover, it should result in attracting new blood direct from factory and workshop to the center of the government to supplement the wisdom of scholars with the practical experience of early apprenticeship at the lathe, which combination would result in the best legislation for labor and the Commonwealth. The paper proposes that the watchword of the campaign should be "From the lathe to the head of the Government," meaning the closest possible union between the workers engaged in industry and those delegated to participate in government.

The *Pravda*, in a special article, recalls that the last Communist Party convention adopted an order of the day calling the masses to activity. All the resolutions of that convention were permeated with this spirit, which represents the backbone of Soviet policy. A recent decree has already simplified and unified all economic administration. The appeal to mass action will certainly stimulate popular participation in administrative affairs, producing the utmost cooperation in the work of reconstruction. The Trade Union Week, said the *Pravda*, is already bringing fruits of new organization and coordination of the industrial forces, indicative of even greater things to come.

Many telegrams received by the Central Trade Union Council from all parts of the country described the success of the Trade Union Week throughout the Soviet Federation. Numerous mass meetings were held and many new labor palaces were opened and new universities, libraries, museums, etc. were established. Literary, musical and dramatic circles devoted the Week exclusively to the service of trade union propaganda. Local Soviets everywhere laid the foundations for the improvement of the workers' dwellings and living conditions. The activities of the Week were extended to April 2 in order to cover the entire territory of the Soviet Federation. Special instructions, posters, pamphlets and slogans were dispatched to all parts. The leading slogan of the Week was "Through Trade Unionism to the Industrial Commonwealth."

In connection with the Trade Union Week a great rally of trade union organizers and factory delegates from city and province was held on April 2 in the Trade Union Palace at Moscow. The Chairman of the All-Russian Trade Union Council, Lozovsky, addressed the meeting on the economic situation in Soviet Russia and the tasks before the trade unions. Comparing the conditions of trade union activity in Russia with those in European countries, Lozovsky noted the great advance of the Russian Trade Unions in their direct participation in the socialist construction of the first Workers' Republic. Touching upon the economic situation, he pointed out one condition detrimental to the country's industrial life, namely, the weariness of the workers after the long struggle, which adversely affected public economy and represented a danger to the revolution. He appealed to every trade unionist to combat this tendency. He indicated the great possibilities of economic reconstruction in the utilization of the enormous resources of Soviet Russia, which possesses fifty per cent of the world's timber and vast stores of other raw materials. Lozovsky appealed for the cooperation of every trade unionist in strengthening the economic front, from which they should emerge as victorious as on the military fronts.

Chairman Lozovsky was followed by the German delegate, Brass, who tendered greetings from the German workers, and by Comrade Kollontay, who spoke on behalf of the Russian women workers.—*Russian Telegraph Agency*.

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Congress on Collective Farming

The Second National Congress on Collective Farming took place in Moscow during February 18-19. There were 300 delegates at the congress, consisting of peasants and communist organizers, representing over 40 provinces of Soviet Russia. The task of the congress was to solve a number of practical questions dealing with the control of agriculture by the State and with the general promotion of farming in Russia.

Comrade Ossinsky, who gave a report in the name of the Land Commissariat, defined the immediate aims of the collective farms. He asserted that Russian agriculture began to decline with the outbreak of the world war, and continued its course of destruction as a consequence of most diverse causes. The task of raising agriculture to its former level is now being accomplished in two ways: by means of State aid to the peasantry and by the initiative of the agricultural producers. The latter aim is being served by the promotion of collective farms. They are formed on the basis of voluntary combination by individual producers, prompted by the shortage of means and tools on their own farms. The role of these collective farms is of still greater importance, in that they demonstrate the advantages of collectivism in practice, and attract the rest of the peasant masses to collective work on the soil. The State therefore regards the collective farms as a mainstay in introducing its plan of regulating agriculture. The supply of the needs of the collective farms, is given first place by the Government, but on the other hand, the demands made upon them are higher; the sowing plan for them is more complicated, and is based on the rotation of crops and on special crops; they must help the neighboring peasantry with their collective stock and workshops, organize the peasantry, combat illiteracy, and so forth.

In view of all the above the congress resolved not to strive in the future towards the numerical increase of collective farms, but to attain their organization on a more rational basis. Here the chief thing is to raise the productivity of these farms and centralize them in the interests of a successful realization of the Single Economic Plan.

The congress established the fact of the steady growth of collective farms all over the Republic. In dividing the whole cultivating area into districts we would get the following:

1st District: provinces of Petrograd, Novgorod and Pskov. This district has 82 communes, 815 collective farms, with an area of 57,000 dessiatins of land.

2nd District: provinces of Yaroslav, Tver, Vladimir, Ivano-Voznessensk and Moscow, having 364 communes and 2136 collective farms with an area of 208,000 dessiatins. Special attention has been paid to the cultivation of flax.

3rd District: provinces of Vitebsk, Smolensk and Gomel, with 493 communes, 1159 collective farms,

having an area of 101,000 dessiatins. The cultivation of flax has been extended.

4th District: provinces of Tambov, Voronezh, Kursk, Orel, having 27 communes, 1,000 collective farms, with an area of 88,000 dessiatins.

5th District: provinces of Nizhni-Novgorod, Kazan, Penza, Simbirsk, Saratov, and the German colony on the Volga, with 518 communes, 876 collective farms, having an area of 170,000 dessiatins.

6th District: Astrakhan and Tsaritsin.

7th District: provinces of Orenburg, Cheliabinsk, Ufa, Ekaterinburg and Tiumen.

8th District: provinces of Kostroma, Viatka, Perm, with 859 collective farms and an area of 75,000 dessiatins. Special cultivation of flax.

9th District: provinces of Archangel, Olonets, Cherepovets, Vologda, and North Dvina.

It is estimated that all the collective farms of the nine districts will give 14,700,000 poods of corn, 35,000,000 poods of root crops, 25 million poods of fodder, 12 million poods of vegetables, 17 million poods of hay, 725,000 poods of flax, 50,000 poods of hemp, 91,000 poods of sun-flower seeds, 36,000 poods of mustard seed, 1,400,000 poods of beet-root. After the needs of the collective farms have been supplied, the surplus will be 3 million poods of corn, 21 million poods of root-crops, 6 million poods of vegetables and all the flax crop. The collective farms have sufficient labor power, and are more or less provided with working stock, having one horse for every 6.14 dessiatins of land.

A number of collective farms have been set up in a "stock" group and were supplied with all the live stock and implements they need. The work that was begun on the organization of the collective farms will have been accomplished during the coming summer. For the purpose of supplying land to the full needs of the existing combines 696 dessiatins of land have been assigned in 41 provinces; the task of rationally distributing this has been entrusted to 363 land surveyors. Certain collective farms have already provided themselves with communal buildings.

The congress resolved to organize a National Industrial Union of Farm Workers, it worked out plans for the successful realization of the single economic plan in the country, and discussed the principles of organization within the collective farms. It was further resolved: to organize in each county not less than two workshops for manufacturing and repairing agricultural machines and implements and other articles pertaining to farm needs; to level up the work of raising the peasant handicraft industry and institute not less than two handicraft schools in each province.

The congress ended in a healthy and business-like spirit. The peasantry understood the aims of the Soviet Government and avowed its ardent desire to help to realize them.

—*Russian Press Review*, March 15, 1921.

THE UKRAINIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

The Fifth All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets held in Kharkov since March 2 has come to a close. The congress passed a number of important resolutions. The treaty between the R. S. F. S. R. and the Ukrainian Soviet Republic has been ratified. The treaty only established the general inter-relations of the two parties; the relations between the National Executives of both Republics and the Unified Commissariats will be the subject of a new agreement.

The congress accepted the draft of a law on Farming Rights. With the aim of restoring agriculture—says the law—and of inspiring the working villages with a firm faith in the indissolubility of the new agrarian order in the country, the Fifth All-Ukrainian Congress hereby declares: 1) that in those volosts* and villages where the expropriation of all the surplus land of the landowners, and the distribution of all former private lands have been accomplished, as well as in places where land has been withdrawn from Soviet farms, sugar-beet plantations and other government plantations, the land rights of the farmers using the land be secured for a period of nine years.

After the adoption of the law, Comrade Manuilsky requested the delegates to carry the news of the new law over the whole Ukraine.

After the resolutions on the agrarian and food questions, on economic construction, the organization of labor and the re-establishment of transport, the congress unanimously adopted a broad amnesty resolution. The amnesty affects citizens of the Ukrainian Republic who have emigrated abroad as a result of civil war, on the condition that they voluntarily appear before the Soviet authorities and avow their loyalty to the Republic; citizens who, before the publication of the amnesty, were sentenced, or liable to be sentenced to loss of freedom for a period of five years; citizens sentenced to deprivation of freedom for five years on the charge of counter-revolution, high treason, speculation, etc., have their sentences reduced to one third. The amnesty affecting the "kulaks" confined in the concentration camps, is applied by special order. The application of the amnesty is entrusted to the Commissariat for Justice. The amnesty is to be brought into force by telegraph.

A new Ukrainian National Executive was elected on the proposal of the Communist Fraction of the Congress. The new executive comprises 155 members and 55 candidates. Among the members are: Lenin, Zinoviev, Trotsky, Petrovsky, Rakovsky, Manuilsky, Zatonsky, Felix Kohn, etc.

The First Session of the new executive was held on March 3.

—*Russian Press Review*, March 15, 1921.

*Volost—district including several villages.

ALL-RUSSIAN RAIL AND WATER TRANSPORT WORKERS' CONVENTION

The first All-Russian United Rail and Water Transport Workers' Convention opened at Moscow on March 22 in the Trade Union Palace. The first session was devoted to greetings from trade unions and political organizations. Business sessions followed.

Addressing the convention, Chairman Kalinin of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee emphasized the importance of the closest union of proletarians and peasants as indispensable for final victory. By changing the agrarian policy to stimulate the maximum cultivation of the land, he said, the Soviet Government had brought this union nearer. In conclusion Kalinin dealt at great length with the question of cooperation, urging the importance of adhering to Communist principles in cooperative work, since any other policy would mean encouraging tendencies towards speculation. There was no middle way, he said, and the transport workers as proletarians should do their utmost to keep cooperation free from capitalistic influences.

Lenin, in his address to the transport workers, dealt with the relations between classes in Soviet Russia. He emphasized the necessity for the workers' organizations to wage an intelligent campaign against all manifestations of petty bourgeois anarchistic tendencies. Speaking of the tasks before the transport workers, Lenin said: "We must reconstruct the balance between agriculture and industry, and for this purpose we need effective support. The rail and waterways form the connecting link between agriculture and industry. Therefore, your attitude toward your work must be particularly serious. Communists and non-Communists in the ranks of the transport workers must learn a lesson of our own and of previous revolutions in order to grasp fully the present situation, and, without heeding sundry political catchwords, to understand the inner relation of classes within the Commonwealth, which understanding alone can furnish an enduring basis for all political conclusions. For the representatives of the rail and water transport workers there can be only one decision: Hundredfold increased proletarian unity, hundredfold increased proletarian discipline! Comrades, we must realize this to complete our victory." Lenin's speech was greeted by rising cheers of the entire assembly.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency*.

A NORTHERN SCIENTIFIC COUNCIL

A permanent Northern Scientific Council has been formed in Petrograd composed of representatives of 14 institutions and organizations, including the Academy of Science, the Geological Committee of the Northern Colonizing Expedition, the Society of Naturalists, etc. The President of the Council is U. M. Shokalsky, the Vice-President G. E. Cherkin, and Scientific Secretary M. P. Iordansky.—*Russian Press Review*, March 15, 1921.

NOTE TO THE BULGARIAN GOVERNMENT

Moscow, March 31.—The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, in a note to the Bulgarian Government, protests against the indignities, flogging, and unwarranted imprisonment imposed upon Russian war prisoners by the Bulgarian authorities. The group of prisoners which returned on the steamer *Cyrrill* gave unanimous testimony to this maltreatment by the Bulgarian Government. Many of them had sustained severe injuries in Bulgarian prisons which was certified by medical examination. The only reason for this inhuman cruelty was refusal of the prisoners to join Wrangel's army. The Bulgarian Government not only held Russian prisoners transferred from France, despite the exchange, cooperated in recruiting for White Guards among the prisoners, stooping to most cruel violence on defenceless, unarmed exiles. The climax was reached on March 29, 1920, at the Varna concentration camp, when the Bulgarian Colonel Nakov told the prisoners that they must go to the Crimea to fight for Wrangel against the Soviets. In answer to the prisoners' legitimate protest the camp was surrounded by French and Bulgarian troops and Bulgarian mounted police. Machine guns were trained on the prisoners and those who failed to escape were forcibly shipped to the Crimea. The fate of the latter is unknown. Protesting against these unparalleled atrocities, the Russian Government demands their immediate cessation, warning the Bulgarian Government that in defence of its citizens Russia will be compelled to retaliate on Bulgarians in Russia.—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

A NOTE TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT

Moscow, March 31.—The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has published a note sent to the French Foreign Ministry in reply to several radio inquiries concerning the repatriation of French citizens in Russia. The Soviet Government, the note says, has done everything possible to locate French citizens and give everyone facilities for speedy repatriation. Informing the French Government of these efforts to comply with its treaty obligations, the Soviet note points out that the French Government continues the forcible detention of Russian prisoners. Twenty-five thousand Russian prisoners are still held in French concentration camps and jails and in African and Balkan camps. The majority of those detained are workers and peasants eager to return home. All suffer extremely severe hardships. The Russian Government categorically protests against the violence committed on Russian citizens despite treaty obligations and demands that the French Government fulfill the obligations which it assumed. Further detention of Russians in France will compel the Russian Government to retaliate.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

"WHITES" IN WHITE RUSSIA

The reference is to geographical "White Russia" (sometimes called "White Ruthenia"), not to "White," as opposed to "Red."

Moscow, April 5.—The Polish papers are giving support to anti-Soviet White Russian intriguers and conspirators in their machinations against the Soviet White Russian Government and against Soviet Russia. The Polish papers print a declaration to the Entente powers allegedly coming from representatives of the White Russian people. This declaration claims to have 35,000 signatures. In reality these are a small body of rich land-owners who have been expropriated by the Soviet Government of White Russia and this is the source of this declaration. The working masses of White Russia are firmly supporting their White Russian Soviet Government and are ready to fight and to give their whole strength against any attempts of White Guards, land-owners and capitalists to deprive them of their revolutionary conquests. But the capitalists and land-owners continue their machinations, and it is these elements, and these only, which are sending declarations to the Entente and enjoying the help of Polish authorities and press in their activities. Through the Polish press this declaration of an insignificant body is being spread and receives undeserved notoriety. In reality these remnants of the old ruling class of White Russia have no importance at all.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

Next Week's

Soviet Russia

will be a special educational issue. Besides the articles, several official Soviet posters urging the people to read and study will be reproduced.

Sergei Oldenburg, the famous Orientalist, contributes an article on THE RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

In another article PROPAGANDA FOR PRODUCTION AMONG THE WORKERS is discussed.

THE SOVIET CALENDAR FOR 1920 is reprinted in this issue. It is a complete chronology of military, economic and political events relating to Soviet Russia during the year 1920.

Be sure to get the issue dated May 6, containing all this valuable material.

FOREIGN TRADE ITEMS

Moscow, April 5.—The Commissariat for Foreign Trade has announced that it has ready for immediate export 1,500,000 poods of flax, 600,000 poods of hemp, 7,000,000 fur skins, 27,000,000 poods of naphtha products and large quantities of farm produce. Shipping of these commodities is provisionally fixed via Reval and Riga, where considerable quantities of merchandise have already been stored.

Newspapers in Odessa have published the text of an agreement concluded between the representatives of the All-Ukrainian Cooperative Union and representatives of the Rumanian Central Commercial Bureau of the Cooperative Societies. The agreement, which is signed on behalf of all the cooperative bodies of both countries, provides for the mutual supply and exchange of raw materials and manufactured goods and for reciprocal aid in securing transportation from other countries for goods consigned to the contracting parties. The agreement runs for one year with an automatic extension for another year. Delegates of the Ukrainian Cooperatives have returned to Odessa from Bulgaria where they purchased large quantities of seeds for the cooperative farmers in Soviet Ukraine.

In an interview with a correspondent of Rosta Yoffe, the Russian delegate to the Russo-Polish peace negotiations, commented upon the considerable softening of Polish aggressiveness because of Poland's present economic and financial straits. The chairman of the Polish peace delegation declared that Poland pursues an independent policy and does not desire to be a barrier between the East and the West, but rather to be a bridge between them. Poland is offering textiles from Lodz and agricultural implements for Soviet Russia. Yoffe pointed out, however, that Poland was less important to Soviet Russia for direct trade than as a route of transit for foreign goods.

The Azerbaijan Government has informed the Turkish Government that, with a Soviet regime in Georgia, Azerbaijan can now manifest its sympathies for the Turkish people in material aid. The first train-load of petroleum has already been dispatched from Baku to Kars.

Navigation opened the second week in April between Odessa and Nikolayev. Ships will also proceed to Novorossiysk for petroleum, as well as to other Russian ports and to Georgia and Turkey.

LOCOMOTIVES PURCHASED IN GERMANY

Stockholm, March 31.—An order for six hundred locomotives for Soviet Russia has been placed in Germany by Professor George Lomonossov, the head of the Soviet Government Railway Purchasing Mission here. The terms offered by the German manufacturers for these locomotives are exceptionally low and delivery of the entire order is to be completed within one year.

TRADE WITH SWEDEN

Members of the Soviet delegation report that the attitude of the Swedish Government and of Swedish business interests is most favorable. In addition to the Railway Purchasing Mission, there is now in Stockholm an official Soviet Russian Trade Delegation, headed by Platon Mikhailovich Kerzhentsev. On March 30 the Swedish Government sent a Trade Commission to Moscow, composed of several specialists in various branches of commerce.

PETROLEUM

Moscow, April 5.—The new petroleum borings along the banks of the Volga in the province of Kazan, begun in February, are already yielding large quantities of oil. It is expected that these new sources will fully supply all the needs of the immense Volga region.

A message from Tashkent reports that large quantities of petroleum are being obtained from the oil wells in the Turkestan Republic. One week in March yielded 17,000 poods.

A large flotilla of oil boats is being equipped in the Dnieper region for the distribution of petroleum products to the provinces of Yekaterinoslav, Kiev, Gomel, Chernigov. A message from Kiev reported that navigation opened on the Dnieper before April 1. —*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

COAL OUTPUT FOR JANUARY

The total output of coal in all districts of Soviet Russia for the month of January was 39,500,000 poods as against the contemplated 44,200,000 poods, thus about 90 per cent of the contemplated amount was carried out.

The output of coal according to the various districts is as follows:

	Contemplated	Output	Despatched
Urals	5,800,000	6,310,000	5,034,000
Siberia	8,500,000	6,372,000	4,718,000
Vorovichy	181,000	160,000	133,000
Moscow District	4,105,000	3,611,000	1,951,000
Don Basin	26,000,000	23,000,000	12,000,000

Total 44,586,000 39,453,000 12,000,000

Of all the coal districts only the Urals exceeded the contemplated amount and that by almost 20 per cent.

SOVIET UKRAINE ADOPTS NEW TAX

Moscow, April 1.—Soviet Ukraine, following the example of Soviet Russia, has decreed the abolition of the food levy and has introduced a moderate food tax in kind, permitting the peasantry to dispose of their surplus products by trading in the local markets. A message from Kharkov reports that the All-Ukrainian Executive Committee has approved measures for providing facilities for the peasants to exchange their surplus products after the payment of the new food tax which is much below the former levy.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

THE TREATY WITH POLAND

The following outline of the paragraphs included in the Treaty recently ratified with Poland is communicated in a Warsaw telegram of March 19.

1. Establishes the end of hostilities between the two countries.

2. Recognizes the independence of Ukraine and White Russia and establishes the boundaries between the two states and Poland. Both parties undertake to withdraw their troops from the territory which is not allotted to them in 14 days.

3. Russia and Ukraine renounce all claims to the territory lying west of the boundaries which have been agreed to and Poland similarly renounces all claims to territory lying east of this frontier.

The territorial questions between Poland and Lithuania are a matter for these lands to settle.

4. Poland assumes no responsibilities because of its previously belonging to the Russian Empire, except those laid down in this treaty.

5. Each party promises not to interfere in the interior policy of the other, to abstain from all propaganda, and not to support any armed attacks against the other.

6. Deals with the option rights of those subjects of each country living in the other country.

7. Guarantees the rights of the minorities in each country.

8. Both parties renounce all claims to costs of the war or to claims for indemnification.

9. Confirms the agreement already drawn up regarding prisoners.

10. Amnesty for all political prisoners.

11. Restoration of all archives and trophies which were removed from Poland before 1914.

12. The division of the former Tsarist property. All property on Polish territory is given to Poland.

13. The payment of 30 million gold roubles to Poland.

14. Division of railway material.

15. Russia and Ukraine undertake to restore to Polish subjects the property which was held by them in Russian financial institutions which were dissolved by Russia.

16. Deals with the property of scientific and religious organizations in the same way.

17. Conditions of the payment to Poland of those parts of the property of the former Russian government which are to be paid.

18. Creates a mixed commission for the carrying out of these conditions.

19. Poland is not obliged to pay any of the state debts.

20. Poland receives the rights of the most favored nation.

21. Negotiations regarding resumption of trade, postal relations, railway communication, etc., are to begin six weeks after ratification of the treaty.

22. Deals with the question of transit.

23. All conditions for Poland hold good for all territory west of the new boundary which formerly belonged to the old Russian Empire.

24. or 25. Exchange of ratifications is to take place in 45 days.

The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia

In response to repeated demands, a fourth edition of this popular booklet is now being printed. Copies will be ready for delivery about May 5th. This booklet gives the full official text of Soviet labor laws. Supplement by S. Kaplun of the Commissariat of Labor on "THE PROTECTION OF LABOR." Sent postpaid for 25 cents.

The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia

An 85 page booklet, contains the complete text of the laws adopted by the Russian Soviet Republic regulating Civil Status, Marriage, Divorce, Domestic Relations, Rights of Children, etc. Price 25 cents, postpaid.

Order *both* booklets; they are indispensable for a thorough understanding of Russian conditions. Address

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New York, N. Y.

BOOKS IN RUSSIA

SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Journal of Information

Ten Cents

Saturday, May 7, 1921

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Subscription Rate, \$5.00 per annum. Application for entry as second class matter pending. Changes of address should reach the office a week before the changes are to be made.

Book Posters From Soviet Russia

... Done in red and black, a dark figure gesticulating from a huge cubic platform, above him a gigantic book with the words, "a book is nothing else but a man speaking in public"; below, waves of revolutionary listeners, and behind them, spare imperious buildings, a smoky sky. There is about this picture something windy, massive, and imperishable that makes one look at it again and again. — R. L., in the *New Republic*, May 4, 1921.

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КАЖИ МНЕ, КАКИЕ КНИГИ
ТЫ ЧИТАЕШЬ, И Я СКАЖУ,
КТО ТЫ.

КНИГА, ЭТО СОСУД,
КОТОРЫЙ НАС НАПОЛНЯЕТ,
НО САМ НЕ СТАНОВИТСЯ
ПУСТЫМ.

Translation of the above poster: Tell me what books you read, and I will tell you who you are.
—The book is a vessel that makes us full without itself becoming empty.

The Russian Academy of Sciences

By PROFESSOR SERCEY OLDENBURG

(The prominent Orientalist who is the author of the following article has been living in Petrograd throughout the period of the Revolution, working on the "Universal Literature Series" and reading for Grzhebin's Publishing House. Recently Grzhebin published Oldenburg's "Indian Legends" in Berlin.)

ONLY a short time ago I had occasion to learn how far the nations of Europe have been separated from each other, in spite of their geographical proximity. A letter has reached me from Switzerland, from which I gather that scholars in that country assume that "the famous Russian Academy of Sciences has been destroyed, and our museums and libraries wiped out."—And yet the Academy has succeeded in recent months in gathering six hundred scholarly workers, who are engaged in work in laboratories, museums, libraries, and the numerous investigating commissions of the Academy. As is well known, one of the most serious obstacles with which the man of learning must struggle in Russia is the almost absolute impossibility of printing scholarly works. It was only as a result of the greatest efforts and exertions that the Academy, associated with its most important commission, the "Commission for the Investigation of the Natural Productive Powers of Russia," succeeded in having about 500 sheets—in other words, about 8000 printed pages—of learned productions turned out in 1920. The question of printing scholarly works is actually the first one that must be taken up, as there are in the Academy of Sciences about 4000 manuscript

sheets ready for the press, without any prospect of their being printed. The Academy has already approached the Council of People's Commissars with a memorandum on this subject, and special attention is being paid to it. Of our editions, special mention is deserved by a number of publications of the great work, *The Natural Productive Powers of Russia*, which affords a complete review of all the available materials, a summary that is of particular importance in our day, since there is an urgent need of such a general view of our natural forces of production, which constitute our economic basis.

Other publications that should be mentioned are: *The Annals of Russian History*, a work of the Academician Shakhmatov completed in 1920; *The Historical Beginnings of the Russian Race*; *The Communications of the Academy*, containing a series of articles on the most varied questions, chiefly in mathematics and the natural sciences.

We must in this connection point out a very important tendency of present day Russian scientific work—and I can speak only of the Russian work, which is known to me, while I assume, however, that analogous tendencies are apparent in western countries also. We are at present occupied

in summing up in all fields what has already been accomplished, in expounding the existing scientific hypotheses and indicating the limits of scientific investigation. This is a matter of prime necessity in the interest of economy and organization of scientific work. For a number of years a definite crisis has been apparent in science, which has made clear the necessity of entering on new paths at any cost; we have been accumulating materials in great quantities without being in any way convinced that this accumulation was a useful one, or that all the really valuable data were thus being accumulated. Simultaneously, we have been aware of the insufficiency of our modes of work as well as the defects in its organization.

Then suddenly came the war, involving a great decrease in the possibility of gathering new materials, and of course compelling a concentration of attention on the work of theoretical investigation, thus calling forth demands for general views of the most comprehensive kind.

Publications of the Academy

We have already mentioned as an example the great collection of the Academy's Commission: *The Natural Productive Forces of Russia*, and must now mention a second enterprise of the same Academic Commission, in which the latter is supported by another commission of the Academy, "The Commission for the Study of the Racial Constitution of the Russian Population," for which the Supreme Council of National Economy has appropriated the proper sums.

The publication of a description of Russia as divided into geographical regions is now being prepared under the editorship of the Academician Fersman. The principles underlying the division into regions are not only geographical but also of economic nature. This description is a very versatile one, beginning with a geographical picture of the regions in question, and proceeding to a presentation of the inorganic and organic conditions in each region, finally concluding with man and the products of his activity. About one hundred folio sheets are ready for the press, and negotiations are now being made to take up the printing of the whole work, together with a number of pictures and maps.

The same Commission is undertaking the first edition of the new collection, *The Wealth of Russia*.

The above mentioned Academic Commissions, particularly the former, have gathered a great number of collaborators and are in addition working in cooperation with the Geographical Society, which is preparing a great *Geographical Gazetteer of Russia*, as well as with the Geographical Institute, which is preparing a very detailed and comprehensive description of the province of Petrograd, and with the Academy for the History of Material Civilization, which is undertaking a series of ethnological works and excavations.

In addition to the great undertakings above men-

tioned, which are being conducted by the Academy, there are also to be recorded: *The Fauna of Russia*, a work being issued with the most active cooperation of the Zoological Museum. Of this about twenty volumes have already appeared, and it is much to be regretted that the disorganization of the printing facilities is preventing a regular progress in the publication of this extremely important collection. The same disadvantage attends another publication of the Academy, *The Flora of Siberia*, of which but a single volume was issued during the past year; although in this case as well as in that of the *Fauna* a great amount of material is also ready for the press.

The Academy's Museums, which are deprived by the conditions of the present era of the possibility of sending out any expeditions, are now engaged in the task, which is of supreme importance for any Museum, of cataloguing and studying their collections.

The very wide and varied activity of the Academy can of course not be discussed exhaustively in a short newspaper article; may I point out that each year a purely objective statement of the labor of the Academy and of its institutions alone fills a volume of more than four hundred pages. It was my object here only to mention a few of the works being performed by the Academy and thus to prove that the Russian Academy of Sciences, of which Russia is rightly so proud, is now, after a brilliant history of nearly two centuries, not only not destroyed, but engaged in the most diligent and effective work.

The Duty to Produce

Of course the circumstances under which the Academy is working are not easy ones: no new books are coming in from Western Europe and such books are urgently necessary; there is a great lack of material for scientific work; very often research rooms are not heated in winter, as there is not sufficient electric current or gas available; and yet the work goes on, real, fruitful work, by no means such intensive work as it might become under better conditions, but nevertheless, I repeat, it is productive work. For those who have remained in Russia in order to work, believe both in Russian science as well as in the Russian people and in their own duty toward Russia and its great culture, in the duty to work as long as there is still energy in us, in work that is not a compulsion, but a matter of conscience.

There should be no interruption in the work of civilization, and we are firmly convinced that however difficult may be the lot of all the learned workers of Russia in view of the great and painful process through which the world is now passing, an interruption of their work will not ensue, and that we, the retiring old generation, will be able to transmit our labors to a young and hopeful generation of Russian scholars, as our bequest, with the injunction to work as long as there still is life!

The Intellectual in the Russia of Today

By MOISSAYE OLCIN

(The following, one of a series of brilliant articles on Soviet Russia from the pen of a writer who recently visited Russia, appearing in the Jewish daily, "Forward," of New York, is taken from the April 9 issue of that newspaper.)

RUSSIA has been passing through a fine school of experience. She has waged war for seven and a half years—first against foreign enemies and then on battle-fronts both within and without the country. The revolutionary cauldron has been boiling for four consecutive years. She has endured hunger and uprisings, experienced defeats and victories—and always blood, blood, blood.

What has become of the people, then?

I know that this is not an easy question to answer. People are not alike. Their souls are hidden. Once there was literature, and literature painted souls. Today there is practically no literature. The little there is does not paint a picture. And people's moods change rapidly. And one is not today what he was yesterday.

What to do, then? I shall write down my impressions. I have seen many people, and conversed with many as with friends. I think I have obtained a general view. I may be mistaken, but I believe not.

First the intellectual. The intellectual has lost his glory. It is terrible to see how people can fall suddenly from their height. What was it that was beautiful in the Russian intellectual? First, the play of feeling, second, the revolutionary tendency, third, intellectual creation, fourth, the seeking for an answer to the riddles of life. Alas, what has become of all this beauty! The intellectual now wears a peasants' coat, thick felt boots, a soldier's cap, and it seems that together with his fine clothes he has lost his finest feelings. And again: can one dream of love when one has an empty stomach? Can one admire Nature when fear is gnawing at one's heart? Can one weave a web of the finest dreams and desires when the only thing that matters is the question of rations? The intellectual no longer possesses that vari-colored gamut of rich and tender and deep and soft and gentle human feelings that speak to us in Chekhov's tales, in Bunin's dreamy idylls, in Sologub's lyrics, in Zaitsev's sketches. Poor has become the intellectual. Gray has become the intellectual.

You will say: *like time, like feelings*. A harp is out of place in the noise of a storm. One does not play the cello to the march of soldiers. But near sounds a trumpet in the music of the storm, and amidst the alarms of war new strong impetuous feelings can bloom. There was peace, and then came a volcanic upheaval. There were feelings in half-tones, now there must be hardened souls. Thus you will speak—and you will be right. But unfortunately the intellectual has turned away from the new. He has not recognized the revolution. He has cursed its ways and its hopes. He has turned his back upon the course of history, and

only hunger has driven him to fit himself into the present order. But in his heart he is hostile to it. In his heart he is a stranger. It is not even hate. Hate is strong. Hate has color. The intellectual can only complain and grumble to himself. His heart is full of petty complaints. He sulks. Not for him the bright red fires.

What is there left for him? Creative work in the sphere of science? Here also the new is in the way. Scores of professors, hundreds of writers, have worked for years in history, sociology, political economy—and their theories have shown absolutely that what is now taking place in Russia is impossible. And yet it is taking place. It is glaringly apparent. Still more: it commands, it rules. To continue scientific work is difficult. To change one's theories is still more difficult. One hangs as between heaven and earth. The sphere of natural science remains neutral, but the poverty of the country prevents the doing of scientific work.

And as for seeking an answer to the riddles of life, this has now lost all meaning. It is all right at a time when life has a form and a fixed direction. Now life changes its face every day. What is the use of touching its surface with the soft pen of philosophic commentary, when here they are digging at it with spades, and the sound is heard of hammers and axes?

The intellectual is bankrupt. He is one fallen from high estates. His soul is a waste place, covered with dust and dirt. What does the intellectual want? What are his visions? If he were honest with himself he would confess that he wants to go *back*. If you converse with him he will tell you that he is not a reactionary. But what is progressive and what is reactionary is not now clear to him. He has no program. He can show you no course of action.

When you look at the intellectuals, they all seem to be going about with bowed heads. In the morning they drag themselves to the schools, universities, hospitals, government offices, military institutions. At four o'clock they return home. They eat their good dinner of soup and gruel, they read the Soviet newspaper, they perform their household chores: chop wood, bring up water from the yard, take down the dirty water in buckets (water pipes and sewers are not working), procure their rations, perhaps buy something illegally. Meanwhile it is getting late. The electric light glimmers faintly. It is cold in the house. One's heart is sad. One does not read, one does not dream, one does not love, as once upon a time.

The intellectual sits and recalls the days of his glory. His dissatisfaction increases. His position appears to him worse than it is. He thinks that

"they", the present rulers, are responsible for everything. He forgets the war and the blockade and all the misfortunes. He must have a scapegoat. He *must* have somebody to grumble at. The favorite theme now among the Russian intellectuals is the dishonesty of the commissars. Just as if things would be very different if the commissars were all angels.

Deep in his heart the intellectual feels another pain. He has been robbed of his primogeniture. He has been deprived of his leadership. For scores of years he believed that history had singled him out to be the leader of the masses. And the masses came and pushed him aside. He is ordered about by a person who has studied little and brooded little, who commands rudely, without refinement. The son of the masses says to the intellectual, openly, to his face: "You, brother, teach me what you know, and I will be able to get rid of you forever. I need your knowledge, in order to build up my life, but you yourself I do not need at all." The intellectual broods about this. It hurts like a wound.

A mood of depression prevails at all the intellectual meetings, discussions, lectures. Consider the students, for example. Youth is carefree. Youth can endure physical discomfort more easily. One would think that the students now are living people. Were not the students in Russia always very active? They played a leading progressive and revolutionary role among the Russian intellectuals. Observe the students now—they are old men of twenty years, without a divine spark, without a dream which warms the soul. They are so practical. Such calculating petty bourgeois. There is no difference between the father of the intellectual and the son. Remarkable! The students do not even want to know about politics. They do not want even to hear of the great problems their country is facing. Better students have complained in my presence that in the matter of political ideas the great mass of the students are far inferior to the average worker. What do they do? They study because they must take examinations. They study because they must become "specialists." And of course there is no soul in this study.

Surely they, the students, ought not to complain. Most of the students receive rations and quarters from the state—and all that is required of them is to study. It is true that the rations will not make you fat, you must yourself heat and clean your own rooms. But all Russia lives thus—everyone is glad to have food and lodging. And when have the Russian students lived like counts? Formerly, 85 per cent. of the Russian students had nothing to live on, and were supremely happy to give lessons or do clerical work for 15 rubles a month. It is interesting that *previously* they did not complain about anybody, and now they complain constantly.

This is one of the most remarkable psychological phenomena in the Russia of today. If tomorrow a Denikin or some other devil entered Moscow and introduced a bourgeois order of things, this same

student would lose his ration and run about breathless, looking for a small job to do, but he would not blame anybody for his poverty. That is just his luck, he would think. But if the day after tomorrow the soviet regime should return, together with his ration, he would again begin to grumble. This was seen at Minsk, where the power passed over from the Soviets to the Poles, and then again to the Soviets. This was seen at Kiev and Kharkov, where the power changed hands frequently. It merely shows that the population demands more of the Soviet regime than of another regime.—Even the intelligentsia, who do not want to lend the Soviet regime a hand at a most critical time, demand more.

The intellectual masses in general create the impression that they are people of yesterday. They all do something—the physicians treat the sick, the engineers work at the factories, the jurists busy themselves with new laws, teachers instruct their pupils, writers look for somebody to print their things: they hold meetings, give public lectures, make protests,—but everything is anaemic and of yesterday. Yesterday's books, yesterday's thoughts, yesterday's problems, yesterday's ideals. Today is a step-child.

What is the Russian intellectual? Life's outcast. He is not sure of the ground under his feet. He is not sure of himself. It is needless to say that he is not beautiful. People of yesterday are never beautiful.

There is something lowly about perpetual complaint. If you are dissatisfied, fight, die, if you must! Otherwise, clench your teeth and keep still. That is dignified. To sit and gossip and dig up all your enemy's petty sins, and then come to that same enemy and serve him as a "specialist", and do the work like an unfaithful servant—that is unworthy. The Russian intelligentsia are no longer made in God's image.

And when their enemies come and reproach them with the words "petty bourgeois", and say that they have lost their sense of life, that they have not felt the pulse of history, that they hinder the development of the new—one cannot blame them. These enemies are also so-called intellectuals, a mere handful of intellectuals who have allied themselves with the new and helped to create the new. They are altogether different types.

Of them we shall speak later.

LOOK ON THE WRAPPER

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Propaganda for Production Among the Workers

(The following unsigned article, taken from the March 15 issue of the "Russian Press Review," emphasizes again the matter of propaganda for work rather than for mere theoretical grasp of the political struggle, which is the main point also of Lenin's article "Political Education in Soviet Russia," which appeared in last week's issue.)

THE November Revolution brought about a complete change in the social relations of Russia. The outstanding fact is that the proletariat in Russia, from an oppressed class has become the ruling class. It has taken the Russian proletariat three years of intense struggle and constructive activity to become master of the means of production. Its task now is to master production itself. The proletariat has now become a class which is organizing production not only in its own interest but in the interest of the whole of humanity.

An extensive propaganda is being developed at the present time in this direction. The propaganda formerly carried on had a different aim; it was an agitation to educate the individual worker to class consciousness, to transform individuals into a collective body, into a class, knowing against whom it has to fight, what methods to employ in the struggle and which direction to take. The Russian proletariat was prompted to seize the means of production either by the psychology of a revolting slave, or that of a rebel inspired by hatred and vengeance, but it never had the spirit of master or creator. This spirit can be raised in the first place by actual changes of the conditions of life, and secondly under the gradual influence of a systematic, organized propaganda. Industrial agitation and propaganda are destined to yield tremendous results. It must be remembered that the militant spirit with which the proletariat is imbued was not created in a day: it is the outcome of many decades. Nor is the psychology of proprietor or master formed immediately, it is bound to take a certain period of time, during which the creative work of such various organizations as party, unions, economic organs, clubs, etc., will have had its effect.

A great deal of attention is being paid to industrial propaganda in Soviet Russia. The first attempt in this direction was made by various organizations in 1920.

The results obtained were quite imposing, and with the inauguration of the All-Russian Industrial Propaganda Bureau it fully attained a systematic character. A few months of persistent work of the Bureau proved most productive in that it provided experience which later on formed the body of a plan for the carrying out of industrial propaganda. Already a great deal has been achieved in the actual realization of this plan.

So far the most important thing has been the organization for active work of a large number of so-called "industrial committees." The task of these committees is, in the words of Comrade Lenin, to "instill the working masses with the consciousness of the necessity to increase production, to help them

to set up a labor front and to make it their irrevocable aim to win at all costs." This is the first task of the "Industrial Committees." The second task is to interest the working masses in and attract them to production and thus raise the productivity of labor; to give the workers a communist education in order that they obtain a clear idea of the system of administration of our industry; to afford the proletariat all the technical knowledge it requires; to train the necessary engineers and technicians in order to enable them to effect a scientific and systematic division of labor at factories and works, etc.; to establish a labor ethics not only with regard to labor and production but also in economy, development and inventiveness of the working class, to make the worker feel that he is master of production."

The activity of these industrial committees has now taken a definite form tested by experience. To begin with the Committee discusses the reports submitted by the Factory Administration. General meetings are called where the task with which the enterprise has to deal is presented to the workers who are to take an intelligent interest in their execution. The Industrial Committee appoints other necessary committees, such for instance as a workshop committee which is to deal with all workshop defects, a committee for the establishment of an exemplary group of workers, or a commission dealing with the question of the economic utilization of material or of fuel, and similar temporary commissions to be elected by the workers themselves. In this manner the entire mass of the workers is involved in administration, and the whole factory may be said to become a group or section of an entire industrial system.

The new form of Subbotniks* which are intended to act in the same direction also form an important practical method. The idea of the new form of Subbotnik is that it is devoted to the training of less skilled workers by the more skilled and also in the perfection of various processes of work, and so forth. Another point is that the Subbotnik is set aside as a day to visit the workshops in order that the workers form a clear idea of the work in the entire factory. The Subbotnik is also devoted to the ordinary needs of the workers, such as for instance, the installation of wash-stands and baths, cupboards for provisions, etc., and other work in connection with the improvement of the working and general conditions of life. On special occasions Subbotniks are called to clear snow drifts and so forth.

The workers also carry out all measures in con-

*"Saturdayings" (unpaid voluntary work performed on Saturday afternoons by Communists).

nection with laws for the Protection of Labor, inspection of sanitary condition of workshops and homes, etc. This is considered as a method of actual propaganda, in which connection we may also mention the method of practical experience. This consists first of all in that experienced workers teach the others how to work. The training is also undertaken of those who express a wish to work at model machines. Then there is what is called "flying inspection," which has shown good results in combating shirking and absences, and has assisted in maintaining efficiency of production. The aim of these inspections is to control the working lists, to see whether all those who are on the lists have turned up to work, and so on. These flying inspections are in no way looked upon by the workers as a kind of whip; they are organized by the workers themselves who elect their own comrades for these commissions. In cases of dereliction from duty the matter is brought up and discussed at the general meeting of workers which decides what is to be done. On the whole it must be said that the flying inspections have given splendid results.

Emulation propaganda is part of this method. The aim of this propaganda is to rouse a spirit of emulation in the workers and to inspire them with a desire to invent something new and original. A number of various questions arise in this connection; for instance, how to increase the output, how to improve quality, how to reduce time required for production, how to reduce cost of production, how to ameliorate conditions of work, how to save material, how to save labor and so on. These are all questions which are a stimulus to the workers to do their best in this direction. A special box is hung up in which the workers put all their suggestions and proposals which are subsequently discussed by a combined labor commission and measures are taken to put all useful suggestions into practice. All accepted suggestions are rewarded in accordance with decisions of the workers themselves.

Another form of emulation is competition and the contrasting of similar tasks, when each worker strives to display his efficiency and skill before his fellow-workers.

In the industrial centers there are very often cases where the workers of one factory or mill enter into mutual arrangements with the workers of other enterprises in order to become acquainted with their products, the conditions of labor, etc. In some districts the workers invite the peasant councils to their enterprises. This is highly characteristic if we but recall the former isolation of the urban proletariat from the country.

Then there are anniversaries and holidays. This method is applied in honor of those comrades who are working at one factory during some tens of years and of those comrades who have made some really useful and interesting invention. The anniversary of the administration is likewise celebrated.

An important part is played by the use of control stamps on the goods. Up till now the indi-

vidual worker did not have any feeling of responsibility for the work accomplished by him. Now, by the introduction of the control stamps this has been fully attained; at the same time the workers receive the possibility of learning the destination of their goods.

Another form of propaganda is the "Red Roll of Honor." This is hung up in the club of the establishment and any worker who has distinguished himself at his work in one way or another has his name inscribed upon it.

Finally, apart from the various educational methods of industrial propaganda, the method of personal statements should be mentioned. Question forms are issued to the workers, with a question like: Are you satisfied with your work? If not, what do you wish to do? If you desire to do other work, how would you do it? And so on. This form enables one to ascertain the abilities and desire of people to occupy one or another post, to do one or another kind of work. If the reply is serious, a special commission sees that the desire of the worker is fulfilled, and sometimes the latter proves to be very useful on his new post.

Having taken root in the factories and works, industrial propaganda is beginning to be applied to agriculture. The All-Russian Bureau has outlined the plan of work in this sphere and the role of the trade unions in the task of industrial propaganda in the villages, in the following manner:

The Soviet farms are attached to a given factory, works, or mill and serve as a basis in the sphere of industrial propaganda amongst the surrounding farming population. In so far as the peasantry stand in need of repairs for their farming stock, the factories and works, to which the Soviet farms are attached, organize Repair Detachments. The best workers, having a certain professional and administrative experience, go through a short course and are then despatched to the local Land Departments for work in the Soviet farms. During the harvest period, when there is a lack of labor power, the trade unions will organize and send out special harvesting detachments, as they did formerly, but this time in a more systematized manner.

The factory refuse is gathered by the trade unions and transferred to the peasants' fields. Many other steps are likewise taken to help the peasantry.

Such, in brief is an outline of the measures in the sphere of industrial propaganda in the villages, a plan which will lead to close fellowship between the urban workers and the peasantry.

VALUABLE DATA ABOUT RUSSIA

is contained in Volume III of SOVIET RUSSIA. This volume covers the last six months of 1920, during which the trade agreement with England was negotiated. There are 652 pages of text, maps, and illustrations. Cloth bound. Price \$5.00, postpaid.

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 West 40th St.,

New York, N. Y.

A Proclamation to the Peasants

(The following is the document that proclaimed to the peasantry the recent alteration in the mode of gathering grain from the rural population.)

THE war which the Soviet power has been carrying on for several years against the Tsarist generals, the Russian landowners and the foreign capitalists, has ended in victory for the workers and peasants. In this war, thanks to the heroism of the Red army, we saved the peasants' land from seizure by the landowners, and prevented the recovery of the factories and mills by the manufacturers. We did not allow the foreign bourgeois governments to rob Russia of her achievements and her wealth. The war entailed great expense and demanded enormous sacrifices from the workers and peasants. Especially severe for the peasants was the levy on agricultural products which the Soviet power was obliged to impose in order to supply the workers' army of many million troops, the railroad workers, and the industrial establishments that were taken over. The Soviet power was well aware that the levy was an undesirable burden, and unfavorable for the development of rural economy. But it put the levy into operation knowing that the laboring peasants would prefer the burden of a levy imposed by the Soviet power, to the removal of the levy, the victory of the landowners, the loss of their land, the destruction of the Red Army.

Now the first attack of the capitalists and landowners on Soviet Russia has been repulsed; Russia has defended in the war her independence of foreign capital; she has herself become a powerful state, and has begun to treat with other powers as an equal; mighty England has concluded a commercial treaty with us; we are able to release half of the Red army for peaceful work; we are able through foreign trade to obtain products for the government in exchange for part of our surplus production—now, with all this, is the time to diminish the peasants' burden, and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars are about to remove the levy and substitute a tax in kind.

The amount of this tax should be less than the fixed levy. It ought to be established before the Spring sowing in order that every peasant may calculate in advance what part of his harvest he is to give to the government, and how much will remain entirely at his disposal. The tax should be adopted without a reciprocal bond, i. e., it should be imposed upon individual farmers, in order that the diligent, industrious farmer may not be made to suffer for the delinquency of other farmers.

When the tax has been collected, the surplus left him remains entirely at his disposal. He has the right to exchange it for products secured abroad by the government, and from the factories and mills. Co-operatives, local markets and bazaars will be employed in the exchange of necessary products. In addition, the Soviet power is

obliged to furnish necessary commodities to the very poor elements of the population, which will have no surplus for exchange.

The abolition of the corn levy and the substitution of a tax is a great aid to the peasant population, and will, moreover, unite the workers and peasants, upon whose union depends the whole success of the revolution. *But the peasants must remember that this measure is only temporary. It is forced upon us by terrible need, and is only a heritage of the unsettled state of foreign trade. Owing to this the Soviet power is obliged to take part of the products of rural economy in the form of a tax, without giving compensation. But with the sound establishment of our industry, upon the success of which depends the fate of peasant economy, and in the measure that the importation of foreign products is developed, the tax in kind will be diminished. In the future organization of socialist economy we shall reach a point at which for every pood taken from the peasant we will give some commodity of equal value to the peasant.*

The time of the Spring sowing is drawing near, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars calls upon the land owners of Russia to bend every effort to leave not one dessiatin of soil unsown. Every peasant should know and remember that the greater the area he sows the greater will be the surplus of grain remaining at his disposal. But the peasant should remember also that if the Soviet power is able to lighten his burden it is owing to the fact that the heroic Red army has dispersed the enemies of the workers and shown all the world the firmness of the government of the workers and peasants. If a split should take place between the workers, the peasants and the many nationalities included in our great union of toil, or if foreign powers should decide to cancel their treaties with us, sever trade relations, and begin a new war in order to recover the lost wealth of their landowners and capitalists and make Russia a prey to their rapacity, we should again have to adopt the old measures.

Long live our valiant Red army! Long live the unshakable union of workers and peasants! Long live the power of the workers and peasants! Long live labor, delivered from the power of the landowners and capitalists!

This proclamation should be read in every town, village, station, factory, shop and Red army division in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Kalinin; President of the Soviet of People's Commissars, V. Lenin-Ulianov; Secretary Yenukidse; Members: Kamenev, Tomsky, Stalin, G. Petrov, N. Vladimirov, Kutuzov, V. Rykov.

Smidovich, Galitsky; People's Commissar for Army and Navy, Trotsky; People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, Dzierzynski, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin; People's Commissar for Supplies, Tsurupa; People's Commissar of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Dadin; President of the All-Russian Council of National Economy, Rykov; People's Commissar of Finance, Krestinsky; People's Commissar of Health, Semashko; for the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, Ossinsky; People's Commissar for Transportation, Yemshanov; People's Commissar of Justice, Kursky; People's Commissar for Public Welfare, Vinokurov; People's Commissar for Foreign Commerce, Lezhava; People's Commissar for Post and Telegraph, Lyubovich; People's Commissar Schmidt.

Pravda, March 23, 1921.

AN INNOVATION

In order to relieve the immediate food crisis in the towns and in some of the country districts which suffered from last year's bad harvest, the Council of Labor and Defence had assigned ten million roubles in gold for the purchase of goods abroad.

Representatives of the trade unions are to be included among the members of the delegations going abroad for the intended purchase of goods. Thus, the Soviet Government is giving this affair into the hands of the laboring masses themselves. The fact that the representatives of the workers are among the members of the delegation is likely to create a business connection between the Russian working class and the foreign laboring masses and to ensure our delegations the support and help of the latter, in the speedy execution of the task conferred upon them.

The question is now being discussed in the Soviet press as to applying this decision even to peasantry. Comrade Svidersky, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food, in an article in the Moscow "*Pravda*" proposes that the raw material stored by the People's Commissariat for Food (10 million hides, 800,000 poods* of flax, 500,000 poods of hemp, and 400,000 poods of wool) should be sent abroad in exchange for food and articles of prime necessity for the peasants. Comrade Svidersky's opinion upon this question is that representatives of the non-party peasantry should be included among the members of the delegations to be sent abroad.

—*Russian Press Review*, March 15, 1921.

* Pood=36 lbs.

SOVIET RUSSIA will print another illustrated issue shortly. It will contain reproductions of photographs of important Soviet statesmen in Ukraine, in addition to a picture of a street demonstration with Lenin as the speaker and Trotsky as one of the spectators.

The Dark People

By BERNARD SEXTON

In the midnight of war
Came a terrible voice
Voice from the steppes
Voice from forgotten places.
Out of the fog of hate
Came the Dark People;
Unwashed
With frozen beards
And muddy boots.
They opened the doors where the soft men sat
(Washed men, clean men, soft-bellied men with
whitened hands)
Who looked up and saw
A Terror outside their law
Workman, Soldier, Sailor—
The Three
Through whom they kept a world unfree.

"The hour has struck for compromise"
(Fear in their eyes)
Said the soft ones.
We will make all straight
Let the People wait."

But the Three
Swept the papers from the table;
Opened the windows wide.
Three words they cried
Across the echoing world;
Words of the living, words of the dead—
Peace! Land! Bread!

To the soft ones
Waiting there
They cried a single word—
"Go!"

ASSISTANCE TO CHILDREN

The Soviet Government has recently been taking energetic measures for the improvement of the conditions of children in town and country. By an order of the Council of People's Commissars, a special commission was set up to go into this matter, composed of representatives of the Commissariat of Education, the Commissariat of Health, Commissariat for Food, and the Extraordinary Commission. Comrade Dzierzynski was appointed President. The Commission has already started work and the effects of its activity are already seen.

Thus, an order of the Council of the People's Commissars lays it down that all the food departments must establish a Food Fund for the supply of children in schools, homes, communes, colonies, and other children's institutions. The Commissariat for Food has been ordered to draw up instructions to its Local Departments within seven days. By April 1 the Commissariat for Food, and the Commissariat for Health must present a report to the Council of the People's Commissars on the manner in which these measures have been carried out and on the condition of children in town and country. —*Russian Press Review*, March 15, 1921.

Soviet Russia in the Near East

DASHNAKS OVERTHROWN IN ARMENIA

I.

Moscow, March 31.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has forwarded the following wireless message to Krassin, Soviet Russian Representative in England:

"Please inform the gentlemen who are interested in the fate of the hard tried Armenian people, and who last year applied to you for information on the Armenian question, that the bloody tyranny of the Dashnaks,* who have arrogated Erivan to themselves with the aid of French money and munitions, is coming to an end. The Armenian Communists have just taken possession of the heights surrounding Erivan, with great courage and great military vigor. The Armenian peasants hail with indescribable enthusiasm the return of the rule of the working class and the Soviet Government. All mouths are full of complaints of the cruelties of the hated Dashnaks, who subjected the working masses to the yoke of the bourgeoisie and aimed to strengthen the power of the latter. The whole mass of the peasants is celebrating the victorious advance of the Communists. Immense supplies of weapons and munitions have already been captured and in a few days there will be nothing remaining of the abominable tyranny of the Dashnak counter-revolution, which was hated by the working masses." (Signed) CHICHERIN.

II.

Moscow, April 5.—The Armenian Soviet Government issued the following manifesto on April 3:

"Today, through the efforts of the Armenian working masses, supported by detachments of Red troops, the sinister adventure of the Dashnaks has been brought to an end. The Dashnaks, with the support of the rich village usurers and numerous fugitives from Turkey, who have been separated from the life of their class for the last five years, before their political disappearance attempted to play the role of the lackeys of the Entente, and threw the unfortunate country, bleeding from so many wounds, into the abyss of new calamities. During the short period of their domination, the Dashnaks have brought Armenia to complete exhaustion and desperation. The Armenian peasants and workers have at last vanquished the hands of this small handful of adventurers and occupied the capital of Soviet Armenia, definitely hoisting the Red flag of labor over the city. The whole population of Erivan, with tears of joy in their eyes, solemnly welcomed the Red detachments that brought them liberation. The workers and peasants send their enthusiastic greeting to the Third International and to the leaders of the world revolution."

(Signed) *Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic,*
A. TABEKOV.

*Armenian Nationalists.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND BUKHARA

Moscow, April 8.—A message from Tashkent reports an interview given to the press by Mirza Mukhitdin Mansurov, the Chairman of the Extraordinary Mission from Bukhara to Soviet Russia, now returning home. He declared that both the preliminary negotiations and the final treaty had produced the most favorable impression upon all members of the mission, giving them the liveliest satisfaction. "We are all now convinced," he said, "that Soviet Russia seeks no territorial or material advantages and really aims to give the formerly oppressed nations a chance to exist. This is true, not only with respect to Bukhara, but for all oppressed nations."

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

NOTE TO THE RUMANIAN GOVERNMENT

Moscow, April 10.—The question of navigation on the Dniester and its Liman* has become extremely acute. Rumanian warships freely circulate there, but when the smallest Russian or Ukrainian craft, even those of simple fishermen and other little boats appear, they are fired upon and bombarded by the Rumanians. The situation is completely intolerable. An end must be put to this arbitrary action of the Rumanians. Soviet Russia and Ukraine, under the signatures of Chicherin and Rakovsky, have sent a note to Rumania demanding the immediate withdrawal of warships from the Dniester and its Liman and asking for the creation of a mixed commission in order to regulate navigation upon the Liman.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

*The *Limans* are shallow sounds or bays along the Russian Black Sea coast, at the mouths of large rivers, and separated from the Black Sea by sand-bars.

Next Week's

Soviet Russia

will be a special trade issue. In it will be discussed Russian trade with England, France and Norway, as well as trade within Russia—between the peasants and the city workers, as outlined in Lenin's recent speech, "The Tax in Kind."

THE PEACE TREATY WITH POLAND. Complete text, with a map showing the new frontier between Russia and Poland.

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY IN SOVIET RUSSIA. A new article by Lyubovich.

THE WORKER INTELLECTUAL. An article complementing THE OLD INTELLECTUAL, in this issue. By M. J. Olgin.

Mail to Russia

The Post Office Department announces the resumption of mail service from America to Russia. Post offices in the United States have been ordered to accept fully prepaid letters and postcards for transmission to Soviet Russia, Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan, and to the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia.

The announcement by the Post Office Department, which was received too late for publication in our last issue, reads as follows:

"Postmasters are hereby authorized to accept fully prepaid letters and post cards,* at the Postal Union rate of 5 cents for the first ounce or fraction of an ounce, and 3 cents for each additional ounce or fraction of an ounce, addressed to Russia in Europe (including Ukraine, Republic of Georgia and Azerbaijan) for dispatch to the New York Post Office and the inclusion there in the mails for London. Mail for Russia in Asia, except Vladivostok and Eastern Siberia (Far Russian Republic**) is subject to the same rate and likewise limited to letters and post cards.

"Mail for Vladivostok and Eastern Siberia (Far Russian Republic) will be accepted when it consists of letters, post cards, printed matter, samples of merchandise, and commercial papers conforming to the Postal Union postage rates, conditions, and classification, for dispatch to San Francisco, Calif., or Seattle, Wash., and inclusion there in mails prepared and dispatched to Vladivostok."

In view of this resumption of direct mail service from the United States to Soviet Russia, Dr. D. H. Dubrowsky, Representative of the People's Commissariat of Nationalities, 47 West 42nd Street, New York City, announces that his bureau will no longer accept letters for transmission to Russia. All letters received by that office to addresses to Russia will be returned to the senders.

We are informed by the Post Office authorities that letters for Russia may be addressed in English, French or Russian. To secure prompt transmission it is recommended that addresses should be written in both English and Russian.

DR. DUBROWSKY GOES TO RUSSIA

Dr. D. H. Dubrowsky, Representative in America of the All-Russian Jewish Public Committee, wishes to announce his departure for Russia, in connection with the affairs of the Committee. In his absence the office will be in charge of the Secretary of the Bureau, A. Bittelman, who has been fully authorized by Dr. Dubrowsky to take charge of all the affairs of the Bureau.

The funds held in America by the All-Russian Jewish Public Committee will be held by a Board of Trustees appointed by Dr. Dubrowsky, consisting of Charles Recht, Dr. M. Rovin and A. Bittelman.

*Post cards for Russia require two cents postage.

**The announcement of the Post Office doubtless refers to the Far Eastern Republic.—*Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA.*

Latest Cable News

The following cablegram from the Russian Telegraph Agency at Moscow has been received at the office of SOVIET RUSSIA:

Moscow, April 26.—The elections to the Moscow Soviet have been a veritable Communist triumph and a vindication of Soviet policy. The returns received up to April 24 show the election of 1668 deputies, of whom 1320 are Communists, 321 Non-Partisans supporting the Communist program, and only 25 of all other parties.

The Moscow women workers played an important part in the elections to the Soviet, returning Communists almost everywhere. About two hundred women deputies have been elected, including Mrs. Kollontai and Mrs. Krupskaya (Lenin's wife).

The Soviet elections at Kiev seated 1225 deputies, including 911 Communists, 301 Non-Partisans, and 13 representatives of other parties.

The closing session of the Conference of Non-Partisan workers, just concluded at Petrograd, resolved to support the Soviet Government and to cooperate with the Communist Party in the economic regeneration of the country. Before the conference closed the following message was read from Lenin who had been invited to address the meeting but was unable to attend:

"Comrades, I regret to be unable to accept your invitation to come to Petrograd to address the Conference of Non-Partisan workers. I greet your conference with all my soul. Just now, when the entire bourgeois world is conducting a campaign of calumny against Soviet Russia in an attempt to upset our foreign trade agreements, cooperation with the non-partisan masses and their help are of particular importance. The workers and peasants began to understand after the Kronstadt events that every shifting of power in Soviet Russia could only benefit the White Guards. Not without reason did the shrewd leaders of the bourgeoisie applaud the catchword of the Kronstadt uprising, 'Soviets without Bolsheviki.' In greeting your conference I beg to draw your attention to the necessity of attracting ever increasing numbers of non-partisan workers and peasants to the work of economic regeneration. A regional economic center has been established at Petrograd. Its work must be started with the utmost vigor. Through it the workers will obtain greater initiative. The non-partisans must get busy furnishing the necessary man-power. With fraternal greetings." The reading of this message was vociferously applauded by the conference.

A faculty of Social Science has been established at all Russian universities, with a department of economics, embracing the study of labor, industry, finance and administration, and a socio-pedagogical department for the study of every aspect of the problems of education.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street,  208 New York, N. Y.

This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

FOREIGNERS in Soviet Russia, it is reported in a Riga dispatch of April 25 (*New York Times*, April 26), are henceforth to be placed "in the same category as Russians with regard to mobilization for work," in accordance with "an official decree issued at Moscow by the Soviet Government." But the decree is said not to apply to diplomats in the service of foreign countries. There is nothing new or surprising about this bit of "news"; but it suggests a comparison between the treatment of foreigners in Soviet Russia, on the one hand, and in capitalist countries, on the other. Diplomats in the service of foreign countries are necessarily, under all systems of government, regarded as subject rather to the laws of their home country than those of the country to which they are assigned, and necessarily furnish an exception to the operation of law in their new homes. The treatment of diplomatic servants of foreign recognized governments, governments with whom the Soviet Government maintains relations, is the same as the treatment of such diplomatic servants in other countries. But, barring this exception, the foreigner in Soviet Russia has greater advantages for real living than in any other country. In the first place, if he is a worker, and expresses his readiness to work at his own trade or profession, or, should there be nothing available in his line, at such other occupation as is assigned to him by the Commissariat of Labor, he is immediately provided with employment under exactly the same circumstances as those governing the work of native citizens of Russia. His food category, while the present necessity to continue such categories persists, will be that of a Russian Soviet citizen doing the same work. His pay will be the same. And—most important of all—he is not punished for undeserved unemployment by being compelled to starve or consent to accept charity. For in Soviet Russia, all workers are the direct participants in the life of the state. When there is not work enough for all, those involuntarily out of work receive the same pay as those still at work, for as long a period as such involuntary unemployment may last. The right of the foreigner to become a full sharer of the advantages and duties involved in the Proletarian Dictatorship for all citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic is stated in the Constitution of the Republic;

his right not only to employment, but to receive pay when unemployed, is fixed by the Code of Labor Laws of the Republic; both were promulgated in 1918.

In capitalist countries, on the other hand, it cannot be said that the worker from abroad has anything like a position of equality with the native worker. The most rudimentary political rights are obtainable only after a number of formalities, one of the preceding conditions to which is a long residence in the new country. Inexperience in the customs of his new home, ignorance of its language, the disapproval of the "native sons," usually assign to the foreigner a poorer opportunity to work at a congenial task than is available to his native competitor. And the workers are competitors; they content themselves with the assignment to the fortunate ones among their number of whatever jobs may be available, and with the condemnation of those not employed to all the horrors, humiliations, and privations of the man who is out of work. For in no country in the world outside of Soviet Russia is it the right of every citizen to hold a job and to receive pay whether the job is forthcoming or not. The duty of foreigners to work in Soviet Russia is not the whole picture, therefore; it must always be completed with a statement of the foreigner's *rights to live*, to work without being exploited, to receive a livelihood whether there is work available for him or not.

SPEAKING with apparent seriousness at a session of the American Society of International Law, held at Washington, D. C., on April 24, Mr. Elihu Root, described in the *New York Times* report of the occasion as "head of the American Mission to Russia of 1917," said that any action tending to support the Soviet regime, "whether for sentiment or for trade, is a hindrance to the restoration of law and the rule of international justice." We do not know Mr. Root's actual words, but, in the way the *New York Times* (April 28) quotes and paraphrases them, they are quite mirthful:

"The rapid development of internationalism is one of the most threatening obstacles to international law," Mr. Root said, adding:

"This is prevented by the avowed purposes of the Third International aiming at the destruction of national Governments and the universal empire of the proletariat; by the fact that the brutal and cruel despotism of Lenin and his associated group has been able to maintain its ascendancy over the vast territory and population of Russia, calling itself a dictatorship of the proletariat but making itself a dictatorship over the proletariat as well as all other classes, and ruling in the name of a world revolution for the accomplishment of the purposes of the Third International.

"There is no common ground upon which one can discuss the obligations of international law with the Third International. And just so far as the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky influence the people of a civilized country, just so far the government of that country is weakened in the performance of its international obligation."

It must be a peculiar sort of "international law" that can be threatened by "the rapid development of internationalism." Or can it be that Mr. Root

doubts the existence of a real "law" in the relations between the proletarian republics of Russia, Armenia, Georgia, Khiva, Bokhara, Karelia, etc., or between the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, on the one hand, and the nations with whom it has signed treaties, on the other hand: Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan, Great Britain, and others? Not only will "the rapid development of internationalism" be no bar to "international law," since some system of international law will necessarily be built up between the various states brought forth by "the rapid development of internationalism," but some sort of international law seems actually to be practiced between the new Proletarian Republic and its capitalistic neighbors.

THERE are sentimentalists in Europe and in America who, without being professional or amateur anti-Bolsheviks, nevertheless are inclined to think that the Kronstadt revolt was a genuine Socialist protest in favor of a "real Soviet system," as against the "tyranny of the Communist Commissars," and who would consider as "propaganda" the assertions of the Soviet publications that White Guard activities were the driving force behind this whole affair. Fortunately it is the counter-revolutionists themselves who are destroying this sentimental legend. For while the support given the insurgents of Kronstadt by men like Kerensky or Chernov may by some be met with the argument that these are "also" Socialists, only of another kind, there is hardly any controversy possible as to the Socialist or proletarian aims of men like Milyukov. For this simon-pure representative of imperialist capitalism never even pretended to be a Socialist. His aim never was anything else than to erect a Constitutional Monarchy that would get Constantinople and the Straits for the rising Russian capitalism. And now it appears that it was *Posledniye Novosti*, the paper published in Paris by this very same Milyukov, which in its issue of March 9, contained the following cry for help.

"Everybody who feels that the struggle for his own cause is going on over there, should offer his help. Help!" And then there followed this statement: "Yesterday there took place a well attended meeting of representatives of Russian commercial banks, which took up the question of furnishing extraordinary food assistance to Kronstadt. The amounts assigned by the various banks will be stated not later than to-day and immediately transmitted to Professor Zeidler. Besides sending cash, the Committee of the Banks decided to apply to Finnish banks and to propose that they open credits to Russian Credit establishments for buying provisions in Finland. The Nikopol-Maryupol Metal Co. placed 20,000 francs at the disposal of the Chairman of the Bank Committee."

The cause of "real democracy," "real Socialism" and "real Sovietism" had rather strange backers.

BOOKS are useful since they store the wisdom of man or transmit his emotional reactions. Both useful and entertaining books are recommended to the citizens of Soviet Russia in the

book posters that appear in this week's and last week's issues of this weekly. Learn to read—is the injunction of the posters—that you may be a useful citizen, and that you may fill your mind with fine visions.—The Soviet Government is a Dictatorship, carrying out the will of a class (the largest class) of the population of the country, and we frequently are told that the Tsar's Government was also a Dictatorship, and that there is not much to choose between the two Dictatorships. But here is a difference worthy of note: we do not recall that travelers in Russia, in the days of the Tsar, even in the days when participation in the war against the German autocrat was purifying him, in the western press, of all his misdeeds,—noticed any posters calling upon the population to stamp out illiteracy, to cultivate their minds, to study books on gardening and cattle-breeding. It is a new kind of Dictatorship now in Soviet Russia, which, to use the words of George Bernard Shaw, "coerces and cajoles in the interest of those whom it coerces and cajoles."

How much has been done by the Soviet Government for the stimulation of literature and even of abstract scholarship, has been brought to our attention by the arrival of a number of recent issues of a literary magazine issued by the Soviet Government at Petrograd: *Kniga i Revolyutsya*, "The Book and the Revolution." From its monthly compilations of recent titles, its accounts of the labors of the scholars, one forms the impression of an enormous literary and scholarly activity. We shall give a complete account of the contents of this interesting periodical in next week's issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

RUSSIA'S plans for giving new books to the children are interesting. A Moscow cable to our office, dated April 30, runs in part as follows:

"The Commissariat of Education announces an all-Russian competition for new books for children which shall be free from mythology, ghosts, fairies, and the like, or else have such themes correctly depicted as superstitious. The stories shall contain no kings or princes, unless these characters are truly described as the oppressors of the people. The Commissariat suggests that imaginative fiction dealing with the life of future generations based upon technical progress and inventions is desirable. Preference will be given to stories depicting the actual life of the toiling masses. All contributions, whether prose, poetry or drama, must be artistically executed in every detail."

At first blush it might seem, to conventionally minded persons, that juvenile literature would lose some of its charm and freshness by the exclusion of so-called "romantic" elements. But the appeal of imaginative literature does not lie in any elements of romance or decay alone: "Plunge into life's abundance; wherever your grip closes, there will be your reward!" Goethe's injunction to the artist remains as appropriate now as ever it was, and when all the specious elements of sentimental nature have been eliminated from literature, including juvenile literature, the imagination will throw itself into fields more appropriately its own. That is the process the Soviet Government is now stimulating by the program indicated in the above message.



Translation of the above poster: "The book is the life of our time.—Sylensky.—The book is the magic carpet that takes you up and flies with you through all the world."

The Most Important Events of 1920

(This calendar gives the principal events of the last year in convenient chronological order. It is translated from "Izvestya", December 31, 1920.)

JANUARY

- 3 Drafting of citizens born in 1886, 1887, 1888 and 1901.
- 4 Formation of a committee for the purpose of drawing up necessary regulations for introducing universal labor conscription.
- 5 Red troops march down to the Caspian Sea.
- 7 Nationalization of dairy milk distributing centers in Petrograd.
- 11 Opening of the Museum of the Revolution at Petrograd.
- 13 News received of Kolchak's arrest.
- 15 Abolition of capital punishment by Extraordinary Commission.
- 21 News that Red Army has occupied Mogilev-Podolsky.
- 22 Petrograd Commune establishes special food ration for scientists.
- 26 Opening at Petrograd of 2nd Army Conference of Communists.
- 27 Word received that Odessa is occupied by the Red rebels.
- 29 Liquidation of the Ural front announced.

FEBRUARY

- 2 Signing of Peace treaty with Esthonia.
- 4 Appeal of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to the Polish people.
- 5 The occupation of Ochakov (on the Black Sea) by the Red troops.
- 7 Kolchak shot at Irkutsk by Social-Revolutionists.
- 8 Reestablishment of mail communications with Ukraine.
- 9 Comrade Chicherin's appeal to the "Workers of the Entente countries."

- 11 7th Army transformed into a labor army.
- 13 Conference in Petrograd regarding the problems of the revolutionary labor army.
- 16 Opening of Convention for a campaign against the spread of spotted typhus.
- 21 News of occupation of Archangel.
- 22 Celebration of the 2nd anniversary of the Red Army at Petrograd.
- 25 Temporary halt in the evacuation of foreigners.
- 26 The beginning in Petrograd of the "Week dedicated to the aid of the Swedish workers."
- 27 The committee on the organization of proletarian holidays becomes a government body.
- 28 Report received of occupation of the railroad station of Tikhoretzk (South East Russia).
- 29 The first "Sundaying" for clearing Petrograd of snow.

MARCH

- 1 Publication of the appeal of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee to the workers of the world.
- 3 Publication of the appeal to the organizations of the Russian Communist Party on the question of transport.
- 8 The celebration of the "Woman-Worker's Day" in Petrograd.
- 10 First conference of the Russian-Esthonian Economic Commission.
- 11 The conference of Communist Sailors closed in Petrograd.
- 12 News of Constantinople's occupation by the Allies.
- 19 City conference of the Petrograd organization of the Russian Communist Party opened.

- 22 Opening of the provincial conference of the Union of Educational Workers.
- 24 Occupation of Kislovodsk (North Caucasus), by the Red Army.
- 26 Poland, Finland, and Latvia express their willingness to make peace with Russia.
- 29 Opening of the 9th All-Russian Congress of the Russian Communist Party at Moscow.
- 31 Exchange of letters of ratification with Estonia.

APRIL

- 1 Nationalization of Tolstoy's house at Moscow.
- 5 Closing of the 9th All-Russian Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, at Moscow.
- 6 Opening of the All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions at Moscow.
- 7 News of Denikin's flight.
- 12 Beginning of negotiations with Finland.
- 14 Agreement with England relative to the exchange of prisoners of war and civilian captives.
- 15 Exchange of notes between England and Soviet Russia, concerning Denikin's men.
- 17 Opening of peace negotiations with Latvia.
- 20 American locomotives for Russia arrive in Reval.
- 22 Signing of agreement with France and Belgium on exchange of prisoners of war.
- 24 Comrade Chicherin's note to Bulgaria.
- 25 Poland expresses willingness to negotiate with Russia.
- 26 Lithuania decides to send a peace delegation to Moscow.
- 27 Ukraine protests against Polish atrocities.
- 28 The counter-revolutionary government of Azerbaijan overthrown.
- 29 An appeal of the Soviet Government to the workers, peasants and soldiers of the Red Army on the occasion of the Polish offensive.
- 30 Funeral of Comrade Timiryazev (famous naturalist) at Moscow.

MAY

- 1 Jubilant celebration of Labor Day with a review of troops on the labor front.—First of May "Saturdaying" (voluntary work).—First of May amnesty.
- 4 Breaking up of the Denikin army in the Caucasus (surrender of 60,000 men in the city of Sochi).
- 5 Eighth anniversary of *Pravda*.—360 Communists from the Petrograd organization dispatched to the Polish front.—Truce signed in Vladivostok with the Japanese forces of occupation.
- 6 Decrees issued for redistributing the land and annulling the right of ownership of natural resources.
- 7 Notes exchanged between England and Russia regarding aid rendered by Great Britain to the White Guards of the Crimea and the Caucasus.—White Finland threatens Russia from the North.
- 9 The opening of peace negotiations with Lithuania (in Moscow).—The All-Russian Central Executive Committee sends an affirmative reply to the request of the League of Nations to send a commission to Russia to study her present situation.
- 12 British delegation arrives in Petrograd.
- 14 Soviet Government's offer to Finland to start peace negotiations.
- 15 Grand demonstration of "Saturdaying" (voluntary work) for the Centro-Transport, with the participation of the British guests.
- 16 Celebration of the second anniversary of the Red fleet.
- 18 Announcement of wireless protest by the British delegation in Russia against the aid of the British imperialists to the Polish gentry.—Finland agrees to open peace negotiations.—The Executive Committee of the Third Communist International issues appeal to the workers of the whole world in connection with the offensive of the Polish gentry against Russia.
- 19 Fourth convention of the Ukrainian Soviets opens in Kharkov.
- 20 England agrees to open peace negotiations with Soviet Russia.—The Second anniversary of the Red Army and the Red Commander.

- 22 Red forces launch a successful offensive throughout the Western front.
- 23 First day of the issue of labor booklets to Petrograd population.
- 24 Red armies on the western front are gaining victory after victory.—Revolt against the Poles in the province of Minsk.
- 26 All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets endorses a resolution favoring vigorous fight against the White Poles.—Open protests by the Polish Communists in Warsaw.—Red Armies take the city of Borissov on the Polish front.
- 27 British troops evacuate the Crimea.
- 28 The "Maximalist Alliance" joins the Russian Communist Party.
- 29 Formation of Tartar Socialist Soviet Republic.
- 30 An appeal issued from the headquarters of the Commander-in-chief for a special conference, under the chairmanship of Brusilov, to all the former officers, urging their participation in the fight against the Polish nobility.—Orders issued by the All-Russian Central Committee, directing that extraordinary measures be employed in the fight against the enemies of the Republic.

JUNE

- 2 The Labor Party of England issues a manifesto against English aid to Poland.
- 3 Council of People's Commissars appeals to all White Army officers urging them to make up for their former crimes against Soviet Russia by participation in the liquidation of the White Guard detachments in the Crimea, Caucasus, and Siberia.—Demoralization in the ranks of the Menshevik party (expulsion of the Saratov organization).
- 6 Italian Socialist delegation headed by Serrati arrives in Petrograd.
- 7 Comrade Krassin confers with Lloyd George at London.—Poland applies to France for military aid.
- 9 England officially announces that the blockade against Soviet Russia has been lifted.—The Russian delegation leaves Moscow for Dorpat to negotiate peace with Finland.
- 10 Breaking through the Polish and South-Western fronts.—The Soviet forces occupy Berdichev, Zhitomir, Byelaya-Tserkov.
- 11 As a result of the negotiations led by Comrade Krassin in London, the Soviet Government received an offer to open a Bureau in England for the purpose of organizing the exchange of commodities.—The Italian delegation in Petrograd issues an appeal to the workers of the world.—The Russian trade unions send a delegation to England.
- 12 Occupation of Fastov on the Western front. Vigorous advance on Kiev.—Finland recognizes independence of Estonia.—England refuses to aid Wrangel.—Beginning of peace negotiations with Finland.
- 13 The Soviet troops occupy Kiev and Vassilkov. In their retreat the Poles blow up the railroad depot, the aqueduct, the electric power station, and the cathedral of St. Vladimir.
- 15 Italian delegation arrives in Moscow.
- 17 Representatives of the workers of Holland and Norway arrive in Petrograd.
- 18 The All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars issue an appeal to the Polish soldiers and legionnaires to cease the war.
- 20 Solemn opening of the Homes of Rest at Petrograd.
- 21 The city of Korosten taken.
- 27 Encounters at Helsingfors between the mobilized workers and volunteers over the question of their attitude towards Soviet Russia.
- 29 Soviet troops occupy cities of Novograd-Volynsky and Berdyansk.
- 30 Finland offers armistice terms.—Hostility towards Poland grows on the part of the workers of Western Europe.

JULY

- 2 English workers arrive in Russia.—Elections to the Petrograd Soviets show 1579 Communists out of a total of 2,209 delegates.
- 4 "The Week for the Aid of the Western front" started.
- 7 Taking of Rovno; advance on Mogilev-Podolsky continued.—Leonid Krassin returns to Russia.
- 8 Mogilev-Podolsky and Letichev taken.
- 9 Chicherin's note to the English Government on the establishment of mutual relations between the two countries.
- 10 France sends a battalion of volunteers to the Polish front.—A Russian mission again sent to England.
- 11 The Soviet troops occupy Dubno.—The day of the 2nd Congress of the 3rd International declared a holiday.
- 13 The occupation of a number of towns brings about disorganization of Polish front.—Polish diet organizes the Union for the National Defense of Poland.—Sessions of the Russo-Latvian peace delegation temporarily transferred to Riga.—Peace treaty between Russia and Lithuania signed.
- 15 Soviet troops occupy Kamenetz-Podolsky.—Establishment of Soviet rule in Osetia.
- 16 At the Polish front, Polish Soldiers' Soviets are being organized.
- 18 Soviet troops take Vilna. England offers to act as mediator in the conclusion of an armistice with Poland and with Wrangel; Comrade Kamenev appointed chairman of the Russian delegation. The Western-European Secretariat of the 3rd International appeals to all the workers not to send any arms for Poland.
- 19 A solemn session of the 2nd Congress of the 3rd (Communist) International at Petrograd. Appeals to the workers of all countries.
- 22 The Supreme Council of Poland recognizes the impossibility of continuing war against Soviet Russia. Millerand announces that Poland will be aided by France. Sessions of the Second Congress of the Third International transferred to Moscow.
- 23 As a result of the success of the Soviet troops at the front, the Polish Government resigns. Hurried evacuation of Warsaw started.—Mobilization declared in France to aid the Polish front. Continuance of Peace negotiations with Finland postponed until July 28th.
- 24 Soviet troops occupy Grodno.
- 27 Red Army makes great progress at Volkovysk, Pinsk and in other sections. Poland declares the mobilization of men up to 45 years of age.
- 28 Soviet cavalry occupies Tarnopol. Solemn opening of the Shadursk electric (power) station takes place near Moscow.
- 29 Fortress of Ossovetz occupied. 12,000 machine guns delivered at Sevastopol from England, for Wrangel.
- 30 An Italian delegate arrives at Odessa for the purpose of opening trade relations with Soviet Russia.
- 31 Soviet troops occupy Bielostok and Pruzhany.—Peace negotiations with Latvia and trade negotiations with England resumed.

AUGUST

- 1 Soviet troops occupy the city of Bielsk. Private trade abolished in Petrograd.
- 2 Soviet troops take Brest-Litovsk. Resumption of peace negotiations with Finland.
- 5 Soviet army occupies Lomzha. Appeal of the International Council of Trades Unions to rally to the banners of the 3rd International.
- 6 Soviet troops take Kovel, Lutsk and Buczacz.
- 7 Ratification of the treaty with Austria by both countries. Germany's declaration of neutrality in the war between Poland and Russia.
- 8 Comrade Krassin and Kamenev arrive in London.
- 9 Soviet troops occupy: Prasnysk, Vladimir-Volynsk, and other cities. Millerand's statement in Parliament as to danger of a Soviet regime "from the River Rhine to the remotest corner of Siberia and from the White Sea to the Mediterranean."

- 12 Russian armistice terms with Poland published. Bela Kun arrives in Petrograd.
- 14 Soviet troops advancing on Warsaw. Polish Revolutionary Committee addresses manifesto to the Polish workers. Peace Treaty between Russia and Latvia signed.
- 15 Signing of the Armistice with Finland. Decision of London Labor Conference to endeavor by all means to compel England not to interfere in the Russian-Polish conflict.
- 17 Negotiations with Poland commence in Minsk.
- 19 Soviet troops take Vlotslavek. Bitter fights in the Warsaw region.
- 21 Soviet troops occupy Polotak. Entente countries demand of Germany to turn over all military equipment to Poland.
- 22 Soviet troops reach a point 8 miles from Lvov (Lemberg).
- 22 Delegation of the Petrograd Soviet of Trades Unions arrives in Norway.
- 26 France sends army of 100,000 through Austria to help Poland. In Petrograd a celebration takes place in honor of the Communists leaving for the Western front.
- 31 Soviet troops occupy the city of Byela. Red Army again begins offensive. From Petrograd a new group of Communists sent to the Polish front.

SEPTEMBER

- 2 Soviet troops again occupy Grubeshov and the towns of Varenzh and Christianopol.
- 3 Soviet troops occupy the city of Zamosc. Entente intervenes in the Russian Polish peace negotiations.
- 4 Bukhara declared a Soviet Republic. Latvia and Poland resume diplomatic relations.
- 5 International holiday of the Youth in Petrograd.
- 6 Russian delegation leaves for Riga to negotiate peace with Poland.
- 8 First Congress of the Revolutionary Peoples of the East opens in Baku.
- 9 Latvian Constituent Assembly ratifies Russian peace treaty. Petrograd sends another group of Communists to the front.
- 12 Solemn funeral at Petrograd of the Finnish Communists who were treacherously murdered. Comrade Shlyapnikov, representative of the Russian Trade Unions, arrested in Stockholm.
- 16 Closing of Congress of the Peoples of the East held in the city of Baku.—Representatives of the Russian Trades Unions arrive in Berlin. Peace negotiations with Poland resumed at Riga. Conference of the national minorities opened at Petrograd.
- 17 Soviet troops occupy Berdyansk.
- 22 Political negotiations with England interrupted on account of the Southern front. The terms of the peace treaty concluded by Soviet Russia with Latvia and Lithuania made public. All-Russian Central Executive Committee appeals to the laboring people of Karelia concerning organization of a Karelian Commune. Clara Zetkin arrives in Petrograd.
- 23 Russian-Polish conference opens in Riga.
- 25 All-Russian Central Executive Committee makes public the new peace terms offered to Poland.
- 30 Blockade of White Poland declared by German and Czecho-Slovak workers.

OCTOBER

- 1 Publication of proposed terms of Preliminary Peace with Poland. Comrade Chicherin's note to the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- 5 G. Chicherin sends a protest against the hostile actions of the French Government.
- 6 Soviet Government accepts Makhno's offer of aid in the struggle against Wrangel.
- 8 Party of Revolutionary Communists (formerly "Left Social Revolutionists") joins Communist Party of Russia.
- 10 Soviet troops occupy Berdyansk (on the Wrangel front).
- 12 Rumanian Communists arrive in Petrograd.

- 13 Poles occupy Vilna.
- 14 Peace Treaty with Finland signed.
- 15 Soviet Russia and Rumania exchange notes on the question of peace negotiations.
- 19 The Soviet troops occupy Minsk. Cessation of military operations between Russia and Poland.
- 23 All-Russian Central Executive Committee ratifies preliminary peace terms with Poland and peace treaty with Finland.
- 26 Soviet troops occupy the city of Alexandrovsk (on the Wrangel front). Polish diet ratifies armistice and preliminary peace with Russia.
- 27 Manifestations in Italy in honor of Soviet Russia.
- 28 Japanese occupy Vladivostok. Communists executed in Poland.

NOVEMBER

- 3 Soviet Government addresses the following notes to the English Government: 1) On the liquidation of the armed hands on the western frontier of Soviet Russia; 2) On activities of English war ships in the Black Sea; 3) On the terror in Vilna.
- 4 Soviet Russia and Poland exchange notes on the armistice. Conference of the regions of the Far East issues a declaration regarding formation of an independent Republic of the Far East.
- 5 Wrangel troops cut off by Soviet troops from the Crimean peninsula.
- 7 Solemn celebration of the 3rd anniversary of the November revolution throughout Russia. Amnesty granted by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.
- 10 The Polish Government to refrain from supporting Petlura and Bulak-Balakhovich.
- 11 Semionov's hands crushed in the Far East.
- 12 English forces flee from the Crimea.
- 13 Chlicherin's note to England on the question of trade relations.

- 15 Soviet troops occupy Sebastopol, Simferopol, and Theodosia; Wrangel, defeated, flees from Sebastopol.
 - 17 Peace negotiations with Poland resumed in Riga.
 - 18 Soviet troops occupy cities of Kerch and Kamenets-Podolsky. Soviet Government protests against England's intention to occupy Baku.
 - 19 Soviet divisions on the Crimean front reach southern shores of the peninsula. Soviet troops seize Wrangel's currency printing offices. Chlicherin appeals to the workers of the Entente countries.
 - 20 Petlura's flight. Allies proclaim blockade of the Black Sea.
 - 21 In the Kamenets-Podolsky region the Soviet troops reach the boundaries of the neutral zone. Japanese troops occupy Petropavlovsk (Kamchatka).
 - 23 Soviet troops cut off Bulak-Balakhovich and his main force on the left bank of the Pripet. Russia enters into an agreement with England for the delivery of 1,000,000 ties in exchange for coal. All-Russian Central Executive Committee appeals for voluntary collection of articles for Red Army.
 - 24 Remnants of Petlura's troops driven beyond the boundaries of the Russian Soviet Republic, disarmed by Poland. Trotsky appeals for aid to the Donets miners. Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) issues a decree relative to the Central Committee for Political Educational Work, uniting all the political and educational work of the Republic.
 - 25 Petlura's troops completely routed. Council of People's Commissars issues regulations for the granting of concessions to foreigners.
 - 26 Krassin addresses note to Lloyd George on the delay in the trade negotiations.
 - 27 The first group of American workers arrives in Petrograd.
 - 28 International Congress of Trades Unions in London adopts a resolution condemning the economic blockade and armed war against Soviet Russia. Celebration at
- Continued on page 462.*



"The reading of good books is a conversation with the finest spirits, and a conversation in which they communicate to us only their best thoughts."—Descartes.—Across the top: "Rousseau, Voltaire, Gutenberg, Newton, Jaures, Lassalle, Pascal, Galileo, Lenin, K. Liebknecht, Socrates, Marx, Knowledge is Power, L. Tolstoy, Homer, Cervantes, Pushkin, Dante, Shakespeare, Beethoven, Lomonosov, Goethe, Leonardo da Vinci, Kant."

Lenin's Address to the Communist Party

(The following salient portions of Lenin's opening address to the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party are taken from the March 15 issue of the "Russian Press Review." After the speeches of the fraternal Delegates and the election of the Presidium at the first meeting of the Congress, Lenin made this report on the political activities of the Central Committee.)

Comrades, in my opinion the most important question of the day deserving our closest attention is that of the transition from war to peace. Probably all of you, or at least most of you, will remember that we have attempted this transition several times during the last three and a half years, but at no time did we complete it because the vital interests of international capitalism are bound up with our failure. I remember that in April 1918, three years ago, I had occasion to speak at the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the tasks confronting us then as if the civil war had practically come to an end, when, as a matter of fact, it had only just begun. You will all remember that at the last Party Conference, we based all our calculations on this transition to peaceful construction, assuming that the enormous concessions that we made would secure peace. But in that very April the Polish bourgeoisie, in conjunction with imperialist and capitalist countries, interpreting our desire for peace as a sign of weakness, commenced their offensive; for which, however, they had to pay very dear, in that they had to accept a less advantageous peace than if they had accepted our earlier proposals. We, however, did not secure the possibility of turning to peaceful construction and we again had to concentrate our attention on the war with Poland and the subsequent liquidation of Wrangel. This is what our work for the past year consisted of. Again the whole of our work was devoted to the tasks of war.

The transition from war to peace began again when we had succeeded in clearing every single soldier of hostile armies from the territory of the Soviet Republic. This transition caused a shock the full effects of which we have not yet calculated.

The Difficulties of Demobilization

The demobilization of the army, which carried with it untold difficulties, has raised problems which are considerably underestimated. Here to a very large degree are the sources of the economic and social crises. At the end of last year, I already had occasion to point out that one of the greatest difficulties that would confront us in the spring would be in connection with demobilization. I must say that at that time we hardly realized the full extent of these difficulties. We did not yet see to what extent the misfortune which had already fallen upon the country during the previous imperialist war and later during the civil war, would tell during the demobilization. The country for several years concentrated its efforts exclusively upon war and sacrificed everything for it, and only now, at the conclusion of the war, do we see the real extent of poverty and

ruin which will compel us for a long period to devote our energies merely to the healing of our wounds.

The Central Committee undoubtedly erred in not correctly estimating the difficulties of demobilization, but it must be said that there was no basis for calculation, for the civil war was so difficult that the only rule was "all for victory on the civil war front." Only by the observation of the incredible concentration of effort which the Red Army displayed in the struggle with Kolchak, Yudenich and others, could we have achieved the victory over the invading imperialists.

Errors in Calculation

From this basic fact which determines a number of other errors in the growing crises, I would like to pass over to the fact that in the work of the Party there were revealed a number of other instances of inappropriate and incorrect calculations and plans. Let us summarize our experiences in such varying fields as the progress of our Polish war and questions of food and fuel.

There is no question that we erred in our too rapid advance on Warsaw. I shall not discuss at this moment whether this was a strategical or a political error. That would involve us in a too long discussion. In any case there was an error, which arose from our overestimating the superiority of our forces. To what extent this superiority of forces depended on economic conditions, or on the fact that the Polish war aroused the patriotism of even the petty bourgeois elements who do not sympathize with communism and certainly do not support the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a question too complicated to be discussed now. The fact is that we committed errors in the Polish war.

If we take such a sphere of work as food, we will see here analogous errors. With regard to the corn requisitions and the gathering of the corn levies, last year was much more successful than the previous year. Last year the amount of corn gathered reached 250 million poods. Up to February 1st it was calculated that we had gathered 235 million poods, when for the whole of the previous year we gathered 210 million poods, which means that for a much shorter period we exceeded the amount of corn gathered for the whole of the previous year. It turned out, however, that of these 235 million poods, 155 million poods were used up in the first half of the year, that is, on an average of 25 million poods a month. Generally we have to confess that we were not able properly to distribute our resources even when they proved to be better than those of the previous year. We were unable to estimate correctly the extent of the

approaching spring crisis and yielded naturally to the desire to increase the rations to the hungry workers.

It must be said, however, that even here we had no proper basis for calculation. In all capitalist states, in spite of the anarchy, in spite of the chaos peculiar to capitalism, there is a basis for calculation in the decades of experience by which the capitalist states, similar in their economic construction and varying only in details, can be guided. The investigation and comparison of experiences reveals an actual scientific law. We did not have and could not have such a basis for our calculations and naturally, as soon as we were able to give the hungry workers an increase of food, we were not able to establish the proper scale. It is clear that we should have only moderately increased the rations and should have stored up a reserve for the rainy day that would and did come in the spring. This was an error, the kind of error that is peculiar to all our work, an error which shows that the transition from war to peace would create difficult problems, for the overcoming of which we had neither the experience, nor material to go upon. As a result the crisis became more acute.

Something analogous took place with regard to fuel. This is the fundamental question of our economic policy. The transition from peace to war, that transition and economic construction about which we spoke at the previous conference of the party and which comprised the main part of our work during the preceding year, could only be based upon the supply and proper distribution of fuel. Without that there can be no talk of overcoming difficulties or of re-establishing industry. That conditions in this connection were better this year than last there is no doubt. Previously we had been cut off from the oil and coal regions. After the victory of the Red Army we secured oil and coal. At all events the extent of our fuel resources has increased. We know that the fuel resources at our disposal were greater this year than last. But on the basis of this increase we committed an error in consuming fuel to such an extent that we exhausted our fuel reserves.

From what we have experienced we should say that all these errors are connected with our rapid transition from war to peace. It turned out that this transition is a much slower process than we imagined. A much greater preparation was required and a much slower pace.

The crisis was undoubtedly rendered more acute by the failure of the harvest. I have pointed out that our work in the food department during last year gave us incomparably larger stocks than the previous year. But this in fact was one of the chief causes of the crisis, because, owing to the poor crops, and the shortage of fodder, which in its turn caused a great mortality among cattle and a deterioration of stock, the food requisition was concentrated in those places where the reserves of grain were not large. These reserves were largest in the various border republics, in Siberia and

North Caucasus. But it is precisely in those places that the Soviet apparatus works less smoothly, since the Soviet power is there less stable and transport is very difficult. It follows therefore that we secured an increase of our food stocks from those districts which had suffered from bad harvests and this aggravated the agricultural crisis.

Here again we see that we made no proper calculations. But, on the other hand, we were in such a difficult position that we had no choice. A country which had gone through such a destructive imperialist war and a prolonged civil war could not have acted otherwise than to take the food stocks from the peasantry, even without giving them compensation in any form. We said to the peasants "Of course you are lending your grain to the Workers' and Peasants State, but you have no other way of saving your State from the landlords and capitalists." We could not have acted otherwise under the conditions which the capitalists and imperialists imposed upon us by their war. But the prolongation of the war led to such a deterioration of our agriculture that the bad harvest was caused by the decreased area cultivated, the diminished means of production, lessened fertility, and reduction of labor power etc. The failure of the harvest was tremendous, but it was better than we expected. The gathering of the food, however, was accompanied by an acute crisis. We must carefully examine this circumstance in analyzing our experiences of the past year and the political tasks we should undertake in the new year.

The Prospects of International Revolution

Help from the Western European countries is coming. It is not coming as fast as we should like, but it is undoubtedly coming. I have already said that one of the greatest factors of the preceding period was the Second Congress of the Communist International. In comparison with last year, the international revolution has made considerable progress. Certainly the Communist International which at the time of last year's congress existed only in the form of proclamations has now begun to act as an independent body in every country, and as more than merely a vanguard party. Communism has become the central question of the whole labor movement. In Germany, France and Italy, the Communist International has become the centre not only of the labor movement, but of the whole political life of the country. It was impossible to pick up a German or French newspaper last autumn without seeing discussions on Moscow and the Bolsheviks, and how the twenty one conditions of entry into the Third International had become the central question of the political life of those countries. This is our gain of which no one can deprive us. The international revolution is growing with the increasing acuteness of the economic crisis in Europe. But if we were to suggest that in a short time help is coming from that quarter in the shape of a proletarian revolution, we should be mad. and I am sure that nobody in

this hall would make such a suggestion. We have learned to understand during the last three years that basing ourselves on an international revolution does not mean calculating on a definite date, and that the increasing rapidity of development may bring a revolution in the spring, or it may not.

For that reason we must base our activities with regard to class relations in our country and in other countries, so as to retain the dictatorship of the proletariat for a prolonged period and to extricate ourselves if only gradually from the misfortunes and crises which have come upon us. Only such an attitude can be sensible and correct.

Foreign Relations and Concessions

I will now deal with the question of foreign relations. Up to the Ninth Congress of the Party all our attention and all our efforts were directed towards securing a transition from a state of war with the capitalist countries to relations of peace and trade. For that purpose we took various diplomatic steps and proved victorious against undoubtedly great diplomats. When, for example, the representatives of America or of the League of Nations proposed that we should on certain conditions cease military operations against Denikin and Kolchak, they thought they would place us into a difficult situation. They were outwitted, however, and were compelled to withdraw their conditions, a fact which was later exposed in the diplomatic literature and the press of the whole world. But we could not be satisfied merely with diplomatic victories. We must have real trade relations. But only during last year did things approach a point where commercial relations were beginning to some extent to develop. The question of trade relations with England arose, but the war with Poland set us back considerably. England was prepared to sign a trade agreement. The British bourgeoisie desired this agreement, but English government circles were opposed to it and hampered it. The war with Poland postponed the agreement with the result that the question has not yet been settled.

In this connection there is the question of concessions. During the past year we devoted more attention to this question than previously. On November 23, a decree was published by the Council of People's Commissaries dealing with the question of concessions in a form most acceptable to foreign capitalists. By this decree we advanced towards establishing concessionary relations. The majority of the Central Committee accepted the necessity of these concessions and we will ask you to strengthen it by your authority. This is necessary because we are unable by our own efforts to re-establish our ruined industry, without equipment and technical assistance from abroad. The mere importation of this equipment is not sufficient. We can give concessions on a much wider basis in order to secure for ourselves the installation of equipment according to the last word in technique. In this manner we may be able to catch up to some extent at least with the modern syndicates of other

countries. No one who soberly examines our present position can doubt that without this we will find ourselves in a very difficult position, and without the application of all our resources, we cannot make headway. Negotiations with some of the largest trusts have already been commenced. Of course these trusts on their part are not merely rendering us a service. They are doing this only for the sake of colossal profits. Modern capitalism is not like the capitalism of the previous normal periods. It makes hundred per cent profits by taking advantage of its monopolist position in the world market. Of course we shall have to pay very dearly. But we must improve our technique.

On February 1, 1921, the Council of People's Commissars decided to purchase abroad 18,500,000 poods of coal, and at that time our fuel crisis was already looming. We shall have to make even greater concessions for the purchase of articles used by the peasantry.

The Proletariat and the Peasantry

We must realize that in these critical conditions we cannot do otherwise than to appeal to the peasantry to help the cities and the villages. We must remember that the bourgeoisie is making efforts to arouse the peasantry against the workers. Here we are facing political difficulties requiring that the ruling Communist Party and the leading elements of the proletariat should take the proper course.

We must consider the economic questions involved. What is the meaning of the slogan of "free trade" advanced by the petty-bourgeois elements? It shows that there are some difficulties in the relations between the proletariat and the small farmer which we have not yet overcome. I refer to the attitude of the proletariat to the small property-holders in a country where the proletariat has been victorious and the proletarian revolution is developing but where the proletariat makes up the minority of the population and the majority is made up of petty-bourgeois elements. In such a country the proletariat must lead the transition of these petty property holders into collective and communist labor. This is theoretically beyond any dispute, and on this we based a number of our legislative acts. But we know that legislation is not sufficient, that only actual achievements count and that these achievements cannot be secured unless we have industry operating on a large scale and unless industry affords the small producer such advantages as would make him realize its advantages over small individual production.

This is the position which all Marxians and Socialists always occupied in dealing with the Social Revolution and the problems advanced by it. The feature which is peculiar to Russia in the highest degree is that we have here a proletariat making up the minority, and a considerable minority at that, of the population, while the overwhelming majority consists of the peasantry. Besides, the conditions under which we had to defend our rev-

lution were of such a nature as to make the solution of our problems extremely difficult. We were not in a position to demonstrate the advantages of large industry, for that industry was ruined and dragging out a very precarious existence, and could not be reconstructed without imposing various sacrifices on these very farmers. We must increase production and so we need fuel, but for fuel we must resort to wood, and that means that we must count upon the peasant's horse. In critical times when there is a shortage of fodder resulting in diminution of cattle, the peasant is compelled to render assistance to the Soviet Government for the sake of that large industry which as yet has given him nothing. This is the source of the economic difficulties we are in, and this is what compels us to give careful consideration to the transition from war to peace. During the war we had to say to the peasant: "You must lend your own grain to the Workers' and Peasants' Government in order to enable it to extricate itself from the difficult position." Now in directing all our attention to work of reconstruction, we must bear in mind that we have to deal with the small farmer, the small property owner, the small producer, who is working for the market, and will continue to do so until large industry has been established and has achieved a complete victory. But this triumph of large industry is impossible on the old basis. This is a matter which will take a decade, and, considering our lack of economic cohesion, perhaps even more. Until that time we will have to do business with this small producer as such, and the slogan of free trade will inevitably come to the front. Prompted by these considerations the Central Committee decided to open a discussion on the question of replacing the grain requisitions by a definite tax, and to place the question before the Congress today for your approval.

Grain Tax or Requisition

The question of tax or requisition came up in our legislation as early as the end of 1918. The tax law of October 30th, 1918, imposed upon the peasants a tax in kind, which, however, was not carried out. The law was accompanied by a number of instructions but it was not applied. The conditions of war made it imperative that we take from the peasant all they could spare; but this measure is not at all suitable to peaceful conditions of agriculture. The peasant must have assurance that after having delivered a certain amount of grain to the State, he will have the rest left for his own household needs.

The whole of our industry was dominated by the conditions of war. We had to undertake the collection of a definite quantity of food without taking into consideration the effect it might have upon our industry as a whole. Now that we are going over from war to peace we begin to regard the tax in kind differently. We regard it now not only from the point of view of maintaining the State, but also from the point of view of the security of the small farmers. We must strive

to do the utmost in this direction. This is the most important question for us. We must give the peasant the possibility of a certain freedom in local trade, replace requisitions by a tax, in order that the peasant may be better able to calculate his output in accordance with the tax. Of course, amidst the conditions which surround us, this is very difficult to realize, but we make the maximum of concessions to provide the small producer with the opportunity of exerting his energy. Up to now we adapted ourselves to conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves to conditions of peace. This question came up before the Central Committee, and is closely connected with that of concessions,—it is the question of going over to a tax in kind under proletarian government. The proletarian government, by means of concessions, may secure for itself relations with the capitalist governments of the advanced countries. The improvement of our industry depends upon these relations, without which we will not be able to proceed along the path towards communism. On the other hand, in the transitional period, in a country with a predominance of peasantry we must be able to give the maximum of assistance to the peasantry. We must allow them the greatest possible freedom to carry on cultivation. Our revolution is surrounded by capitalist countries. As long as we are in that position we are compelled to devise extremely complicated forms of mutual relations. Crushed by the war, we could not concentrate our attention on establishing economic relations between the proletarian State, which has in its hands a large scale industry in this ruined condition, and the small farmers, who as long as they remain what they are, cannot exist without a certain amount of trade. I consider this one of the most important questions of economics and politics for the Soviet Government at the present moment. I consider that this question politically sums up our work from the time we concluded the war period and went over last year to a state of peace. This period is so full of difficulties; it shows up so clearly the petty-bourgeois element that we must examine it soberly. We regard all these events from the point of view of the class struggle. We are not mistaken with regard to the relations between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie—a most difficult question, which demands complicated measures in order to secure the victory of the proletariat, or to be more correct, a whole system of complicated transitional measures. The fact that at the end of 1918 we issued a decree on a tax in kind shows that this is a matter that engages the minds of Communists, but that owing to the war we were not able to carry it out. Under the condition of war we had to resort to war measures, but we would be committing a great error if we drew the conclusion that only such measures are possible. In the transition from war to peace amidst conditions of economic crisis, we must remember that it is easier to carry out the work of constructing a proletarian state in a country with

a large production than in a country where small production prevails. We must recognize the necessity for concessions, for buying machinery and appliances for agriculture in order that, in exchanging them for grain, we may establish such relations between the proletariat and the peasantry as will secure their support in peace conditions.

THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS OF 1920

Continued from page 457.

Petrograd of 100th anniversary of birthday of Friedrich Engels.

- 30 Free distribution of articles of common use adopted in Moscow as a matter of principle.

DECEMBER

- 1 Government announces that the Socialist-Revolutionists and the White Guards will answer for the lives of the leaders of the Workers and Peasants of Russia. —“Proletcult” (Proletarian Culture) becomes part of the Peoples Commissariat for Education.
- 3 Rumania declares Wrangel's troops will not be allowed to cross her territory. The English Government adopts a resolution on the resumption of trade relations with Soviet Russia. The Commission of the Council of Defense begins investigation of the Donets region.
- 4 Lenin sends greetings to the Revolutionary Committee of Armenia on the occasion of the formation of a Soviet Government. The Finnish diet ratifies the peace treaty with Russia. The budget of Petrograd for the year 1921 estimated to amount to 140 billion roubles. The state of siege is declared raised in Petrograd.
- 7 A decree is issued on the free distribution of products to the population beginning with January 1st, 1921. “Children's Week” begins in Petrograd.
- 9 Wrangel liquidates all institutions on the South-Russian front.
- 10 Publication of second appeal by Comrade Trotsky for aid to the Donets basin.
- 11 First corpse cremated in Petrograd.
- 12 Offer of the Soviet Government to establish friendly relations with Yugo-Slavia, Georgia, and Bulgaria. Publication of Zinoviev's theses on the campaign against bureaucracy.
- 15 Cessation of the publication of bulletins on military operations. Proposed legislation for the strengthening and intensification of agriculture made public. Rumania asked by Russia to name time and place for peace negotiations. The Congress of Soviets of the Province of Petrograd opens in the city of Petrograd.
- 18 Announcement by the Central Council of Trades Unions that industrial mobilization was discontinued on December 1st.
- 19 First cargoes of European wares arrive via Yamburg.
- 21 England officially declares blockade of Russia lifted.
- 22 The opening of the 8th All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow. Lenin's report on the international situation.
- 24 At the Congress of Soviets reports are made about the electrification of Russia and about the economic situation.
- 25 A train loaded with gifts for the workers of the Donets basin is sent off.
- 28 15th anniversary of the December uprising (1905) celebrated in Moscow. The Soviet of People's Commissars issues a decree abolishing payments (in money) for fuel, and for the use of the mails, the telephone, telegraph, and radio-telegraph.
- 29 Japan's protest to all the powers against the granting of concessions in Kamchatka by the Soviet Government. The last session of the 8th Congress of Soviets. The Finnish peace delegation arrives in Russia. In Petrograd five days are set aside for the population to supply itself with fuel.

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party reported to the Tenth Congress of the Party on the occupational status and length of membership of members of the party in 144 *uyezds* (counties) and 17 provinces. The membership in the 17 provinces considered in the report was as follows: Provinces of Bryansk, 3,611 members; Vitebsk, 2,448; Vladimirsch, 3,403; Vyatka, 6,127; Gomel, 3,680; Ivanovo-Voznessensk, 2,860; Kostroma, 1,861; Moscow, 31,074; Nizhegorodsk, 6,983; Oloneta, 1,799; Perm, 9,455; Pskov 2,900; Simbirsk, 5,220; Smolensk, 5,173; Cherepovets, 1,692; the Tartar Republic, 3,926; Chuvash Territory, 685.

Of 92,902 members considered in this report, 82,798, or 89 per cent are men, and 10,105, or 11 per cent women.

The occupational classification of these members was found to be as follows: workers, 44 per cent; craftsmen and those employed in home industries, 5 per cent; peasants, 15 per cent; intellectuals, 6 per cent; clerks and similar occupations, 22 per cent; miscellaneous and unclassified, 8 per cent. Thus it will be seen that workers, craftsmen and those employed in home industries form 64 per cent of the party.

The sex division of the same classifications gives somewhat different results, as follows: Men — workers 46 per cent; craftsmen 6 per cent; peasants 15 per cent; total 67 per cent. Women — workers 36 per cent; peasantry and crafts 9 per cent; total 45 per cent. In the intellectual group the proportions are reversed: men, 5 per cent; women 14 per cent; clerks—men 21 per cent; women 27 per cent.

The following statistics were given with respect to length of party membership:

Date of Joining the Party	Men	Women	Together
Prior to the November Revolution of 1917..	14%	10%	12%
From November, 1917, to August, 1919.....	32%	41%	36%
During “Party Week” at the end of 1919..	31%	28%	30%
In August, 1920.....	22%	20%	21%
Unknown			1%

Of the 12 per cent of members who joined prior to the November Revolution, 1 per cent joined prior to 1905; 1 per cent during 1905-1907; 1 per cent during 1908-1916; and the remaining 9 per cent in 1917.

Central Committee of the Party

The following is the composition of the new Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, elected by the Tenth Congress: Artem, Bükharin, Voroshilov, Dzierzynski, Zinoviev, Kalinin, Kamenev, Komarov, Kutuzov, Lenin, Mikhailov, Molotov, Orzhanikidze, Petrovsky, Radek, Rakovsky, Rndzutak, Rykov, Stalin, Tomsky, Trotsky, Tuntul, Frunze, Shlyapnikov, Yaroslavsky.

On the Agricultural Front

Moscow, April 7.—A decree of the Soviet Government, published yesterday, placed the manufacture and repair of agricultural implements in the category of the first urgency as the most essential industry for the commonwealth. The decree carries out the decision of the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets to inaugurate measures for strengthening and developing peasant agriculture. The respective commissariats and departments are instructed by the decree to determine in the shortest possible time what are the most needed types of agricultural implements and to equip factories for their manufacture and to provide such factories and shops with the necessary supplies, provisions and labor force. The People's Commissariat of Education is likewise instructed to accelerate the organization of special courses in agricultural machine construction for skilled workers and technicians; also to hasten the preparation of higher technical personnel and particularly to undertake the opening of a higher institute for instruction in agricultural machinery construction, as well as to open faculties for agricultural machine construction at all the higher technical colleges.

The Petrograd factories are devoting much attention to work on agricultural implements. During the "Red Sower's Week," which is shortly to be held throughout all Russia, the Petrograd factories will work overtime on agricultural implements and expect to produce large quantities. The campaign for the organization of this week is already in full swing throughout the Petrograd province. Temporary smithies and workshops for the repair of agricultural implements are being hastily erected in many villages all over Soviet Russia in preparation for the special activities of the "Red Sower's Week."

A large agronomical demonstration train, the "Lenin," will be arranged at Moscow on April 9th. The train has been organized by the central agricultural education department of the People's Commissariat of Education. All workers and peasants of Moscow and its district have been invited to send delegates to attend the opening ceremonies. The train will start on a tour throughout the country to instruct the peasants in the best up-to-date methods of agriculture and will carry a force of trained experts and lecturers with complete equipment.

The Petrograd Union of metal workers has been granted 2,700 acres of land near Petrograd for organizing model farms which will be cultivated entirely with tractors and by the exertions of the Petrograd factory workers, men and women. The Petrograd Agricultural Department, which will be in general central control of the undertaking, will give every aid and encouragement. The Economic Department of the Petrograd Trade Union Council has decided to grant the workers four days extra vacation monthly for participation in proletarian agricultural enterprises.

The Government dairy factories in the Pskov region have been thrown open to the population for free use in converting milk into dairy products.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

MORE LIES REFUTED

Moscow, April 10.—The hostile press abroad again spreads provocative lies about alleged military preparations of Soviet Russia. The story about a plan of the Moscow General Staff to force the Carpathian passes is a pure invention. Likewise all reports in the foreign press about alleged preparations of Soviet Russia against Rumania, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia are simply inventions intended to injure the international position of Soviet Russia.

The Polish press is spreading rumors about an alleged secret article in the Russo-Polish treaty directed against Latvia and Lithuania. All this is plain nonsense. The Soviet Government has not entered into any agreement, secret or public, either with Poland or with any other state, directed against Latvia and Lithuania, and in particular Soviet Russia has not concluded any agreement with any state as to remaining neutral in case of an attack upon Lithuania. This is another malicious invention.

The often repeated story about the employment of "Chinese Mercenaries" in the Soviet Army, is disposed of in the following statement issued by the People's Commissariat of War:

"The allegation is being repeated in the European capitalist press that Kronstadt was delivered from the hands of the mutineers by ferocious Chinese troops. As a matter of fact, there was not a single Chinese soldier before Kronstadt. There are no Chinese soldiers anywhere in Russia. It is true that in 1917, during the first period of the Soviet regime, two-thirds of the Chinese imported by the Tsar's Government to work in Russia as coolies, volunteered into the Red Army which was then forming. The overwhelming majority of these Chinese have long since been repatriated. There are at present absolutely no Chinese in the Red Army.

"In this connection it is interesting to note another repeated false assertion regarding German officers in the Red Army. It is needless to say that there is not a single German officer in the Red Army. Reference is sometimes made to a certain 'General Blücher'! This General Blücher, referred to as a 'General officer' is obviously Divisional Commander Blücher. He is a Russian working man with a typical Russian name. During the guerrilla warfare in the Urals he adopted as a nickname the surname of the noted German general and this nickname has stuck to him ever since."

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

THE REESTABLISHMENT OF MUNICIPAL SOVIETS

Owing to the civil war the independent existence of some Municipal Soviets had to be abolished and administration merged with the Uyezd Soviets. In connection with the transition of the Soviet Republic to economic construction, the Eighth Congress of Soviets resolved to reestablish the Municipal Soviets in those towns where they had temporarily ceased to function.

Work in this connection is being carried on intensively, the Executive Committees of Soviets in each province are convening electoral conferences at which representatives of the trade unions participate. The re-established and newly established Municipal Soviets will participate in the corresponding congresses on the basis of the Constitution of the Soviet Republic.

—*Russian Press Review*, March 15, 1921.

OPENING OF COMMUNICATIONS

Moscow, April 8.—The ice has broken up in all the rivers of northern Russia. The Volga and other central rivers are completely cleared and are ready for navigation. Passenger steamer service has been resumed all along the Dnieper.

To facilitate the regular exchange of commodities with Poland a series of custom houses have been established along the Polish frontier.

The new petroleum pipe line from Emba to Saratov is rapidly nearing completion.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency*.

NAPHTHA DISTILLERIES

The Baku Naphtha Distilleries during January received the required quantity of petroleum for distilling kerosene. The quantity of oil distilled exceeds the program. For the first quarter of the year 25,210,972 poods of petroleum were distilled.

You Need These Books

in order to understand clearly how the Workers' and Peasants' Republic in Russia is functioning:

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Kronstadt and the Stock Exchange

By LEON TROTSKY

IN the Paris financial and economic paper *L'Information*, we meet with an extremely instructive reverberation of recent events in Kronstadt. This organ is a particularly complete and direct expression of French and international financial capital. Kronstadt events found their reflection neither in its political articles nor in any particular "slogan," but simply in the sober reports of the firmness of the Bourse and its operations. In the March 8 number we find a communication from Brussels, dated March 5. This communication we quote literally:

"The reports of great unrest in Russia, which are not yet, we admit, substantiated, tell of opposition to the dictatorship of the Soviets, and exercise a strong influence in raising the tone of the market. It is clear to all what may be the consequences of a fall of the Soviet power in Russia to the rest of the world. There might be expected, following it, a restoration of the old Tsarist Empire, of a sensible reorganization, suitable to the needs of the post-war period. This would mean a new hope of the rebirth of many Belgian industrial enterprises in Russia, and simultaneously a direct blow against Bolshevik intrigues in Belgium and abroad generally."

It appears then that the Brussels Bourse was very little interested in what were the differences between the slogans of the Social Revolutionist Petritshenko and the aims of General Kozlovsky, or the historic philosophy of the Menshevik Dan. The Bourse is clever enough to understand that these little nuances and rhetorical adornments are not after all of primary importance. The Bourse understands perfectly that in Russia there is a possibility of either one of two orders of things:

either there will be a dictatorship of Soviets under the leadership of the Communist Party,—the only historical party capable of leading the Revolution,—or there will be a dictatorship of French, Belgian, and other capital, through the mediation of the Russian counter revolutionary agents. Petritshenko, Dan, Kozlovsky, Chernov, Makhno, are only cogs in the mechanism that has been built to tear the power from the proletarian dictatorship and hand it over to imperialism. In the March 9 number of the same paper *L'Information*, we meet with a bulletin of the Paris Bourse, dated March 8. The first statement it makes is that the Bourse has recently been passing through "its customary demoralization" (inactivity, weakness, lassitude), but is beginning to become active again, thanks above all to the "favorable reports" of great disturbances alleged to be in progress in Russia, and menacing the rule of the Bolsheviki. "All quarters on the Exchange have utilized this new stimulus more or less. The greatest attention was turned however to a certain group of Russian stocks, for reasons that are constantly becoming more and more tangible." The course of quotations of Russian securities on the Paris Exchange is being favorably stimulated.

The language of these lines is far more clear, precise, convincing, serious, than those slogans that were devised by the Reval Social Revolutionists, the Berlin Mensheviks (Martov and Abramovich), and their allies, the Makhno anarchists. Makhno demands (or rather demanded) free popular Soviets; Martov and Dan demanded independent trade unions and an extensive dilution of the dictatorship—Petritshenko wants to have Soviets without Communists. Chernov puts the Con-

stituent Assembly in the foreground. General Kozlovsky opens his mouth to speak not so much of monarchy as to offer his services for a general shooting up of the Bolsheviks. Milyukov also is interested, in his Paris paper (*Pour la Russie*), in the same catchwords that were set up by Petrishenko and Dan, but is biding his time and is collecting (somewhat too late however) millions to support the rebels, among Russian capitalists and financiers in foreign countries. Meanwhile the European Bourse, pencil in hand, calmly records: "The Mensheviks active in Petrograd—quotation of Putilov shares rises ten francs." "Chernov promises a Constituent Assembly—let's add five francs more." "Artillery in Kronstadt thunders its support of the Soviets against the Communists; the capitalists consequently will get back their works and mines in the Donets—quotations must rise twenty or thirty francs more."

If one would gather the bulletins of European financial capital, particularly those of the Paris Bourse, for the months of February and March, and would plot the movement of the quotations of Russian securities in graphs, one would come

precisely to the conclusion that the White Guard and Menshevik and Social Revolutionary slogans were all quoted at practically the same rather low value. But no sooner do these slogans appear again in combination with artillery than their price at once rises quite high.

The counter-revolutionary liars, the Social revolutionary babblers, the slick Menshevik rascals and anarchist gallow birds are all carrying out the same historic role, consciously or unconsciously, through intelligence or stupidity: they advance and aid all efforts to re-erect the unlimited rule of the bandits of world imperialism over the workers and all natural resources. The economic, political, national independence of Russia is possible only under the dictatorship of the Soviets. The backbone of this dictatorship is the Communist Party. There is no other and can be no other.

Do you wish to break this backbone, gentlemen of the Social revolutionist and Menshevik groups? You have not gained by the experience of four years of revolution? Try it. We are ready to complete your education.

Pravda, March 24.

Why Not Trade with Russia?

By JAMES A. REED

(The following remarks of the Senator from Missouri in favor of the resumption of trade between Russia and America are taken from the Congressional Record, April 29, 1921. Our readers will recognize at many points in the Senator's remarks a considerable divergence from our view of the Russian Soviet Government.)

THERE are 180,000,000 people in Russia. They never did a warlike act against the people of the United States. Some four to six million of their sons went to their deaths in the early days of the European war, and if they had not stretched their bones upon the plains and in the swamps and died the death, Germany would have overwhelmed France and England and Italy. They were under the most tyrannical and most inexcusable government existing in all the world, an absolute autocracy, under which 1 per cent of the people owned substantially all of the property and lands.

Until a few years ago 70,000,000 of them were serfs, attached to the soil, and passed with the land, as the cattle and the houses and the fences passed. That was their state until the decree of Alexander released the serfs. But when they were released it was under such conditions as to make it impossible for them to acquire property in any considerable amounts, except through the long course of the toilsome years. What have you to say of that government which, in the gentle sunlight of modern civilization, still chained white men to the soil and drove men, women, children, and babies, without trial, and in herds into exile in Siberia; who enforced decrees with the knout laid on the naked backs until the flesh dropped from the bones. At the beginning of

this war and in this our twentieth century 90 per cent of the people of this autocratic government could not read or write, were practically without any education, reared in ignorance, driven as beasts, lashed like cattle, destroyed without mercy, ridden down by the iron-shod hoofs of the aristocrats, and brought to that condition of intellectual servitude and ignorance and bestiality by their oppressors.

Willing to Deal with Tsarist Russia

Although this story was known to all the world and to our Government, we not only traded with Russia but we made treaties of amity with her, and we sent congratulatory telegrams on the birthdays of her Tsars, and we treated her as a brother in the family of nations.

What mattered it to us if they denied all constitutional rights? What mattered it to us if the rule was the rule of the bayonet? What mattered it to us if children were born to creep and crawl through this life in the lowest strata of existence, where there was not a single flicker from the lamp of intelligence permitted to reach them? We traded with them. We trafficked with them. We made treaties with them.

That ignorant people at last rose against their masters and they set up the kind of government which you might expect ignorant men to set up.

It was not ideal. It outraged many principles of finance and economics. But it is a government at least that has established tens of thousands of schools. For the first time in the history of Russia there is such a thing as a public school. For the first time in the history of Russia the common man is permitted to hold aloft the torch of learning. For the first time into the night of ignorance and superstition and fear there comes the faint glimmer of the dawn of a better day.

Now, because they have not set up just the kind of government we would set up, our Secretary of State declares that we will not trade with 200,000,000 people.

Reasons Alleged for Declining Trade

Two reasons are assigned: One is that they have nothing to trade with and the other is that we do not like their form of government. As for the first, which I believe emanated from that high and almost sacred authority, Mr. Hoover, that they have nothing to trade with, I denounce it as so ridiculous and puerile that it is a disgrace to a white man to stand here to refute it. To say that 200,000,000 people, occupying a territory nearly four times as great as the United States, rich in every resource of the earth except the fruits of the forest, with mighty herds of cattle and horses, with vast wheat fields, with the richest furs there are in the world, with mineral wealth, have nothing to trade with is an absurdity which could only have come from the lips of a Hoover.

I have a friend, a man of great intelligence, who spent 10 months in Russia, attached to the American forces as an intelligence officer, and who was on the commission permitted to go back of the Russian lines to examine the condition of American prisoners. He said that he saw bales and bales and bales of the costliest furs of the Arctic and of the Russian northland lying there awaiting shipment, and that there was a clamor for tools, instruments of industry and husbandry.

The "Maltreatment" of Prisoners

Let me tell you another awful story. This will stir your blood; it will make every red corpuscle stand up ready to fight; it will outrage your souls when you hear about the treatment of these American prisoners. This friend of mine said they were quartered in the homes of the people; that they had as good beds as anybody else; that they got 25 per cent more rations than the citizens—the same amount as the soldiers of the Russian army; that they were permitted to go about town wherever they pleased—to the theatres and moving-picture shows—and all they had to do was to report at a certain hour at night. This treatment they received from the brutal men who have been pictured to us in such black words.

Now we are told we must not trade with them. Russian gold has been brought here, and they have asked to be permitted to purchase. We have been told that somewhere, some time, somehow, some Russian got some gold which belonged to

somebody else, and that we can not trade with them until that gold is paid back. In other words, we are to constitute ourselves, among other things, the collecting agency for other countries of Europe and get an abstract of title to every bit of gold that is offered here.

I am not speaking on behalf of the Russians, nor should I want to say I care nothing for the Russians, for I hope I care a little for all of God's creatures, however humble and however ignorant. I am considering this question from the standpoint of the interests of the United States. With 4,000,000 laborers, we are told, out of employment today, and with Russians here wanting to buy American products, with cotton at prices that bring tears to the eyes of my southern friends—and I do not blame them for weeping—why should we deny ourselves a market where there are 200,000,000 men wanting that cotton? Why should it be denied by the arbitrary decree of a Secretary of State plus a Secretary of Commerce? Why should we not sell to these people plows with which to turn over their soil? Why should we not sell them threshing machines and reapers and binders with which to harvest and prepare their crops? Why should we not send them cotton goods? Why should we not send them machinery for their mills?

Is it because they have no money? Then we do not have to trade until they produce the money and pay it in hard coin on the soil of the United States.

Senator Reed Not in Sympathy with Soviet Government

You will not trade with them because you do not like their morals or their form of government? Let me answer that; bad as is their government today, and I abominate many of its principles, it is the best government Russia has ever had and the most humane. I care not if they have confiscated the property. They did no worse than the aristocrats who took all the land. I care not if they divide among 85 per cent of the people the property that formerly belonged to 1 per cent. That is better than to have it held by the 1 per cent who never had any other title except the title of the sword and never had any other right except the right of brute force. Of course, I do not believe in confiscation, but this kind of confiscation is better than the condition that preceded it.

Barbarism No Bar to Trade

When in the past have we refused to trade with people whose morals or religion or government did not suit us? Why, the first thing the Pilgrim Fathers did after they landed here and read a chapter in the Bible and thanked God for protection was to take out a string of beads and try to swap it to an Indian for about 100,000 acres of land. This Indian was a barbarian. He held his property in common. He did not live at all according to our rules, but we continued trading

with him. We sold him knives with which he scalped us afterwards, and we asked no questions.

We have traded with the unspeakable Turk. It did not make any difference to us when we sold him a garment whether it was going to adorn the shoulders of a victim of the harem or whether it was to be a vestment of one who knelt toward Mecca and poured out his prayers to Allah. When we sent him steel we did not inquire into the state of his morals and we did not ask whether his government was constitutional or otherwise.

We traded with the Zulu, who comes to us stark naked with his bows and arrows and like barbaric weapons and who offers us something that we find to our advantage to take. We trade with the Patagonians, and, as has just been suggested by my friend the Senator from Georgia (Mr. Watson), who always sees a thing in its best form, we manufacture idols for idolators, and, I might add, wooden nutmegs for the unwary. When did it come to pass in this country that a Secretary of State plus a Secretary of Commerce could assume the power to cut off trade relations with 200,000,000 people?

American Boys Sent to Die in Russia

Now, behold, I show you another mystery. We were led into invading this country, which had not done us any harm, but we followed the armies of France and the armies of England and some of our boys sleep there in graves of eternal ice. But when at last these other countries were through we withdrew, and now the countries that led us into Russia, whose fortunes we followed there, who claimed to have the *casus belli* which we did not have, are trading with Russia.

Mr. President, I am going to print as part of my remarks an article appearing in the Chicago Tribune of Wednesday, April 27, 1921, showing the volume of Russian trade with England, Germany, and Sweden. It will be noted that this article alone accounts for an expenditure by Russia in England of over \$800,000,000. It does not, therefore, seem that Russia's trade is so insignificant.

Trade the Only Solution

If you desire to restore conditions in this country to the normal, it seems to me, while we may dispute about some things, we ought not to dispute about the proposition that no shrewd Yankee will ever sell his goods anywhere unless he gets a price he thinks is beneficial to him, and that therefore if you will open the doors of the trade of the world to him and turn him loose he will take care of himself and he will bring back the money in the long run. But here we are with Senators protesting against declaring a formal state of peace with Germany, while France and England, particularly the latter, are trading with Germany and financing Germany. Then we find down at the other end of the Avenue the doors of the greatest country in point of natural re-

sources and population in the world are closed to the products of American farms, American factories, American looms, and American genius.

Why? They are bolsheviks, it is said. What about bolshevism? Bolshevism is an idea. You can not stop an idea with bullets. You can not stop it with a tariff wall. You can not stop it with a club. You can give respectability to a false idea by attempting such methods. You can make martyrs of its advocates. The only thing that stops an idea is another idea. On the intellectual battle fields the only arms are ideas. You can only destroy ideas with ideas. If these people have a doctrine that is false, as I believe it to be false, if they have a doctrine that is wicked because it will not work out justly, as I believe it in that sense to be wicked, the way to meet that doctrine is not by running from it or trying to shoot it out of existence but to meet it with calm logic, and let it go, as many ideas went through the French Revolution, the way through trial to disaster and to ultimate destruction.

The Common-Sense Policy

What we ought to do, Senators, is to insist on getting down to some plain, common-sense methods. If a man comes here from Russia with money and he wants to buy a thousand threshing machines, let us put them on the cars, send them to the coast, take them off and put them on boats, and start them over to him. Let us take the money and build some more machines and furnish some labor for some more American citizens. If he wants to come here and buy cattle or sheep or anything else we have, let us pursue the same method. Let us do the same thing with Germany. Let us see to it that all the restrictions of commerce are removed.

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The Volume of the Trade with Soviet Russia

(The following article on the transit trade to Soviet Russia through Esthonia is taken from the official Commerce Report, published by the United States Department of Commerce, March 20, 1921. This detailed report on the volume of goods passing through Esthonia for Soviet Russia from August to November, 1920, is the best answer to the argument that trade with Russia is impossible. It should be borne in mind that the report deals with only one of the many routes through which European merchants are taking advantage of the Russian market and that it covers a period prior to the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement under which the commercial traffic to Soviet Russia has been greatly increased. The Trade Agreement was not signed until March 16, 1921, and yet in January of this year, alone, according to figures published by the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce, England exported goods to Soviet Russia to the value of 20,532 pounds sterling.)

AN interesting view of the trade with Soviet Russia is shown in the statistics of goods passing through the port of Reval in transit to Soviet Russia for the months of August, September, October, and November, 1920. The figures, compiled from authentic sources, represent goods actually shipped to Soviet Russia, and not necessarily the total received for shipment. The countries listed are not always the countries of origin, as the goods may have been transshipped en route, in which case the goods may be credited to the country where transshipment took place.

Fluctuations by Months.

The total transit shipments for August were valued at 180,236,660 Esthonian marks, for September at 151,552,039 marks, for October at 141,069,906 marks, for November at 301,811,520 marks, or a grand total of 774,670,125 Esthonian marks. It will be noted that shipments decreased during September and October, but that November values were two-thirds greater than those of August and more than three-fifths those of August, September, and October combined.

November Increases—Principal Articles and Their Sources.

Most of this November increase is from Sweden, which furnished merchandise to the value of 141,258,560 Esthonian marks, or over 46 per cent of the month's total shipments. Germany stands next, with a total of 84,273,000 Esthonian marks, or over 27 per cent; and the Netherlands third, with shipments valued at 38,285,960 Esthonian marks, or nearly 13 per cent.

The largest item (in valuation) of transit shipment during November was metals and metal goods, amounting to 64,172,960 Esthonian marks, or over 21 per cent of the total November shipments. Of this amount 38,285,960 marks (nearly three-fifths) came from the Netherlands, 24,060,000 marks (nearly one-third) from Sweden, and the remainder (1,827,000 marks) from Germany.

Leather, leather goods, and shoe materials stood second, with a total value of 36,800,000 marks, or over 12 per cent of the November shipments—all from Sweden. Cloth and shoes and electrical appliances each made up over 10 per cent of the month's shipments, the latter being all from Sweden and two-thirds of the former from Germany, with the remaining third from Denmark and Sweden. Agri-

cultural implements and machinery covered 8 per cent of November shipments, five-eighths being from Germany and the remainder from Sweden and Finland. Chemicals and drugs also amounted to 8 per cent, with nearly one-half from Sweden, nearly one-third from England, and the remainder from Germany.

Analysis of Shipments by Countries.

Of the total shipments for the four months, Sweden is to be credited with by far the largest amount—401,234,621 Esthonian marks, or nearly 52 per cent; Germany with 191,647,950 Esthonian marks, or nearly 25 per cent; Denmark with 101,132,664 marks, or 13 per cent; the Netherlands with 38,985,960 marks, or 5 per cent; England with 21,412,700 marks, or nearly 3 per cent; Finland with 7,018,300 marks; and Norway with 7,037,930 marks.

Shipments from Sweden during the four months fluctuated from 62,139,780 marks in August to 116,067,085 in September, 81,769,196 marks in October, and 141,258,560 marks in November. Shipments from Germany amounted to 60,592,200 marks in August, 20,346,000 marks in September, 26,436,750 marks in October, and 84,273,000 marks in November. Shipments credited to Denmark were valued at 51,266,000 marks in August, 2,375,904 marks in September, 30,990,760 marks in October, and 16,500,000 marks in November. Transit goods from the Netherlands were valued at 700,000 marks in September and 38,285,960 marks in November, there being no shipments in August and October. Merchandise from England was valued at 2,231,500 marks in September, 1,873,200 marks in October, and 17,308,000 marks in November. From Finland the shipments amounted to 2,820,000 marks in August, 12,300 marks in September, and 4,186,000 marks in November. Norway furnished only one item in the total trade—6,200,000 marks' worth of food-stuffs in September.

Analysis of Shipments by Articles.

The article ranking highest in the total transit shipments was agricultural implements and machinery, with a value of 153,767,981 marks, or nearly 20 per cent, of which three-fifths came from Sweden, one-third from Germany, and the remainder from Denmark and Finland.

Leather, leather goods, and shoe materials com-

posed more than 16 per cent of total transit shipments; metals and metal goods, over 14 per cent; electrical appliances, 11 per cent (all from Sweden); machines and tools, 9 per cent; chemicals and drugs, 5 per cent; cloth and shoes, 4.6 per cent; and haberdashery, 2½ per cent.

Statistics of Shipments by Articles and Countries of Origin.

The following table gives the total value (in Esthonian marks) of articles shipped to Soviet Russia in transit through the port of Reval for August to November, 1920, and the countries to which they

are credited. Conversions into Esthonian marks are made by the Esthonian Government at the following artificial rates: £1 equals 270 Esthonian marks; 1 German mark equals 1.4 Esthonian marks; 1 Finnish mark equals 3.9 Esthonian marks; 1 Danish crown equals 12 Esthonian marks; 1 Swedish crown equals 15 Esthonian marks; \$1 equals 70 Esthonian marks. The actual exchange rates for the Esthonian mark are much higher than these used by the Government. Owing to fluctuations in actual exchange value of the Esthonian mark conversions into United States currency are omitted.

TABLE SHOWING IMPORTS THROUGH ESTHONIA

Articles.	Denmark.	England.	Finland.	Germany.	Nether-lands.	Sweden.	Total.
	<i>Esthonian Marks</i>	Esthonian Marks	Esthonian Marks	Esthonian Marks	Esthonian Marks	Esthonian Marks	Esthonian Marks
Machinery and tools.....	21,620,000	1,773,200	12,300	21,968,000	.....	27,349,475	72,722,975
Metals and metal goods.....	.....	.....	.....	5,260,000	38,285,960	71,024,120	114,570,080
Agricultural implements and machinery <i>a</i>	9,521,656	.....	1,186,000	44,507,500	.....	98,552,825	153,767,981
Electrical appliances.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	85,235,760	85,235,760
Telephone and telegraph apparatus.....	.....	.....	.....	4,932,250	.....	21,510,521	26,442,771
Cloth and shoes.....	6,032,000	.....	.....	20,775,000	.....	8,790,000	35,597,000
Yarn and string.....	16,750,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,000,000	17,750,000
Chemicals and drugs.....	.....	8,634,000	2,730,000	6,337,500	700,000	16,539,000	639,309,750
Oils, fats, and paints.....	.....	981,500	.....	.....	.....	30,000	1,011,500
Fertilizers.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	900,000	900,000
Haberdashery.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20,150,000	20,150,000
Coal.....	.....	9,096,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,096,000
Surgical instruments.....	.....	.....	.....	1,054,000	.....	.....	1,054,000
Optical and photographic goods	1,512,880	.....	.....	12,825,500	.....	.....	14,338,380
Books and stationery.....	.....	.....	2,000,000	4,764,000	.....	1,169,020	7,933,020
Leather, leather goods, shoe materials.....	34,496,000	.....	.....	47,800,000	.....	43,790,000	126,086,000
Foodstuffs.....	1,500,000	.....	.....	608,200	.....	1,700,000	c10,008,200
Earth and stone <i>d</i>.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	485,700	485,700
Railway equipment.....	9,000,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,000,000
Fishing materials.....	.....	.....	e1,000,000	.....	.....	456,700	1,456,700
Typewriters (from United States).....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,668,680
Miscellaneous goods for German war prisoners.....	.....	.....	.....	17,000,000	.....	.....	17,000,000
All other articles.....	700,128	928,000	f90,000	3,816,000	.....	2,551,500	8,085,628
Total.....	101,132,664	21,412,700	7,018,300	191,647,950	38,985,960	401,234,621	g774,670,125

NOTES

a Two shipments of agricultural implements were not included in these statistics, as their value and country of origin could not be determined.

b Including 4,369,250 marks from the United States, not expressed in the table.

c Including 6,200,000 marks from Norway, not expressed in the table.

d Probably building clay and stone.

e Fishing nets.

f The total as given in the manuscript was greater than the sum of the items by 90,000, and the Bureau has no way of determining to which article the difference should be credited.

g Including a total of 7,037,930 marks from the United States and a total of 6,200,000 marks from Norway, not expressed in the table.

Soviet Russia and Her Foreign Trade

What has Soviet Russia to offer for sale to nations that will trade? What nations are trading with Russia now? Under what terms?

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Decree to Effect Trade with England

THE following decree of the Soviet Government, of April 11, designed to put into effect the various provisions of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement, was published in the "Izvestia," Moscow, April 13th:

In connection with the signing of the Trade Agreement between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and Great Britain on March 16, the Council of People's Commissars has decided:

(A) *To instruct the People's Commissariat of Naval Affairs:*

1. To consider as ports open to foreign commercial vessels the White Sea ports, Murmansk, Sevastopol, Feodosia and Novorossisk, and likewise, after the channels have been freed from mines, in the Baltic Sea, Kronstadt, and in the Sea of Azov, Genicheska, Mariupol and Rostov.

2. To clear at once from mines and mark with buoys and naval signs the routes to the ports of Kronstadt, first by the coast channel and later by the great ship channel, the same with respect to the routes to the ports of Murmansk, Genicheska and Rostov, and to clear the mines from the entrance to the Sea of Azov.

3. To arrange for meeting and conveying ships to these ports and to publish rules for vessels approaching the ports and for the reception of arriving vessels.

4. To present to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs a questionnaire covering the information necessary for our trawling activities, which the British Government, according to Article 3, paragraph 2, of the agreement, agrees to communicate to the Russian Government, namely, information about mines laid by British vessels and by vessels of the Grand fleet and others in the zones of approach to Russian ports, and also information as to the channels and mine fields and the degree of security of navigation in the various sea areas, so far as this information is at the disposal of the British Government.

5. To present to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs information regarding the mine fields laid during the world war in the open sea outside territorial waters, which shall for this purpose be considered as extending ten miles from shore, with the exception of the mine fields in sea areas essential to the defense of our shore, in which areas the zones which foreign ships must not cross shall be accurately indicated.

(B) *To instruct the People's Commissariat of the Interior:*

1. To adopt the necessary measures for the immediate repatriation of British subjects who have not yet left Russia and who submit the necessary declarations, and to give to the proper administrative departments the necessary instructions and rules for this purpose.

2. To make, in cooperation with the respective

People's Commissariats, rules for establishing the personal prerogatives of the official agents of the British Government who may enter Russia according to Article 5 of the agreement, which prerogatives are guaranteed by said Article; and also to make the rules for the relations between these agents and the organs of the Soviet power, in accordance with the same Article 5, and likewise to adopt measures for the exact observance of these rules by the local authorities.

3. To make, in cooperation with the respective People's Commissariats, rules to exempt goods of British origin from requisition in Soviet Russia, as provided by the trade agreement.

4. In pursuance of Articles 1, 4, and 6 of the British agreement, to issue in conjunction with the respective People's Commissariats, circulars of instruction to the local authorities, explaining the provisions to be made, within the limits of existing legislation, for the privileges, rights and facilities to be extended to British commercial vessels and British subjects entering Russian harbors or admitted into Russian territory for the purpose of conducting commerce, and likewise explaining the rules to be observed in exempting such British subjects from public services and taxes, and for their free egress.

5. To make rules for the sojourn of British citizens on Russian territory, fixing in cooperation with the respective departments, the areas and localities to which access shall be limited for such British citizens.

6. To make in conjunction with the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade, the conditions and rules for visas on documents issued or certified by the authorities for the purpose of carrying out trade relations between the two countries.

(C) *To instruct the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade:*

1. To revoke the prohibitions against the shipment of goods to Great Britain.

2. To adopt, in cooperation with the respective People's Commissariats, all necessary measures for facilitating the resumption of trade with Great Britain, by making arrangements in ports, warehouses, custom houses, and with the transportation services for the collection and sorting of raw materials and other commodities of export required by Great Britain.

3. To adopt measures for the immediate organization of Russian trade representation in Great Britain.

4. To make, in cooperation with the respective People's Commissariats, rules for carrying out Article 4, paragraph 5, of the British agreement regarding the facilities to be accorded British citizens for the possession of articles of household and personal use.

(D) To instruct the People's Commissariat of Post and Telegraph to adopt, supplementary to the measures already in force, further measures to give effect to Article 4, paragraphs 3 and 4, and Article 5, paragraphs 2 and 3, and Article 7 of the British agreement.

(E) To instruct the Governing Board (Presidium) of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, pursuant to paragraph 2 of the declaration of claims annexed to the agreement, to adopt the necessary measures for determining the quality and proportion of goods belonging to British citizens taken under control by the Soviet Government.

(F) To direct all the People's Commissariats

to submit to the Council of People's Commissars drafts of measures in addition to those set forth above which may be necessary for the successful carrying out of the Trade Agreement but which are outside the jurisdiction of the respective Commissariats.

(Signed) Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars,
V. ULIANOV (Lenin)
Director of Affairs of the Council of People's Commissars,
N. GORBUNOV.
L. FOTYEVA, Secretary

Kremlin, Moscow, April 11, 1921.

Wireless Telegraphy in Soviet Russia

By A. M. LYBOVICH

IN spite of the fact that Russia has been completely isolated for two years, and Russian syndicalists have been cut off by the blockade from contact with the technical science of the West, Soviet Russia made great progress in wireless telegraphy.

Previous to the October Revolution, wireless apparatus was under the supervision of the Ministry of War, and was employed exclusively for war purposes. Following the October Revolution, a special decree of the Council of People's Commissars provided for the transfer of all radio stations, excluding portable outfits, into the hands of the People's Commissariat of Posts and Telegraph. The latter augmented the number of these stations and introduced considerable improvements.

Beginning with that period, the application of wireless telegraphy was put on a basis utterly unknown in former times. Having in view the supreme importance of the political education of the wide masses of peasants and workmen, the People's Commissariat of Posts and Telegraph undertook to install a widely spread system of radio stations embracing vast areas of the country. All the radio equipments that were transferred to the Commissariat were employed for this purpose. Wireless operators were sent to all the provincial towns and the work of installation was carried on at full speed under the direct supervision and guidance of the central authorities and with the sympathetic cooperation of the Wireless Operators' Union. The larger towns were provided with radio stations first, then came the smaller towns, and towards the middle of the second year of this work of construction radio stations were installed even in the villages.

Proceeding at this pace, the Commissariat for Post and Telegraph Service has achieved the following results:

Number of Wireless Stations

Throughout Soviet Russia there are today 250 radio receiving stations, in addition to 47 stations belonging to the War Department, which are at

the disposal of the Commissariat of Post and Telegraph. This makes a wireless system of about 300 units, which is the most powerful information agency on the Continent. The number of radio transmitting stations, excluding those on ships is 47, which puts Soviet Russia first on the list of European countries in this respect.

All the powerful transmitting radio stations inherited from the Kerensky Government have been repaired and put into an excellent state. With the assistance of the Central Committee of the Transport Workers' Union a staff of operators is now being trained to man the newly built radio stations.

Thus radio telegraphic tentacles are now reaching out from the centre to the most distant and remote corners of the Republic. Untrammelled wireless telegraphy afforded the possibility of maintaining close communication between the cities and provinces surrounded by the enemy, where the encouraging messages coming from the centre and carried through the air-waves all over the vast area of Russia, were spread through the local press and the posters of the Russian Telegraph Agency, imbuing confidence, enthusiasm and strength in the hearts of the fighters.

During the civil war wireless telegraphy did excellent service. It enabled the Soviet Government to keep in constant touch not only with Tashkent, Uralsk, Baku and the Ukraine, but also with Soviet Hungary and with Germany, and afforded the opportunity of intercepting wireless messages from the hostile camps of Paris, England, Italy and Constantinople.

Civil and Military Uses

Thus reconstructed on a new basis and brought home to the wide masses of peasants and workmen wireless telegraphy became a powerful agency of propaganda and agitation in the hands of the Soviet Government. The installation of wireless stations and the development of wireless communication would proceed at a much greater speed if it were not for the necessity of diverting the most skilled workers and most of the equipment

for the needs of the war, and were it not that the production of wireless equipment does not keep pace with the work of installation.

The present abnormal conditions, when the workman, holding the hammer in one hand, must grasp the rifle with the other, are unfavorable for constructive work. Nevertheless the Council of Labor and Defence has issued a decree providing for the extension of the wireless stations. The people's Commissariat of Ways and Communications was ordered to institute a number of powerful transmitting and receiving stations in the centre and in the provinces. One of the stations is already in the process of construction. This station will rival the most powerful wireless stations in the world.

New Station for American Messages

The transatlantic station built in the vicinity of Moscow will be able to send waves all over the globe. It possesses an alternator of a new type of very high frequency—twenty thousand original motions a second. Apart from its wide possibilities as an agency of information, it will also produce extensive reforms in the matter of measuring longitude for purposes of navigation and surveying. There is no doubt that the colossal power of this station will compel the radio stations of other countries to adapt themselves to it. It will also provide extensive material and possibilities for the study not only of wireless telegraphy but also of atmospheric and magnetic phenomena, thus becoming an object of interest not only for Russia but also for foreign scientists.

All the work of calculation and construction connected with the alternator for this station has been accomplished by the Wireless Laboratory of Nizhnegorod. The inventor of the apparatus, engineer Volokdin, is a member of the Laboratory Council. This wireless laboratory was opened at the end of 1918 and in this brief period it has succeeded in making considerable contributions of great scientific value. It is engaged in the preparation of a new type of intensification which has hitherto been imported from France. By order of the Council of Defence the laboratory started upon the preparation of a number of radio-telephonic stations through the application of positive relay. A model of this has been worked out by engineer M. A. Bonch-Bruyevich, one of the specialists working in the laboratory.

The Wireless Telephone

Moscow already has a radio-telephonic station of this type, which can carry the human voice over a distance of over 3000 miles. The Chita station has reported that it has heard voice messages from Moscow. Similar reports have been received from Irkutsk, Tashkent and Semipalatinsk. The author of these lines, assisted by the Ministry of Posts and Telegraph, carried on experiments in Berlin to establish the possibility of carrying the human voice from that city and Moscow. The main wireless station of Gelthoff was placed at our disposal for that purpose. The investigation was carried

on in the presence of Count Orko, one of the most prominent scientists and inventors in the sphere of wireless telegraphy, Dr. Ruhkopf, the chief of the experimental station of the "Telefunken Co.", Dr. Gruzniczka, a physicist who had come from London by invitation of Comrade Krasin, and the engineers and technicians of the Gelthoff station. At the appointed hour we heard Moscow saying "hello", and the conversation that followed was so distinct that I could recognize the voices of the persons speaking from Moscow. The impression produced was overwhelming. One of those present said to me: "How was it possible to achieve such wonderful progress in a country, where, as our newspapers inform us, everything is in a state of destruction and anarchy? Whom are we to believe after this?" I advised him to believe the facts.

Moscow-Berlin Service

The German Ministry of Posts and Telegraph being greatly interested in the experiment, ordered its laboratory expert, engineer Vrazka, to verify it. As a result it was established that the audibility is sufficient for carrying on regular telephonic communication between Berlin and Moscow. Even reducing the power to one half it is possible to carry the human voice over the distance between Berlin and Moscow. This leads to the conclusion that the conversation from Moscow was heard by all the most important radio stations in Europe, a fact which was actually confirmed by messages received a few days after that from some European stations.

Thus the experiment in wireless telephony has proved a complete success, and this is the result of the scientific labors of the Soviet experts during the two years of their complete isolation from their colleagues in the West.

The radio telephonic station in Moscow is entirely the work of the Soviet Government. It has been installed and equipped by Soviet workers from the simplest screw to the most complicated apparatus.

In addition Soviet specialists have introduced a number of valuable improvements in the technique of wireless communication, and a number of new problems have been worked out by the radio laboratory at Nizhnigorod.

We can confidently state that in the matter of wireless telegraphy Soviet Russia has become altogether independent of foreign capital; we can produce all the necessary apparatus, and it is not inferior in any way to that produced abroad, while some of our apparatus even excels the European make. In the field of wireless telegraphy, we can say not only that we have made a good start, but that we have achieved in a comparatively short time such real progress as enables us to affirm that the productive genius of Soviet Russia has been aroused, and has already produced evidence of its ability to rival successfully the capitalistic West.

Stocks for Export

THE ability of Soviet Russia to export goods in exchange for foreign imports is demonstrated in the following statistics of stocks available for export, given in a recent number of "Economic Life," the official organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

The following stocks of merchandise are available for export:

PRODUCTS	CURRENT MARKET VALUE:	
	GOLD RUBLES	EQUIVALENT IN DOLLARS
1. Oil Products	100,000,000	\$51,450,000
2. Flax and Hemp	45,000,000	23,152,500
3. Bristles and skins..	10,000,000	5,145,000
4. Chemical Products .	40,000,000	20,580,000
5. Furs	10,000,000	5,145,000
Total	205,000,000	\$105,472,500

It is thus seen that in these products alone Russia has at present goods of an aggregate value exceeding \$100,000,000 immediately available for export. This is a small beginning. If Russia is afforded the opportunity to import rolling stock for her railways and machinery and implements for her workshops and farms, her producing ability will rapidly augment these stocks.

An itemized statement of the description and quantities of these goods is given in the following table:

DESCRIPTION OF PRODUCTS	POODS	EQUIVALENT IN TONS
1. Oil Products		
Kerosene	10,000,000	161,290
Benzine	5,000,000	80,645
Spindle Lubricating Oils..	300,000	4,838
Machine " " ..	3,000,000	48,387
Heavy " " ..	2,000,000	32,258
Cylinder Oils	200,000	3,225
Solar Oils	1,000,000	16,129
Naptha	2,000,000	32,258
Total	23,500	379,030
2.		
Flax	1,500,000	24,195
Hemp.....	350,000	5,645
3. Bristle.....	50,000	806
4. Chemicals, Drugs, etc.		
Pitch	260,000	4,193
Crude Turpentine	100,000	1,612
Refined Turpentine	4,000	64
Leaf Tobacco, Yellow	750,000	12,096
Old Tobacco	45,000	725
Baku Tobacco	45,000	725
American Tobacco	3,000	48
Lycopodium	1,100	17
Henbane	4,000	64
Lycorice	10,000	2161
Worm Seeds	1,000	16
Spanish Fly	80	1
Santonin	1,000	16
Hops	10,000	161
Juniper	10,500	169
Anise Seed	900	14
Cumin	500	8
Fusel Oil, 22.035 gallons		
Champaigne Aorats Dursot		
1,000,000 Bottles		
Potash	60,000	967
Miscellaneous	2,000	32
Also large quantities high grade perfumes and cosmetics		

5. Furs

Astrakhan (caracul) Squirrel, Fox, Sable, Marten, Wolf, etc..... 4,000,000
Also 800,000 goat skins.

The above figures deal with only a portion of the vast resources of Russia. They do not take into account timber and forest products of which Russia is the greatest source in Europe. They omit many important items, such as platinum, of which in pre-war years Russia produced 95 per cent of the world's supply, as well as other valuable metals and ores.

BUDGET FOR FOREIGN TRADE

A Russian Telegraph Agency dispatch announces that the following items in the budget for the purchase of foreign imports have been approved by the Council of People's Commissars:

The Commissariat of Foreign Trade—150,000,000 rubles for purchase of metal goods; 17,000,000 rubles for electrical appliances; 16,000,000 rubles for chemical supplies.

The Commissariat of Communications—2,000,000 rubles for the purchase of chemical supplies; 14,000,000 rubles for the purchase of locomotives in Germany; 54,000,000 rubles for miscellaneous railway supplies.

The Commissariat of Food—22,000,000 rubles.
The Commissariat of Education—21,000,000 rubles.

NEW SWEDISH RUSSIAN TRADE AGREEMENT

Stockholm, March 29.—The members of the new Swedish combine for trade with Russia have now arrived at a number of decisions among themselves. No final understanding with Russia has as yet been reached, nor has it been decided to enter into negotiations with the Russian Commercial Delegation now in this city. The combine will send representatives to Russia and its chief task will be to centralize through its organs the trade with Russia and to aid in drawing up contracts of purchase and sale. It will not enter into active public work nor yet carry on business in its own name, but will limit itself to the task of aiding the firms associated with it to begin and carry on negotiations. Among the enterprises that are members of the combine there may be named: Stora Kopparberg Bergslags Corporation; Svenska Tandstick Corporation, Gas Accumulator Corporation, Telefonaktiebolaget Strom (subsidiary company to L. M. Erickson), and the Nordiska Armaturfabriken Corporation. The combine has great money resources at its disposal.

—*Social Demokraten*, March 30.

THE SOLAR ECLIPSE AT MOSCOW

Moscow, April 8.—All Moscow today watched the eclipse of the sun through smoked glasses, which was clearly observable in the glorious Spring weather. Official posters issued by the People's Commissariat of Education had described and illustrated the eclipse for weeks ahead with full details for observing it.

Russian Imports in 1920

(The following statement by the Commissariat of Foreign Trade on imports into Soviet Russia during 1920, was published in the "Izvestia," February 1, 1921. The report does not pretend to cover the total of imports received in Russia during that year, since for obvious reasons it was unwise to disclose certain routes and sources of supply. It is instructive, however, as showing the success with which the Commissariat of Foreign Trade, in spite of the blockade and innumerable obstacles, managed to secure the importation of a great variety of essential commodities.)

NOT until 1920 did the Commissariat of Foreign Trade have the opportunity to undertake its work. Prior to that time trade with western Europe was limited to the things that could be smuggled across the frontier. The peace treaty with Esthonia weakened the blockade, though Esthonia itself could supply little more than paper and leather, and these to a rather limited extent. Orders are placed by the Commissariat in accordance with a definite plan, and such merchandise has been imported first of all as would benefit transportation, agriculture, and industry. The forwarding of goods from Reval to Russia was frequently hampered by the limited capacity of the Esthonian transport service.

The imports during 1920 included the following:

Articles.	Quantity.
Spare parts for railway engines and freight cars	poods ^a 12,916
Engine pipes	do.. 10,885
Engine injectors	sets 30
Gasoline motors	poods 2,720
Pumping plants	sets 30
Centrifugal pumps	number 43
Various automobiles up to 100 horsepower.....	number 100
Machines for woodworking.....	do.. 17
Netting for the paper industry.....	do.. 306
Lifting cranes	do.. 927
Various lifting appliances.....	do.. 100
Steel cable	poods 2,282
Zinc and copper bars.....	do.. 346
Bars for diamond drills, mining industry.....	number 16
Stones for diamond drills.....	do.. 167
Illegible	poods 21,500
Drilling steel	do.. 7,215
White sheet iron	do.. 3,000
Saws	number 365,200
Saws, circular	cases 114
Files	poods 51,133
Circular drills	number 11,000
Nails	poods 13,295
Grindstones	number 46,366
Surveying instruments	do.. 674
Haircutters tools	do.. 8,267
Telegraph apparatus	sets 460
Telephones	number 1,120
Electric globes	do.. 924,462
Wolfram wire	meters 1,250,000
Ammonia	kilos 6,150
Paraffin	tons 63.1
Gelatine	do.. 21.08
Anilin dyes	poods 1,283
Printers' ink	do.. 2,254
Paper	poods 594,294
Hemp	do.. 197
Lint (for surgical purposes).....	yards 600,700
Surgical instruments	poods 197
Medical thermometers	dozens 9,347
Microscopes	number 1
Chemists' scales	sets 650
Plows	number 11,086

Articles.	Quantity.
Cultivators	400
Harrows	do.. 115
Grass mowers	do.. 5,900
Harvesting machines	do.. 4,800
Horseshoes	do.. 3,400
Thrashing machines	do.. 387
Scythes	poods 38,932
Binding twine	do.. 17,790
Fanning mills	number 200
Seeders	do.. 36
Straw-cutting machines	do.. 269
Potato diggers	do.. 259
Pile drivers	sets 147,000
Separators	number 1,000
Shears (for sheep).....	do.. 1,000
Books	poods 615
Typewriters	number 355
Seeds, various	poods 863,702
Herring	barrels 5,442
Various salted goods.....	poods 30,000
Cocoa	do.. 1,277
Rice	do.. 122,158
Condensed milk	tins 65,000
Salt	poods 10,000
Coal, hard	do.. 38,524
Nets, fishing	number 288
Manufactured goods	poods 500
Soap	do.. 3,652
Boots	do.. 125,000

^a One pood—36.1128 pounds; 1 short ton—55.1 poods.

Some stationery, musical instruments, medical stores, etc., were also imported.

Next Week's

Soviet Russia

Portrait of Rakovsky, whose position in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic is the same as that of Lenin in Soviet Russia, (President of the Council of People's Commissars), with biography.

Full page picture showing Lenin addressing a street meeting, with Trotsky as one of his audience.

THREE WHALES, a short story by Ivan Ulianov.

THE DEATH OF A RED ARMY NURSE, a real incident in the liberation of the Caucasus.

Lenin's speech on THE TAX IN KIND, an important discussion of the difficult relations between the peasants and city workers.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

MR. JOHN H. FINLEY, writing on May 2 from Narva, Esthonia, to the *New York Times* (issue of May 8), presents interesting surface pictures of this town at the very edge of Soviet Russia, to which he adds not a little of illuminating interpretation. There are three points deserving of emphasis in Mr. Finley's letter: 1) there is trade actually going on, to the extent of three full freight trains daily from Reval to Russia, with occasional trains filled with gold and flax over the same route in opposite direction; 2) life in Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania is picking up, there is some kind of political organization of each country, but as yet nothing like a complete filling of all the needs of the population; 3) the probability of red uprisings in Esthonia, followed by the establishment of a Proletarian Dictatorship, is lessened by the progressive prosperity conditions in that border state: the Red Flag is less of a menace to the governing classes of each state in the measure that this class has succeeded in contenting its population, the implication being that Soviet Russia will not force Communism on neighboring states, that such states have to fear Communism from within or not at all.

After suggesting the extent to which Russia is still cut off from the rest of the world, Mr. Finley says:

"And even through this barrier commerce is beginning to pass. As I approached it a few minutes ago I saw a train of fifty loaded cars entering the land which for most of the rest of the world still has upon it the mystery of the forest. What this train's cargo was I could only surmise, except for three open cars which were loaded with iron pipe and great castings for machinery. In Reval (renamed Tallinn) I had heard on good authority that 7,000,000 pairs of misses' shoes had been contracted for by Russia in America, and that shipments were beginning to go through. In London I was told on equally good authority that great quantities of clothing were going from England. At Riga I saw about a hundred mowers on a wharf awaiting cars to take them into Russia. It is doubtless freight of this sort that this train of Russian cars, drawn by one engine and pushed by another, is transporting beyond the shadow. And now, ten minutes later, it is in Russia."

Here is the report of an eye-witness on the Esthonian border: he saw goods passing into Russia. We can inform him what was in the closed cars—the inside of which he did not see—if he will glance through the article on "The Volume of Russia's Foreign Trade," appearing elsewhere in

this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. Persons who express concern over whether Soviet Russia will live up to her treaty obligations to foreign powers should read Mr. Finley's description of the trainloads of emigrants passing in and out of Russia by way of Narva. These are the persons who, under the Treaty with Esthonia, are permitted in either country to choose whether they will be citizens of one or of the other. Russia is evidently sending out those Esthonians who wish it, and receiving back those who wish to be considered as citizens of Soviet Russia. And evidently Russia is carrying out generously the provisions of the Treaty permitting such persons to take certain property with them:

"It (a train) had arrived the previous day with 168 peasant passengers returning from Russia to their old homes in Esthonia. They had come from near Petrograd and had been allowed to bring with them not only a few household belongings, but also their cattle to the number of sixty, and about thirty horses."

If Mr. Finley sends in further articles on the same subject, and succeeds in maintaining the same attitude of unprejudiced observation, his contribution to an understanding of Russian conditions will have its value.

* * *

SOON other great commercial routes will be opened between Soviet Russia and the West. Mr. Finley's article above mentions a great railroad traffic through Riga, in Latvia, in addition to what he observed in Narva, Esthonia. The route through Poland to Germany is about to be opened. On May 6 a Preliminary Trade Agreement was signed with Germany—Aaron Scheinman signing for the Soviet Government, and Gustav Behrendt and Baron Von Maltzen for the German Government. Soon a full Trade Agreement will be ready for signature. A convention to exchange prisoners still remaining in Russia and Germany has also been reached.

* * *

CERTAIN capitalists in foreign countries would perhaps prefer to have the trade with Russia take a different form. One of these gentlemen recently proposed to spend \$10,000,000 in Moscow to purchase the abandonment by Leon Trotsky, and others, of their Communist ideal. It is a notion not inconsistent with the beliefs expressed in the newspaper press, for if the Communist leaders in Russia are as vicious as they are represented in the newspapers, it should not be difficult to bribe them to desert their principles. In fact, now that the idea has been launched, the capitalist press should make what it can of it, and the line of action is clearly indicated by past practice: First, announce that Trotsky has accepted the bribe and is ready "to deliver the goods" (say—admission of an invading army along a prearranged route, without offering military resistance); allow a few days to elapse, to give him time in which to comply with the requirements of his amiable undertaking; then, make known that, being a true Communist, he is faithless to his bond, and, although he accepted the \$10,000,000, he has not "made good."

Mr. Edgar Sisson should not be entrusted with the task of devising it, partly because his name has unfortunately become bound up with another similar affair, and partly because his credulity in that incident caused a number of very awkward forgeries to be introduced among the other more skillfully constructed documents, to the disadvantage and failure of the whole scheme. The documents should include a duly attested contract for the accomplishment of the treason, signed by Leon Trotsky as Commissar of War, with signatures by various other persons prominent as officials of the Soviet Government (attention should be paid to their whereabouts at the time the document is dated; for instance, a representative at Reval or in Constantinople must not be represented in the final document as having affixed his signature in Moscow, on a day when he was not in that city). But these details may safely be left to governments with sufficient cleverness and sense of humor to forge whole issues of *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*, and to accept whole bushfuls of fake correspondence for reprinting in many languages. One little hint is perhaps not out of place: a certified check, endorsed by the Commissar of War, to show that he received the \$10,000,000, may be of use.

It would be difficult to imagine a more impressive way of bringing out the perfidy of these Communists, who even in their acts of treason are likely to deport themselves with complete disregard of all the rules of "commercial morality."

Finally, two university professors should be retained, whose duty it shall be to certify to the genuineness of all the documents involved. If they should be men of very exceptional talent, they perhaps ought to have complete charge of the preparation of the documents, and the Sisson papers must be kept constantly in mind as a type of what should not be done in this field.

EVERY day the "Inquiring Reporter" of the New York *Globe* asks five persons, chosen at random, some question of general interest, and records their answers, together with the name and address of each answerer, and the place where the question was asked, in that day's editions of *The Globe*. About two weeks ago his question was: "What can the city do to help the unemployed?" The question was asked of persons riding in the Seventh Avenue Subway. Of the five persons asked, all proposed some measure by which employment might be given to those now without it, and three of these found the solution in trade with Russia:

1. "I don't see how the municipal government could do much, but the government at Washington could, by ratifying the treaty with Russia and opening new trade, thus filling our factories. But politics stands in the way."

2. "The city could help very little. We ought to be trading with Russia. She has the gold, and we have the goods."

3. "The city could help little. Had the government settled months ago with Russia, there would be a demand for our goods. There would be no idle men here."

Long ago, the enterprising reporter had asked his five persons what should be the attitude of the

United States toward Russia, and the answer in each of the five cases was to the effect that Russia should be let alone, should be not interfered with in her solution of her own problems.

A white paper issued in London on May 5 gives a report, dated February 25, of the committee appointed on May 17, 1920, to collect information on Russia. The committee was presided over by Lord Emmott, the other members being Sir Ellis Hume Williams, Sir W. R. D. Adkins and Major Watts Morgan, who was succeeded on July 23 by Major Watts Morgan. Its conclusions are:

"1. That complete renunciation by the Soviet Government, by the Russian Communist Party and by the Third or Communist International of propaganda directed toward the destruction of the political and economic order existing in other countries is a fundamental promise, without acceptance of which there can be no question of capitalist aid in the economic reconstruction of Russia.

"2. That the possibility of extending credit to Russia on a scale in any way commensurate with her minimum needs will be dependent on the faithful observation of the above condition.

"3. That the co-operation of the peasantry is indispensable to the economic reconstruction of Russia.

"4. That the settlement of the agrarian question on a basis which will provide inducements for agricultural production, now lacking, is an essential to the provision of adequate supplies of food for the industrial workers in the towns.

"5. That the restoration of rail and river transport is necessary if such food supplies are to be conveyed with speed and regularity to the industrial areas of Russia.

"6. That the state of administrative incompetence and corruption into which the departments of the Soviet Government have fallen militates against the proper distribution of available supplies among the population and must be remedied if the Russian worker is to be restored to the standard of health and strength necessary to re-establish the diminished productivity of his labor.

"7. That if extraordinary commissions continue to exercise their present irresponsible powers the foreigners whose services in Russia may be necessary to execute contracts between the Soviet Government and foreign capitalists will be deprived of those guarantees of freedom and protection which are accorded to foreigners in other civilized countries, and this will destroy the possibility of any benefits accruing to the Soviet Government from such agreements.

"If the Soviet Government decides to maintain a campaign for the violent destruction of capitalism in other countries and a policy of ruthless repression which makes it impossible for foreigners to live and do business in Russia, then Russia will of necessity be left to her own resources. Then will the future show whether or not the combined effect upon the worker of persuasion as to the merits of communism and of persuasion by the payment for work done with the shadow of imprisonment and the bayonet ever present can restore the old productive power of Russia within the short time available for experiment.

"If it does not, Trotsky himself admits that Russian Socialist society is on the way to ruin, however it may twist and turn, and with the conclusion of Trotsky we agree."

To which the following answer might be made: The capitalist Government of Great Britain evidently thinks it is all right, for the Trade Agreement with Soviet Russia has since been signed. We also agree with Trotsky that if Communism fails, Russian society is on the way to ruin, but we do not agree with the author of the white paper that Trotsky ever said it would fail.

The Terms of the Treaty with Poland

On March 18 the peace treaty between Russia and Ukraine on the one part, and Poland on the other, was signed in Riga. We are giving below a summary of its clauses compiled from the condensed versions published by "Novy Mir" (Berlin) and "Novy Put" (Riga).

1. Cessation of War

Both contracting parties declare that the state of war between them has ceased and recognize the independence of Ukraine and White Russia.

2. Frontier

The new frontier between the contracting parties is fixed along the Western Dvina River, further, on the border of the former provinces of Vilna and Vitebsk, cutting the railroad line at Oryekhov, the eastern border of the former province of Vilna, up to the upper part of the River Chernitsa through the Lake Madzoli, in the southwest direction to the River Vilya, and along this river up to the highway which goes to the south from the town Dolginovo, Boturino, Radoshkovich, along the River Viazovka up to the village Lipen, the town Rakov, and the town Rubzhevichi to the middle of the roads Neavizh-Timkovich and Kletak-Timkovich, along the Moscow-Warsaw chaussee to the river Moroch and Sluch, to the railroad Olyevsk-Sarny, to the village Myshakovka, to the mouth of the river Korchik, up along the river Vilya to the river Zbruch, and along it to its junction with the Dniester River. In the case of differences between the text and map which is attached to the treaty the deciding factor will be the text. In all particulars the frontier will be established by a joint frontier commission which will be arranged for on the basis of the previous agreements. The contracting parties agree that not later than fourteen days after the signing of the agreement they will remove their troops and administrative apparatus from the places which according to the agreement belong to the other party; and from the places on the border lines as soon as the Joint Commission will have determined where they belong.

3. Mutual Renunciation

Russia and Ukraine mutually renounce all rights and claims to lands which are to the west of the borders that were fixed by the agreement. Poland renounces in favor of Ukraine and White Russia all rights and claims to lands which are to the east of the new frontier. The parties agree that the territories disputed between Poland and Lithuania which are to the west of the new frontier are subject exclusively to a settlement between Lithuania and Poland.

4. Obligations Attached to New Polish Territory

Poland is freed of all obligations attached to her newly acquired territory, including those obligations arising from its former inclusion in the old Russian empire.

5. Sovereignty

The parties mutually guarantee that they will fully respect the sovereignty of the other party and that they will refrain from any interference in its internal matters, from any agitation, propaganda, any form of intervention or any assistance thereto. The parties engage themselves not to create, nor to assist any organizations aiming at armed struggle against the other party as well as such organizations that claim for themselves the role of the government of the other country. The parties agree to forbid recruiting, importation and transit of armed forces, weapons, of military equipment, and other war materials for such organizations.

6. Choice of Citizenship

This paragraph deals with the question of the choice of citizenship in one or the other country. Those persons are to be considered Polish citizens who have the right to be enrolled in the lists of the population of the Polish republic, and the descendants of those who have through the third generation lived always on the territory of the Polish republic, and have proved that they are of Polish nationality. A wife has the right of independent choice of citizenship for herself and the children which she has brought up. This choice of citizenship will be filed with

the proper government institution of the country of which the given person chooses to consider himself a subject. All optants (persons who choose citizenship in this way) have the right to keep or export or otherwise dispose of their property.

7. National Rights

Persons of Polish nationality in Russia, Ukraine or White Russia will be allowed the free development of their culture and language and the free practice of their religion; the same right is to be enjoyed by persons of Russian, Ukrainian and White Russian nationality in Poland.

8. War Expenses

The parties mutually renounce all claims for indemnification for the state expenses occasioned by the conduct of war against each other as well as all claims of indemnity for the losses which were sustained by them or by their citizens on the field of war operations owing to measures and operations necessary in such war.

9. Repatriation

1) The repatriation agreement, signed February 14th of this year, is confirmed; 2) a period of three months is fixed for the presentation of statements of expenditures for the maintenance of war prisoners; 3) mutual obligations are undertaken for the preservation and maintenance of cemeteries, and 4) for the exchange of documents and information concerning the graves of war prisoners.

10. Amnesty

Each of the contracting parties guarantees the citizens of the other party complete amnesty for political crimes. This amnesty is extended to crimes of administrative order and violations of regulations and ordinances by prisoners. Persons affected by the amnesty will be surrendered with all pertinent documents to the government of which they choose to be subjects. Judicial investigation and execution of death sentences will cease the moment the present treaty is signed.

11. Return of Valuables

Russia and Ukraine are to return to Poland the following, brought into Russia or Ukraine since January 1, 1772: a) war trophies, b) libraries, books, archeological collections, archives, art objects, all collections and accumulations of historical, national, archeological, educational, or general cultural value. Also, archives kept from January 1, 1772 to November 9, 1918, which relate to the territory of the Polish republic, are subject to return. There are to be returned also educational and school laboratories, cabinets and collections taken from the beginning of the war to October 1, 1915.

12. Government Property

Each of the contracting parties recognizes that the government property found on the territory of one and subject to return to the other, is incontestably the property of the latter. Poland receives all the rights and claims of the former Russian empire within the frontier of Poland, in connection with the obligations that were to be fulfilled on the territory of the Polish republic. Acts and documents assuring these rights are given over to the Polish government by the Russian government.

13. Gold

Poland is to receive for her participation in the reserve fund of the government bank of the former Russian empire, the sum of 30 million rubles in gold coin or ingots, within a period of one year from the date of the ratification of the treaty.

14. Railroad Property

The return of railroad property: railroad cars and locomotives of lines of the normal gauge are subject to return to Poland. Rolling stock of wide gauge is to remain in

Russia. The value of the railroad property is fixed at 29 million rubles in gold.

16. Property of Various Institutions and Persons

The return to Poland of the property of municipal organs and institutions, of juridical and private persons who left Poland either voluntarily or under compulsion between August 1, 1914 and October 1, 1915. For property destroyed Poland receives adequate compensation. The Joint Commission for Re-evacuation, meeting in Moscow, is to begin its activities within six weeks from the time this treaty is signed.

16. Funds of Social and Cultural Institutions

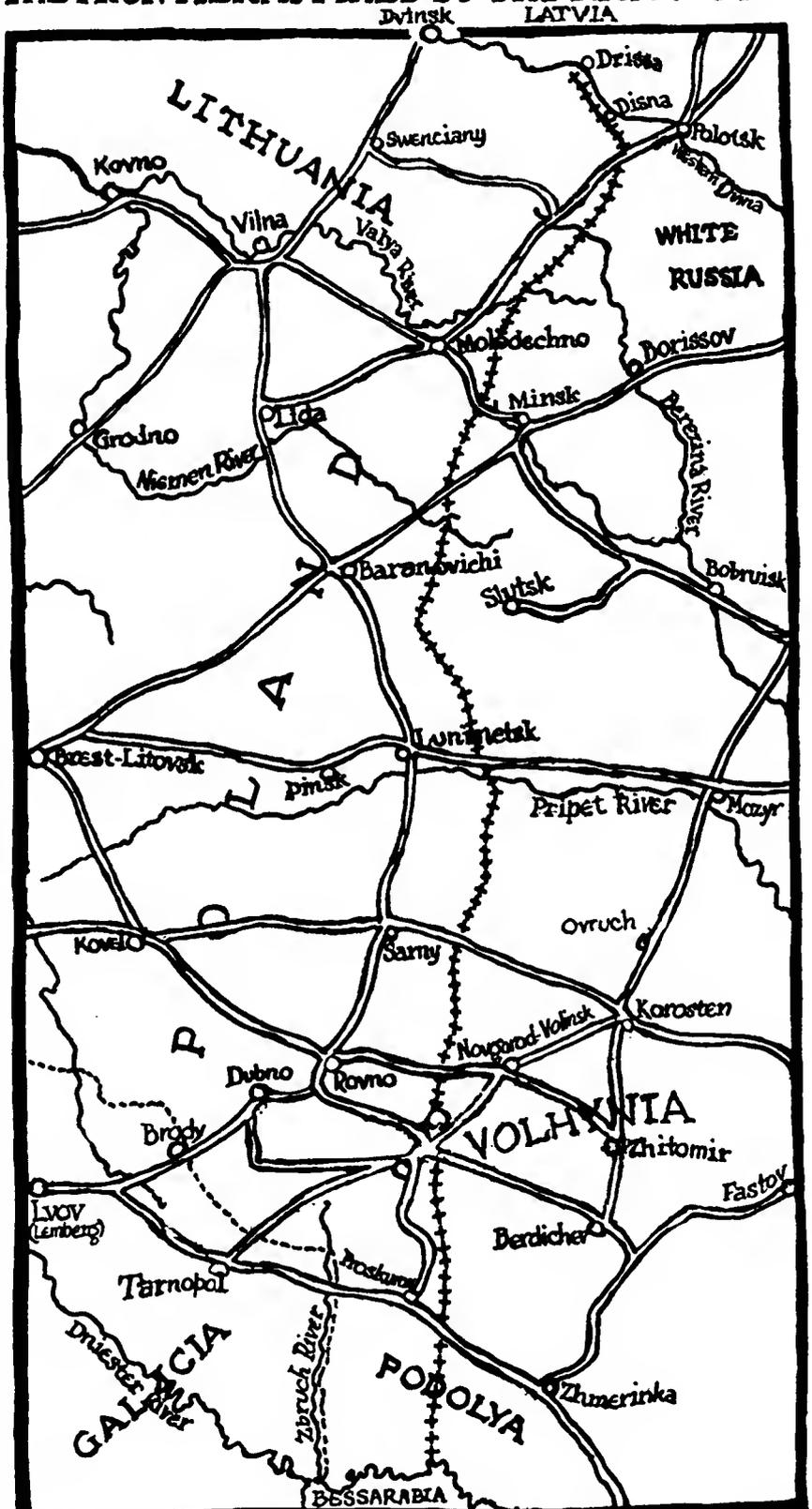
1) Russia and Ukraine agree to present to Poland a statement of the special funds designed for the assistance of Polish citizens, which were, in accordance with obligatory decisions, deposited or on account in the government banks or credit institutions of the former Russian Empire; 2) Russia and Ukraine agree to present to Poland a similar statement of the corresponding capital of the Polish social institutions, and also the capital and property of social, cultural and religious institutions which was taken over by the Russian government, and then liquidated and placed in the government exchequer; 3) Russia and Ukraine agree to present to Poland a statement of the general government capital designed for social aid.

17. Bank Deposits

1) Russia and Ukraine agree to present to Poland a statement of deposits and balances by Polish citizens in Russian or Ukrainian nationalized or liquidated credit institutions, and also in the government institutions and banks. Russia and Ukraine extend to Polish juridical and private persons all rights enjoyed by them at the time the deposits were made, equal to the rights of Russian juridical and private persons. The basic unit of the statement will be the value of Russian money on October 1, 1915.

2) All matters concerning litigations between private individuals and juridical persons, which are not provided for by the present treaty, must be referred to special joint commissions.

THE FRONTIERAS FIXED BY THE RIGA TREATY



----- Former Russian Boundary
+++++ Russian Boundary by the Riga Treaty

18. Commission for Regulation of Accounts

For the regulation of the matters mentioned in par. 14, 15, 16, 17, there is to be created, within six weeks from the ratification of this treaty, a joint estimating commission, composed of five persons from each side, meeting at Warsaw. All property values are to be estimated in Russian gold rubles.

19. Obligations of the Former Russian Empire

Russia and Ukraine agree to relieve Poland of responsibility for the obligations of the former Russian empire, including the obligations arising from the issue of paper money, bonds, etc.

20. Compensation

Russia and Ukraine bind themselves automatically to extend to juridical and private persons of Poland all rights and privileges which are granted or may be granted to any third government relative to compensation for all government losses,—recognizing not only the original documents which establish property rights, but also the documents to be issued by the joint commission mentioned in par. 15 and 18.

21. Trade Agreement

The contracting parties are bound within six months from the date of the ratification of the peace treaty to enter into concluding negotiations for a commercial treaty covering the exchange of goods, and also for the conclusion of a consular convention, and agreements relating to post and telegraph arrangements, railroads, veterinary and sanitary measures.

22. Transit Traffic

Provisional conditions are established for the transit traffic of goods up to the time of the conclusion of the convention mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Poland reserves the right to determine the conditions of the transit traffic of German and Austrian goods. The contracting parties recognize the right of free transit traffic of goods by all railroads and waterways open to transit, up to the time of the conclusion of the convention. Goods in transit are subject to no transportation toll or other tax. The transportation of war munitions is prohibited.

23. Enforcement and Ratification

Russia and Ukraine recognize that all obligations undertaken by them in connection with Poland, and also all rights granted them by this treaty, are to be in force in the territory lying east of the frontier established in paragraph 2 of this treaty and which is represented by Russia and Ukraine. These rights concern especially the citizens of White Russia.

The present treaty should be considered ratified and legally in force as soon as ratified copies are exchanged; this exchange of copies is to take place in Minsk within 25 days after the signing of this treaty. Wherever the time of the ratification of the treaty is mentioned, the moment of the exchange of ratified copies is meant.

As evidence of the mutual acceptance, by both parties, of the present document, they have affixed their seals. Drawn up and subscribed in Riga, March 18, 1921.

The Russian-Turkish Treaty

The text of the Russian-Turkish treaty signed in Moscow on March 18 involves among others the following points:

The Government of the Russian Socialist Republic and the Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, inspired by the fervent desire that cordial relations and sincere friendship may always exist between them, signed a treaty of friendship and brotherhood on March 16. Both contracting parties recognizing the community (of interests) existing in the national struggle for liberty of the peoples of the East and the struggle of the Russian working people for a new social order, categorically recognize the right to freedom and independence of both countries as well as the right of choosing for themselves the form of government. Both parties agree not to recognize any international act imposed by force upon either of the contracting parties; and Russia particularly will not recognize any treaty or international act relating to Turkey which its National Government refuses to recognize.

Batum

By virtue of this treaty, Turkey cedes the sovereignty over Batum District, including the city, to Georgia on condition that it will be granted full autonomy, cultural, religious and agrarian. Turkey is granted the right of transit of goods through Batum free of any custom duties and encumbrances.

Nakhichevan

The district of Nakhichevan will form an independent territory under the protection of Azerbaijan which, however, cannot transfer it to any other Power. Both parties consider all treaties entered into previous to this one null and void.

Liquidation of Former Treaties

Russia considers Turkey free from all financial obligations incurred by agreements concluded between Turkey and the former Tsar's Government.

Russia declares the system of "capitulation"* inconsistent with the sovereign rights of any country and declares null and void all rights relating in any way to these "capitulations."

Constantinople and the Straits

In order to free the straits for commercial relations between all nations, both parties have resolved to leave the

final settlement of the question of the international status of the Black Sea and the straits to a future conference of delegates of the countries bordering on these waters, the decisions of which must not limit the sovereignty of Turkey or endanger her capital, Constantinople.

Citizens born in either of the contracting countries, living in the territory of the other, will be subject to the laws of the country in which they reside, except as to family law, rights of inheritance and legal capacity which will be decided by special agreement. Both countries agree to accord the most favorable treatment to each other's subject.

Kars and Ardahan

The sovereignty of the territory which until 1918 belonged to Russia, namely the Kars and Ardahan districts, is turned over to Turkey by Russia. The people living therein may leave Turkey, taking with them their property and valuables. Similar rights are extended to residents in the territory of Batum wishing to leave Georgia.

War Prisoners

The repatriation of war prisoners and civilians in Europe will be completed in three months and of those in Asia in six months.

Each contracting party agrees not to tolerate the formation or residence of groups in its territories which assume the role of government of the other party or a part of its territory, nor to tolerate the passage or quartering of military or naval forces hostile to the other party, and to forbid any kind of hostile acts directed against the other party.

With regard to the Caucasian Soviet Republics Russia undertakes that the mutual clauses of the present treaty will be recognized in the treaties to be concluded between Turkey and those republics.

Communications and Trade

Both nations agree to employ all necessary measures to increase the intercourse between them as well as to provide free transit of passengers and freight without any hindrance.

Both countries agree to conclude a consular convention in the immediate future as well as supplementary agreements regulating economic, financial and other questions for the purpose of strengthening mutual friendly relations, as expressed in the preamble of the present agreement.

*Granting of extra-territorial rights and immunities to foreign citizens residing in Turkey.

Proletarian and Capitalist Solidarity

(Speech Delivered at the Conclusion of the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party.)

By N. LENIN

COMRADES, we have concluded the work of the party congress, which has met at a critical juncture in our revolution. The civil war, now ended, following upon many years of imperialistic war, so harassed and confused the country that it is recovering with the greatest difficulty. We cannot wonder therefore that the elements of disintegration and ruin, the petty bourgeois and anarchistic elements, are now raising their heads. A circumstance most favorable to them is the unprecedented need of the masses, who see no escape from a very difficult position. But we know, comrades, that the country has endured even more difficult moments. While we recognize the danger thoroughly, while we tell ourselves and our comrades frankly that the danger is great, and do not fall into an easy optimism, we confidently count, at the same time upon the unity of the proletarian vanguard. We know that the only force able to unite millions of scattered small proprietors who are constantly enduring great hardships, the only force able to unite them economically and politically against the exploiters, is the class-conscious proletariat. We feel certain that this force has been sufficiently tempered by the experience of the war and the revolution to triumph in every new trial and difficulty.

Comrades, not only the resolutions adopted by our congress in this spirit but also the resolutions with regard to our relations with the peasants are of the greatest importance. We are giving the most sober consideration to the question of class relations,—and we do not fear to acknowledge openly that it is a very difficult one—the problem of establishing just relations between the proletariat and the predominating peasant population, now when necessary conditions have not yet been fulfilled. Relations will be normal then, and only then, when the proletariat is in possession of a large scale industry with its products, and when it not only meets the needs of the peasant but, besides furnishing him with the necessities of life, so improves his position that its superiority over the capitalistic system will be evident and palpable. This, and nothing else, would constitute the basis of normal Socialistic society. We cannot bring this about immediately—so harassed are we by ruin, need and impoverishment. But in order to get rid of this cursed heritage more easily, we react to it in a definite way, in spite of the conditions brought about by the terrible war. We will not pretend that the peasants have not a very real cause for dissatisfaction. We will explain in greater detail and say that we are doing everything in our power to improve the situation, and give more consideration to the needs of the small proprietor. We are going to do everything to bring about the conditions necessary for greater production.

We are not afraid that these measures will develop tendencies hostile to communism—although that will no doubt be the case. Such is the spirit in which we declare our readiness to examine the political situation and even to change its aspect; for, during the course of several years, we have been establishing, for the first time in history, the foundations of Socialist society and a proletarian government.

I think that in this connection the work of our congress will be the more successful that we have achieved absolute agreement from the very beginning on two fundamental questions; the relations of the vanguard of the proletariat with the proletarian masses and its relations with the peasants. Here we showed greater unity than ever, despite the fact that we must vote under very difficult political conditions.

All the more reason then not to display panic as an unprecedented, nervous, hysterical campaign is now being waged against us by world capitalism. Through the kindness of Comrade Chicherin I received yesterday a memorandum covering this question, and I think it will be useful to all of us. This memorandum deals with the campaign of lies regarding Russia's internal condition.

The Campaign of Lies

Never at any time in the West has there been such an orgy of lying and such a wholesale production of fantastic fictions regarding Soviet Russia as in the past two weeks. From the beginning of March the entire occidental press has been publishing daily floods of fantastic news of revolts in Russia, of victories for the counter-revolutionaries, of the flight of Lenin and Trotsky to the Crimea, of the hoisting of the white flag over the Kremlin, of rivers of blood flowing in the gutters of Petrograd and Moscow, of barricades in the streets, of great crowds of workers descending upon Moscow from the hills to overthrow the Soviet power, of Bunenov's going over to the side of the power, of Budenny's going over to the side of the rebels, of the triumph of the counter-revolution in were included now these cities, now those, so that altogether almost a majority of Russia's important cities were enumerated.

The fact that this campaign was world-wide and methodical indicates a carefully prepared plan on the part of the leading governments. On March 2 the Foreign Office (British Ministry for Foreign Affairs), through the medium of the Associated Press, declared that it regarded the published news as probably true, and immediately afterwards the Foreign Office itself gave out news of a revolt in Petrograd, the bombardment of Petrograd by the Kronstadt fleet, and fighting in the streets of Moscow.

On March 2 all the British newspapers published telegrams reporting revolts in Petrograd and Moscow; they reported that Lenin and Trotsky had fled to the Crimea, that 14,000 workers in Moscow were demanding a Constituent Assembly, that the Moscow arsenal and the Moscow-Kursk railroad station were in the hands of the revolting workers, and that Vassilyevsky Island in Petrograd was in complete possession of the rebels.

I will give some examples from radios and telegrams of the following days:

March 3. Comrade Klishko telegraphs from London that Reuter has picked up absurd rumors of an uprising in Petrograd and is giving them wide circulation.

March 6: Zinoviev has fled to Oranienbaum. In Moscow the Red artillery is bombarding the workers' quarters. Petrograd is cut off on all sides (radio from Wiegand).

March 7: Klishko telegraphs that according to information from Reval barricades have been constructed in the streets of Moscow; the newspapers are publishing news from Helsingfors to the effect that Chernigov is taken by anti-Bolshevik forces.

March 7: Both Petrograd and Moscow are in the hands of the rebels. Uprising in Odessa. Semenov at the head of 25,000 Cossacks is advancing through Siberia. The revolutionary committee in Petrograd is in possession of the fortifications and the fleet, (communication from the British radio station at Poldhu).

Nauen, March 7.—Revolt of the Petrograd factory districts. Anti-Bolshevik uprising has spread to Volhynia.

Paris, March 7.—Petrograd in the hands of the Revolutionary Committee. "Temps" reports that according to news received in London the white flag is hoisted over the Kremlin.

Paris, March 8.—The rebels have seized Krasnaya Gorka. Red army regiments have revolted in the government of Pskov. Bolsheviks are sending troops to Petrograd.

March 10: Klishko telegraphs: the newspapers are asking themselves whether Petrograd has or has not fallen; according to information from Helsingfors three quarters of Petrograd are in the hands of the rebels; Trotsky, or, according to some Zinoviev, is directing operations in Tosno or in the fortress of Peter and Paul; according to others the commander-in-chief is Brussilov; according to information from Riga, all of Petrograd was taken on the 9th with the exception of the railroad stations, and the Red Army has retreated to Gatchina; the Petrograd unions have adopted the slogan: "Down with the Soviets and the Communists!" The British War Ministry has issued a statement to the effect that it is not yet certain whether the Kronstadt rebels have joined forces with those of Petrograd, but that to its knowledge Zinoviev is in the fortress of Peter and Paul, where he is in command of the Soviet forces.

From the great number of other fictions circu-

lated at this time here are some examples: Saratov becomes an independent anti-Bolshevik republic (Nauen, March 11). Cruel massacres of Communists in the Volga cities (same). Fighting in the province of Minsk between White divisions and the Red army (same).

Paris, March 15.—"Temps" reports uprising of the Kuban and Don Cossacks in great numbers.

Nauen reports on March 14 that Budenny's cavalry has joined forces with the rebels near Orel. At different times revolts were reported in Pskov, Odessa and other cities. March 9. Krassin telegraphs that the Washington correspondent of the "Times" reports that the Soviet regime is nearing its end and that America is therefore delaying the establishment of relations with the border states. At various times news issues from American banking circles to the effect that under the present circumstances it would be hazardous to trade with Russia.

There is no doubt that the campaign of lies has not only America in view, but also the Turkish delegation in London and the Silesian plebiscite. It is known that this campaign influenced the result of the elections in the second Paris district.

Comrades, the picture is very clear. The world press syndicate—freedom of the press consists there in the fact that 99 per cent of the press is owned by financial magnates manipulating hundreds of millions of rubles—opened the world-wide campaigns of the imperialists, with the aim of preventing, first, trade relations with England which were begun by Krassin, and also the imminent conclusion of trade relations with America. This shows that the enemies who surround us, no longer able to bring about intervention, are counting upon a revolt. The events at Kronstadt revealed ties with the international bourgeoisie; and in addition to it we see that more than anything else they now fear, from the practical standpoint of international capital, the sound establishment of trade relations. But they will be unable to prevent it. There are now in Moscow representatives of big capital, who did not believe these rumors, and they have told us how in America a certain group of citizens carried on an unprecedented agitation for Soviet Russia. This group made extracts of everything printed about Russia for a few months in newspapers of the most diverse kinds—about the flight of Lenin and Trotsky, about Lenin's shooting Trotsky and vice-versa, and they published all this in the form of a pamphlet. Better agitation for the Soviet power cannot be imagined. The contemporary American bourgeois press has completely discredited itself.

Such is the enemy served by two million Russian emigres from among the landowners and capitalists; such is the bourgeois army that is opposed to us. And let them make attempts to destroy the practical success of the Soviet power and prevent trade relations. We know that they will not succeed. And all this information given out by the international bourgeoisie, who are in control of thousands of newspapers, and furnish informa-

tion to the whole world, reveals once more how we are surrounded by enemies, and how feeble these enemies have grown within the last year. We should understand this, comrades, and I think that most of the members of the congress present have understood what moderation it is necessary for us to observe in our disagreements. Naturally, in the heat of discussion in the congress this moderation could not always be observed. One cannot demand of people who have just participated in a struggle that they should at once practise moderation. But when we look upon our

party as the hearth of world revolution, and observe the campaign now being conducted against us by the governments of the world, there is no place for doubt. Let them conduct their campaign; we have examined it; we know the extent of our differences; and we know that, united at this congress, we will undoubtedly settle our differences with absolute concord in the party, which is now more experienced and which will go forward to more and more decisive international victories. (Great applause).

Izvestia, March 20, 1921.

Trade Agreement with Norway

THE daily newspaper *Social Demokraten*, appearing in Christiania, Norway, printed on April 4 a declaration of the Norwegian Department of Commerce, of which the following is a translation:

"The Department of Commerce has today appointed Commercial Director Giverholt Hanson, Commercial Consul Conradi, Director of Fisheries Assessor, and Conaul Robertson, to be delegates to negotiate with the Russian representative in Stockholm, Mr. Kerzhentsev, on the subject of a commercial agreement between Norway and Russia.

"As Mr. Kerzhentsev's time will not permit him to come to this city within the next month, negotiations will for the present time be carried on in Stockholm. As soon as they have resulted in something concrete, Mr. Kerzhentsev will come to Christiania to sign the agreement. The delegates will leave Tuesday afternoon."

Our readers will recall the insulting manner in which Litvinov's letters were received by the Norwegian Commercial Department last September, and may refresh their memories as to this correspondence by referring to the issue of SOVIET RUSSIA for December 25, 1920. The fact that commercial relations are about to be resumed between Norway and Soviet Russia is of course to be attributed directly to England's having opened such relations and now permitted the Norwegian Government to consider a similar step.

The attitude of the Norwegian people on this subject may be well seen from the following editorial which appeared in the same issue (April 4) of *Social Demokraten*:

"The Government's organs *Aftenposten* and *Morgen-bladet* on Saturday were in a position to report that negotiations had already been begun with the representative of Russia in Stockholm, Kerzhentsev, on the subject of a Russo-Norwegian trade agreement. Today a Cabinet conference took place, and we shall probably learn the result this afternoon. (See *above Item.—Editor*, SOVIET RUSSIA.) As we understand, a commission is to be appointed that is to travel to Stockholm to continue the negotiations with Kerzhentsev, but the understanding is that later a representative of the Soviet Government will come to Christiania, and only then is an agreement finally to be concluded. The Government would prefer to have Kerzhentsev come here.

"But it is not impossible that Litvinov himself may be the representative of Russia in the final negotiations. If he comes, it will of course not be with the object of filling until it overflows the bitter cup of defeat which the

Norwegian Government must now swallow. The Soviet Government is at present winning so many victories both on the external and internal fronts that it will hardly place any value on emphasizing a personal victory at the expense of the Norwegians. The fact that the Halvorsen Ministry can reconcile itself at all to resuming relations with Russia is a triumph great enough for both the Soviet Government and for Litvinov himself. When we nevertheless count on the possibility of Litvinov's early arrival here, it is because we believe that there is something in the report of Litvinov's assignment to America. In such a case, it would be natural for him to route his journey by way of Christiania, and—being an unusually courteous man—to thank the Norwegian Government for its past favors.

"When Litvinov left Christiania in October, he was accompanied by the following amiable expressions on the part of the Government organ *Aftenposten*:

"The Norwegian fishermen have now learned that they have only been used as pawns in Litvinov's game. What was the object of this game, it is hard to see, but when the documents are published this will be made clearer. In any case, Litvinov had nothing further to do in this country. He understood he was superfluous. He probably left because he knew that if he did not leave voluntarily he would be deported.

"So he left yesterday. He has been in this city for more than a month. He has himself given documentary evidence that he did not come to buy fish or to open commercial relations between Northern Norway and Russia. We do not want to receive any political Russian mission under the present circumstances. That is the end of the tale, the tale of Litvinov. When the physician permits his wife to follow him, she also will disappear and this little chapter in Norway's history will be concluded.

"The point apparently was to annoy Litvinov's wife. It will therefore please Mr. Diesen to hear that Mrs. Litvinov has been ill throughout the period that has elapsed since last autumn, and that a child to whom she gave birth in November has since died. We print this little bit of information for the reassurance of all the good citizens who possibly may fear that Mrs. Litvinov may have misused her sojourn in Norway to engage in any illegal activity. Within a fortnight the physician will probably be able to certify that there is no longer any obstacle from a medical standpoint to Mrs. Litvinov's 'disappearance.' It is to be hoped that *Aftenposten* will not start any propaganda to have her deported. Mr. Diesen surely is now a far more humane and courteous man than he was in October. The fall of Kronstadt and the Anglo-Russian commercial agreement have had a beneficial influence not only on the Government, but also on a man of Mr. Diesen's type."

Trade Relations between Russia and France

"A Passport Worth a Billion"

Paris, April 8.—Under this heading there appeared in *L'Oeuvre* an account of negotiations between a French business man and the Soviet Commercial delegation in London, over a large stock of manufactured articles. The Soviet delegation was ready to deposit a third of the sum demanded in advance and was prepared to place additional orders, the whole aggregating a billion francs. The only condition was a personal inspection and supervision of shipment, by an agent of the delegation—ordinary business procedure in transactions of this kind. A formal request for admittance of the agent was filed with the Minister of Foreign Affairs,—M. Briand, who holds this post in addition to the premiership. It was refused on the grounds that the representative would prove to be a spy, and that the French Government could not protect commercial enterprises with the Soviet Government. Thus vanished the dream of a billion franc order.

Actual Trading Carried On

Despite the government's hostility, French exporters to whom Soviet gold has no odor, have been doing business with Russia. This is being handled through German intermediaries and the Baltic States.

A delegation representing a group which includes the former French Ambassador to Russia, has been sent to Moscow to discuss ways and means to resume trade relations. Newspapers of the *Bloc National* have kept this information under cover; but this secret as well as others have slipped out and are being given publicity in the Socialist press and in such liberal organs as *L'Oeuvre*.

Bankers and Industrialists

Trade with Russia waits upon the issue of the struggle between the manufacturers and the bankers. The Russian market is a sore temptation to French industrialists. Immediate trade would relieve the eight months long anemia that is prostrating French industry.

The big banks, however, which hold the old Russian securities, have made their weight felt on the Quai D'Orsay, in opposition. They have staked all on the overthrow of the Soviet regime, and the successive debacles of the counter-revolutionary movements—Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, and Wrangel — have apparently taught them nothing. There seems to be no doubt that they pulled the strings which set White officers in the Kronstadt fortress dancing the old counter-revolutionary lockstep in tune with Savinkov's French-subsidized peasant revolts in Ukraine.

The Inevitable

Coming within twenty-four hours after the signing of the Anglo-Russian trade agreement, the breakdown of the Kronstadt rebellion gave French

policy a heavy blow. One offered new evidence of the futility of military adventures; the other was a significant warning to the industrial interests that a valuable market was being preempted.

It is not surprising therefore to find voices raised even among the politicians in favor of a revision of policy. A few days ago in the Senate, M. Henri de Jouvenel, who is also managing editor of *Le Matin*, made a public demand upon the premier to negotiate with Russia. French interests demanded it, he declared, and action was justified by the (alleged) de-communization of the Soviet Government—a point of view that is useful in calming conservative hysteria.

Applause from all parts of the house greeted M. de Jouvenel's speech, which evidently reflected the opinions of important groups. In reply Premier Briand sought to identify his Russian policy with that of the United States, but the identity is more apparent than real. Having lost the partnership of England, France is deftly playing for American diplomatic support in safeguarding the interests of the Russian bondholders, from the consequences of their expensive playing with monarchist generals and adventurers.

It is perhaps only natural that France, which was the first of the Western nations to make an alliance with the Tsar's regime, should be among the last to come to an understanding with the proletarian government of Russia. But in any case the time cannot be so far distant when a Soviet trade delegation will have its headquarters on the Avenue des Champs Elysées.

Illustrated Issues of Soviet Russia

A few hundred copies of our past two issues (dated April 30 and May 7) are still on hand. They contain many illustrations, and are well worth keeping. These two copies will be mailed to any address upon receipt of twenty cents.

SOVIET RUSSIA
110 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.

Concessions

IN THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

ON November 23, 1920 the Council of People's Commissars issued a decree covering concessions. The Supreme Council of Public Economy together with the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, determined the objects of the concessions.

We quote below the text of the decree and an account of the limits of the concessions, presented by the Supreme Council of Public Economy and the People's Commissariat of Agriculture.

"More than a year ago the Council of People's Commissars took up the problem of attracting technical experts and money from industrially developed countries. The double aim was to restore Russia as the centre of raw materials in the world economy, and generally to develop her productive forces, shattered by the world war.

"In spite of the necessity of armed defense against the attacks of her enemies during the past three years, the Soviet Republic made, in the course of these three years, considerable progress in the task of restoring the destroyed public economy by her own efforts and means. But the process of restoring the productive forces of Russia as well as world economy in general can be hastened by inviting foreign administrative institutions, private enterprises, stock companies, cooperative and labor organizations of other countries, to aid in obtaining and working the natural riches of Russia. An acute shortage of raw materials and a financial surplus in some European countries and especially in the United States, has caused foreign capital to make concrete offers to the Soviet Republic, for the exploitation of the natural resources of the vast regions of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

"At the present time Soviet Russia has had a number of concrete offers made from abroad and calling for concessions for developing the forest and agricultural wealth of Russia (for example, an offer to leave vacant arable land for the purpose of cultivating it with the aid of tractors), and also concessions for the organization of separate industrial enterprises.

"For the sake of a wider application of this method of restoration and development of the productive forces of the Republic and the world economy, the Council of People's Commissars has resolved to publish the following general economic and legal conditions regulating the concessions as well as a summary of the objects of concessions which would be granted to trustworthy reliable foreign industrial institutions and organizations.

1. The concessionaire is to receive compensation in the form of a portion of his production; the quantity is to be fixed by the contract, and this he may export to foreign countries.

2. If the concessionaire applies technical methods of an exceptionally perfected character, on a large scale, he shall receive further advantages (such as granting of machines, special contracts for large deliveries).

3. In accordance with the character and the conditions of the concession, longer periods of concessions shall be

granted the concessionaire in order to guarantee a full indemnification for risks and for technical apparatus invested in the concession.

4. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic guarantees that the property of the concessionaire which is invested in the enterprise shall neither be nationalized, confiscated, nor requisitioned.

5. The concessionaire shall have the right to employ workers and clerical helpers for his enterprise on the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, for pay, observing the laws of labor as well as other special contracts guaranteeing that the workers shall have certain conditions of work that will safeguard their lives and their health.

6. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic guarantees the concessionaire that the conditions of the concession contract shall not be violated by any decrees or provisions of the Soviet Government in a one-sided manner.

"Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars,
V. ULIANOV.

Director of Affairs, V. BONCH-BRUYEVICH.
Secretary of the Council of People's Commissars,
L. FOTYEVA."

IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

On March 12 the All-Russian Congress of the Russian Communist Party adopted a resolution concerning concessions to be granted to foreign capitalists, quoted herewith:

"It is impossible to conceive Russia at present as an isolated economic organism standing aloof from the world market. Only with the participation of foreign technical and financial forces will Russia be able to revive swiftly her economic life. Under the present circumstances there is considered the possibility of securing state credit by means of offering to foreign capitalists the natural resources of Russia for using them by way of concessions. The concessionaires are offered a great number of legal and economical guarantees. The liquidation of the concessional enterprise may take place only under the conditions that are provided in the agreement. In no case the liquidation of the enterprise is to result in the enrichment of the Government or a third party to the detriment of the concessionaires. Owing to the difficulties in the establishment of money payments the concessionaires will at the present state of the world money market, have to pay in kind (part of the product produced). Thus the question of the Russian currency and its relation to the foreign exchanges will be entirely eliminated. In case a payment must be made by the government to the concessionaires, there is also to be desired a natural method of offering in exchange Russian goods that are at the disposal of the Soviet Government."

PICTURES

We have just received a number of interesting pictures from Russia, and will print a few of them in each issue of SOVIET RUSSIA for several weeks.

Books Reviewed

Books from Soviet Russia

I. FOREIGN CONCESSIONS

И. СТЕПАНОВ: *Об иностранных концессиях* (I. Stepanov: Concerning Concessions. Published by the State Publishing House, Moscow, 1920. 42 pages.)

The question of foreign concessions has from the very beginning created very lively controversies on both sides of the barricade of the Soviet Republic. The idea was received with suspicion by the capitalist press which insisted that concessions granted by the "faithless tyrants" would only be another "scrap of paper" and that—even if the present Government meant to live up to its obligations, no subsequent Russian government would recognize them. Communists themselves sharply criticized the idea of the concessions. They saw in them the first step to the reintroduction of capitalism in Russia. Moreover, this was also grist for the mill of the jubilant Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries who declared maliciously that the Bolsheviks had driven out Russian capitalism, only to make way for foreign capitalism. The obvious implication being that if capitalism must be, it was certainly sweeter to be exploited by native than by foreign bourgeois, and that therefore the Bolsheviks would have done better if on November 7 they had gone to sleep instead of taking up arms against Kerensky. They did not see and did not want to see that there is after all some difference between a state where the capitalists hold all the material and intellectual means of enslaving the masses, and the Soviet system where army, schools and newspapers serve the cause of the workers who can thus control the foreign capitalists to whom for expediency they may have to grant profits, even enormous profits, but whom they would never permit to rule the country.

Stepanov's booklet No. 19 of a series of "Speeches and Talks of the Propagandist" aims to reassure those who fear that the concessions may be the beginning of the end for Socialism in Russia. The author does not conceal the fact that these grants are really a compromise,—but a compromise necessary now for the sake of reconstruction of Russian industrial life, at present not quite possible with Russia's own resources. The gold reserve as well as the available stocks of raw materials are not sufficient by far for the tremendous needs. A successful industrialization of Russia can be effected only with the aid of foreign capital, and foreign machinery and equipment to work the national resources and develop industrial centers.

The history of foreign concessions and their blessings is not especially encouraging. The concessions obtained by European, American, and Japanese capitalists in China, Persia, Turkey, and South America for the building of railroads and working of mines inevitably resulted in a tremendous squandering of the natural wealth and enslavement of the native population. This is true even of some European countries, as e. g. Spain whose industrial development was not at all furthered thereby. The copper ore for instance mined by English concessionaires goes to England.

Such concessions were obviously a veiled form of extortions practised by strong capitalist groups upon weak and undeveloped countries. Others—like those granted to foreign capitalists in Tsarist Russia—often bore the character of onerous loans which, besides the customary interest won very high additional profits of obviously usurious character. Needless to say a substantial part of these profits served to fill the pockets of a great number of Russian parasites. But the Russian Republic which in a three years' war has repelled all the attacks of international imperialists will also succeed in defending itself from predatory foreign concessionaires and will put these matters on a purely business basis, granting nevertheless a very liberal profit, which the tremendous natural resources make possible.

The author refers to Lenin's much quoted speech about concessions, a condensed version of which appeared in *Pravda* of November 30 (No. 269), and was frequently

quoted by the enemies of the Soviet Republic. Here Lenin had mentioned that in the event of war, the ownership of the concessions would, according to the laws of war, fall to Russia. The meaning of this remark was in other words, that in view of this circumstance only such groups would strive for concessions which have come to the conviction that the interests of their countries call not for war but for business with Russia. This was the real intent of Lenin's speech, but the condensed report conveyed a somewhat different impression. The countries that the Soviet Government had first of all in view, were Holland, Sweden and Italy—although it is possible that in many cases the citizens of these countries would be only the puppets of French or English capitalists unwilling to come out openly. "Purely business considerations," says the author as to the guarantees, "would force us to observe literally the conditions agreed upon. No overturn in Russia could abolish them; any government that would replace the Bolsheviks, would become an obedient lackey of the world bourgeoisie, and would not under any circumstances violate the rights acquired by the concessions. It would crawl before the new masters of Russia—the capitalists of the Entente. It would certainly do nothing that might offend them and might cut off their aid against the workers and peasants."

A special chapter is devoted to the projected concessions in Kamchatka, the natural wealth of this peninsula, and the Russian-American-Japanese relations.*

Especially interesting is that part of the booklet dealing with the dangers involved in the concessions. These are twofold: First, the possible corruption of administrative personnel, which might be bribed to wink at the transgressions of the concessionaires, and give them preferential treatment on the Russian railroads, or in other ways enable them to rob the Russian people. "But this is not a new problem. It is the same old problem of bureaucracy in the Soviet institutions, and of attracting the masses to active participation in all fields of Soviet activity and in everyday practice." In other words, this is only another aspect of the serious problem of bureaucracy in a proletarian state which will still have to be fought out in the future.

Not less important is another problem, namely, that of the relation of the workers to the concessions. It is understood that the concessionaires would have the right to bring from abroad part of the skilled workers and technical and administrative personnel—but their number will not be allowed to exceed a definite proportion of the general number of the workers and employees occupied in these establishments. This clause will enable a great number of Russian workers to learn the Western technique and will thus greatly further the industrial development of the country, which would not gain anything in this respect, if the investors were allowed to bring their entire personnel from abroad. Of course the very fact of the existence of a class of "imported" workers is pregnant with possibilities of conflict. It is obvious that these foreign workers, in order to be induced to go to Russia, and to Northern Russia at that, will have to be paid better than the native workers. "To the Russian workers," the author notes, "the inequality in the payment for equal work will only be likely to emphasize the fact that such is capitalist justice. But this will certainly not induce them to betray the capitalism that has disappeared in Russia."

The author also deals with the fears of those who suspect that the foreign capitalists "for provocative purposes" may forego for a time their own interests and offer extraordinarily favorable conditions, so as to demonstrate the alleged benefits of capitalism as compared with the present hardships under Socialism—thus paving the way to

*In this connection we may mention that a large extract from Chapter IX of this book, "What Concessions Can We Propose to Foreign Capital?" was printed in *Soviet Russia* of February 19, 1921, dealing with the tremendous natural resources of North-Western Siberia.

a successful capitalist counter-revolution. He points out that theoretically such a danger may exist, but that practically it is greatly exaggerated. First of all the food situation in the West is still very bad so that an enormous importation of food to Russia from abroad is not to be expected. Secondly, capitalists as a rule are not "idealists" and "no group of capitalists will at its own expense undertake such a costly propaganda; capital lives by profit and for profit alone." Improvements, as far as food and other necessities are concerned, there will, no doubt, be, for the workers in the concessionary establishments—but similar improvements will also be granted to the workers of similar Soviet establishments which in time will spring up side by side with the establishments of the concessionaires. For it must not be forgotten that the Soviet Government does not intend to grant as concessions entire territories, thus enabling the foreign investors to create a monopoly, but that land grants will be made according to the "checkerboard" system. And last, but not least, the Russian worker on the concessionary establishments will soon enough be reminded of the fact that he is not the master of his life, but only one of the accessories of capital. And this will hardly swing his sympathies from Socialism over to Capitalism. M. P.

II. A NEW LITERARY JOURNAL

КНИГА И РЕВОЛЮЦИЯ. — Ежемесячный критико-библиографический журнал. — The Book and the Revolution, A Monthly Critico-Bibliographical Journal.— Petrograd, November 1920.

The reading of dailies coming from Russia is attended with great difficulties. The paper is extremely poor, the ink is too light, the matrixes of the linotype seem to be broken and the text is sometimes as difficult to decipher as that of the tenth carbon copy of a typewritten letter. The whole exhaustion and industrial breakdown of a country that has gone through seven years of imperialist war, revolution, civil war, intervention and blockade is reflected in the external aspect of a single copy of *Pravda* or *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*. But, on the other hand, the books and pamphlets arriving from "over there" are not at all of such a depressing character.

There is *Kniga i Revolyutsya* (The Book and the Revolution), a monthly critico-bibliographical magazine, whose November issue we have just received. Twenty pages—large quarto—of articles, and sixty of book reviews. From the purely technical point of view this can hold its own among the best German, French or American publications of this kind. Paper, print, vignettes and ornaments, everything in excellent taste—and nothing to remind one that the publication was brought out at the time of the most savage onslaught of Wrangel and his French backers.

The articles in the first part contain a number of very interesting suggestions. The author of an article entitled "Revolutionary Poetry" recalls the fact that while in France more than two thousand songs of the time of her Great Revolution were collected and published, 99 per cent of the immense poetical material brought forth by the Russian revolutionary movement of the past and present centuries is practically allowed to disappear without leaving any traces. The active workers of the Museum of the Revolution have a great cultural task in this respect. The same institution is also assigned another important and responsible task—the execution of the testament of Alexander Dmitriyevich Mikhailov—the hero of the "Narodnaya Volya," who on April 15, 1881 died on the gallows, together with Sophia Perovskaya, Zhelyabov, Kibalchich and Ryssakov, for having organized the execution of Tsar Alexander II. In his testament—a few days before his death—Mikhailov asked his friends to publish a history of his organization, with all the decisions of the Executive Committee, the sentence pronounced against Alexander II, as well as short biographies of all the members that fell in the struggle.—The following article marks the tenth anniversary of Leo Tolstoy's death (November 20, 1910 N. S.) and deals with the contemplated complete

and unexpurgated publication of all the writings of the sage of Yasnaya Polyana.

The second part, concerned with book-criticisms, deals with an amazing number of subjects. To quote only the subheads: Current Life, Economics, Our Revolution, History of the Revolutionary Movement in Russia, Russian History, The Peoples of Russia, Fiction, History of Literature, Art, Education and Pedagogics, Industrial Technique, Military Science, Reference Books. Very amusing information is furnished in the article "Books Burned and Boiled," which contains a list of books that were prohibited under the old system. There we find among a hundred others Georg Brandes': "Main Currents of Literature of the Nineteenth Century," Voltaire's "Philosophy of History," an Anthology of French short stories, by Maupassant, Zola, Bourget, Daudet, Gyp, Mendes, Armand Sylvestre, etc., Ernest Haeckel's biological and cosmological works, Letourneau's "Evolution de la Morale" and Krafft-Ebing's: "Psychopathia Sexualis." We see, the crowd that centered about Rasputin was as anxious to preserve the morality of the people as any vice hunting societies in other countries could possibly be. M. P.

III. PAPER MONEY

II. ПРЕОБРАЖЕНСКИЙ. — Бумажные деньги в пролетарской диктатуре (P. Preobrazhensky: Paper Money under the Proletarian Dictatorship. Published by the State Publishing House, Moscow, 1920.)

The question discussed by Comrade Preobrazhensky is by no means of theoretical interest alone,—it is one of our most important practical problems.

To approach the question of paper money properly it is necessary to touch upon certain theoretical considerations, which the author does in the first two chapters of his book. His first chapter is concerned with the Marxian theory of money circulation under capitalist conditions. Proceeding from Marxian principles, he very properly criticizes Hilferding, who attempts in his theory to separate money from a real basis—from gold.

Comrade Preobrazhensky then inspects a number of the causes for the fluctuation of paper money and comes to the conclusion—one of the fundamentals of the pamphlet—that the object of an increased issue of paper money, by the state, sometimes undertaken at the cost of a demoralization of the national money system, consists only in permitting the necessary quantities of real value to be withdrawn from trade for the use of the state, the employees, workers, and the army. *The issue of paper money, thus considered, is a special sort of tax imposed on society and collected without the use of tax inspectors, militia, and the courts* (page 29, reviewer's italics). To this extent—and this really represents the condition of affairs—Comrade Preobrazhensky appropriately points out, proceeding to his practical conclusions, that this devaluation, connected though it may be with very sharp decline of paper money values, may under certain circumstances be not at all serious. "There is nothing terrible about it, once labor pay is handed out to the extent of four-fifths in natural payment, and the value of paper money, for the other one-fifth, has been equalized by raising wages. This prospect might terrify the average man, who cannot yet separate himself from the notion that it was once possible to buy ten poods of flour or ten pairs of boots for ten roubles. But there is nothing terrifying in this thought for the Socialist state, since that state has a clear view of the entire national economy and has therefore no need to become panicky over the increase of prices."

The most important point of the matter is to secure a parallel increase of the wage-scale and to proceed inflexibly to an increase of the supplies given to the population without pay, principally to the working class. To be sure, as long as we have small scale farming and a domestic industry, the dying out of the money system must, owing to Russia's economic peculiarities, be delayed. On the contrary, "the paper money in western countries, as soon as they pass into the dictatorship of the proletariat, may die out all

the more quickly, since there will be in these countries no general small scale trading such as delays the abolition of paper money in Russia."

When he asks who it is that is hit by this "paper money ax," Comrade Preobrazhensky comes to the conclusion that it is chiefly the peasantry and the small artisans. He emphasizes in this connection his difference of opinion with Comrade Larin, who maintains that the peasantry, because of the immense increase in prices and the uninterrupted progressive devaluation of our paper ruble "is becoming wealthy."

In his chapter "Paper Money in the Russian Soviet Republic," the author attempts to prove concretely how much this "tax" yields to the state.

In 1915 the Tsar's Government issued 2,612,000,000 rubles in paper, the ruble being worth 80 kopeka (an estimate made on the basis of grain prices), and received commodity values amounting to 2,089,000,000; in 1916 it received values to the amount of 2,163,000,000 rubles. Proceeding on the basis of these calculations and applying them to the grain price, the Soviet Government in 1918 withdrew from circulation by the issue of paper money, values amounting to about 373,000,000 rubles. That is the real content of the great mass of paper money. In other words: in 1918 ten times as much paper money was issued as in 1916, and only one sixth of the real values brought in; in 1919 this real value figure was about the same, namely, 383,500,000 rubles. In spite of the relative

smallness of these figures, even less was brought in than is estimated by Comrade Preobrazhensky, since not all of the paper money issued remains in the village, but a certain rather considerable portion is applied for the needs of traffic within the outlines of industry and for purposes of money circulation in general.

In his conclusion, Comrade Preobrazhensky asks what is to be the subsequent history of our paper money economy. "From all the figures we have given, the following conclusion is clear: we are rapidly approaching the end of our paper money issues, and if our paper ruble should be subjected to boycott in 1921, we should face serious difficulties, even temporary crises, but by no means a catastrophe." This difficulty, which would have significance only so long as the national activities have not yet assured a complete naturalization of labor wage, might be met, according to Comrade Preobrazhensky, by resorting to an issue of silver money.

In general the pamphlet deserves great interest and presents a mass of interesting facts. The author (in spite of the obviously hasty preparation, admitted by him) has succeeded in harmonizing theory with practice. It is to be hoped that in a second edition of the pamphlet a number of questions not yet touched upon, such as the possibility of a "devaluation" of money, a printed surcharge with lower values (de-nomination), such as was undertaken in Turkestan with the Turkish bonds, may be given appropriate treatment.

M. SAMELYEV (Moscow).

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The Death of a Red Army Nurse

By E. T.

(We reprint this tribute to Xenia Geh, a martyr of the Russian Revolution, from the Berlin "Rote Fahne". Her husband, Alexander Geh, was a well-known figure among those Russian Anarchists who during the war and after the November Revolution fully identified themselves with the position taken by the Bolsheviks.)

"Oh, brave Falcon, you have shed your blood in the battle with the enemy, but every drop of your hot blood will blossom forth in the dark spaces of life and will awaken a longing for freedom and the will to battle."

(From Gorky's "The Song of the Falcon")

THE Red Front not only needs nurses who can with skillful hand apply bandages and nurse the wounded warriors in the hospitals—even the sisters of mercy can do that, whose activities are limited at best to a conscientious discharge of their duties; the Red Front needs nurses who know what it is, for which the soldiers are receiving wounds and death, and who are ready to share their battles and sufferings and to look death in the eye as steadfastly as do the soldiers themselves. These nurses, ready to aid the Russian workers and peasants, have come in increasing numbers from the masses of working and peasant women, who have learned more and more each day what the struggle of the Red Army means for them, what the rule of the proletariat has given them, and what it is that menaces them if the soldiers cannot resist the onslaught of the enemy. There have been women from the other side, from the camp of the bourgeoisie, who bravely abandoned their class prejudices, and have unreservedly placed themselves in the ranks of the Red Army, as fighters for the proletarian cause or as Red nurses, faithfully to attend the fighters in their time of trial. There have not been many such. The majority even of those who formerly dreamed of the salvation of the people by Socialism, and who were members of the Social-Revolutionary or the

Social-Democratic Parties, as soon as Socialism moved into an attainable proximity, and was calling upon all to fight bravely, have recoiled indignantly and have simply denied their Socialism. All the greater is the honor of those few who in the last decisive struggles sacrificed everything, family, friends, life itself. One of these was Xenia Geh.

Xenia Geh was the daughter of a Russian colonel. She had what is commonly called an excellent education, had mastered several languages. But she was far removed from the struggles and ideals of the revolutionary masses. After an unhappy marriage to a Russian officer, she made the acquaintance in Switzerland of the Anarchist Alexander Geh, and it was during her life with him that she obtained an insight into the ideas of Anarchism. She absorbed these ideas with all the passion of an ardent spirit, and when the revolution of 1917 broke out, she hastened back to Soviet Russia with her comrade. Both placed themselves at the disposal of the Soviet Government, which had been created by the Russian proletariat whose very existence was being threatened ceaselessly and increasingly by the hostile powers. The brave couple rushed headlong into work. The Soviet Government sent both of them to the Northern Caucasus, which was at that time in the hands of the Soviet power.

Alexander became chairman of the Extraordinary Commission for Combatting the Counter-Revolution. Xenia worked for a time as nurse at the Red Front, and then she also, without entirely giving up her work as nurse—for she continued to

be active in a hospital—joined the Extraordinary Commission. Xenia knew no mercy for the enemies of the working class, with whom she was intimately acquainted, and of course she thereby earned the savage and ill-concealed hatred of all counter-revolutionaries, who had not lost their hope that the old bourgeois power would again return. Unfortunately these capitalists were not deceived in their hope.

In January 1919 the bourgeoisie again took possession of the Northern Caucasus. Xenia was unable to escape. Her husband was suffering from typhus. The Whites had hardly entered than they arrested her half-dead husband, dragged him out of the city on a cart, and murdered him in a most inhuman manner, "in the name of the restoration of order." Xenia also could not escape her fate. She was arrested, and although nothing could be proved against her, she was sentenced to death by hanging, under a travesty of bourgeois justice. Not a muscle of her face twitched when she heard the sentence. She arose with imperturbable calm from the prisoner's bench, and, accompanied by soldiers, went back to the Grand Hotel, where she was permitted to remain with her child of six weeks until her sentence was carried out. The death sentence was signed the same night and the execution set for the following morning, but Xenia made an attempt to escape from her hangmen. Her flight aroused great commotion. Colonel Ryazanov, famous for his cruelty, cried: "She must be found! She must be found at any cost!" In Xenia's room two letters were found, one of which was addressed to her mother, begging her pardon for any discomfort she had caused, the other to her child, to whom she recounted the past of its father, murdered by the White Guards.

In her flight, Xenia spent the whole day in an empty barn not far from Kislovodsk. When night came, she went on foot to a town 17 versts distant, where she sought refuge with a comrade whom she knew. This man, a physician, turned out to be a traitor, who handed over the helpless woman to her destroyers. The house was surrounded and, under the charge of a strong detachment of soldiers, Comrade Xenia was brought back by a special locomotive to her cell in the Grand Hotel. Her calm did not desert her for a moment. The White Guard newspaper which printed the sensa-

tional account of the capture of the celebrated Red Army nurse, described her last hour as follows:

"At 8 o'clock in the morning an officer entered the room. 'Do you wish to have a priest?'—'Why should I have a priest', she answered calmly. 'I am ready'. Then she approached the cradle of her child and kissed the child tenderly. 'May I have a cigarette?' She slowly smoked the cigarette. 'I am ready. The Republic has fallen. The rascals are triumphant', she repeated the words of Robespierre, the leader of the French Revolution, and with firm step, still casting a last glance at her sleeping child, she left the room accompanied by an officer."

Had it not been for her military escort, no one would have guessed that this woman was going to her execution. On the way the crowd grew in numbers. Arrived on the scene, the officer takes out a slip of white paper bearing the inscription: "Comrade Xenia Geh", and pins it to her waist. She reads the slip with indifference, but her glance passes over the assembled crowd with some interest: the officers provided with the shining epaulettes of the Tsarist period, with spurs jingling, triumphing in the death of their enemy; the soldiers, expressing in their exhausted faces partly curiosity, partly stupid indifference. Xenia casts a last glance toward the city and nonchalantly touches the gallows that stands before her, while the Cossack handles the noose. There is a tense and breathless silence. "Please!" Xenia steps up, takes hold of the noose, and then speaks loudly and impressively, turning to the mass of soldiers: "I die for the sacred cause which you also will soon understand!"—"No speechmaking!" cries the Commander. "I am not making a speech," Xenia replies, with her unshakable calm. Then she repeats with terrible slowness, word for word, the same sentence as before. "Tear off her nurse's hood," the Commander shouts, bursting with rage. "It is my right to die with my nurse's hood on," Xenia replies. A moment later she was a corpse.

The orphan child was taken care of by one of the workers.

The Caucasus is freed. The capitalist vulture no longer tears the flesh of the proletarian Prometheus. The freedom of the Caucasus was attained by the heroism of thousands of Russian proletarians, and by the blood of the Red Army nurse, Xenia Geh.

Petrograd and Its Museum

By WALLIS WALTER LEFEAUX

Petrograd Streets

THE streets of Petrograd are clean. It may well be that they were not always so. I have repeatedly heard the statement that at one time during the Bolshevik regime some of the thoroughfares were practically impassable and that the smells from courtyards and alleys were not to be equalled anywhere else on earth. In fact, had reiteration had its reputed effect upon me, I would have been convinced that the terms "Bolsheviki" and "dirt" were synonymous.

The Nikolaievsk station gave no evidence of any such reign of filth. As our train drew up at the platform in the early morning, janitors were sweeping the platform, although we had on board no "distinguished visitors" for whose particular benefit it might be said that such a performance would be staged. Collectors of transportation orders at the barriers might have been ticket collectors at any other European station. Any conception of Petrograd as a city of filth and disorder that I had carried with me received here its first shock.

The plumbing was not in very good order in a number of the buildings. But if one half of the accounts that were given to me in Petrograd, by people who had been in the city through the winter of 1919-1920, were correct as regards the fuel situation through that winter, I am at a loss to understand how it is that there are any sound pipes left. With the thermometer running between zero and thirty degrees Fahrenheit, and below, and no coal or wood available to heat the buildings, I do not quite understand how they managed to save any. Repairs and renewals are practically out of the question, for no material and no mechanics are available. The latter are all in the Soviet service, either working in the factories or—what is more probable—serving in the Communist sections of the Red Army.

Efforts of the Citizens

The citizens of Petrograd organized into House Committees, Ward Committees and District Committees for mutual assistance in the struggle to carry on, in the face of conditions that no modern city has ever confronted. When I first reached Petrograd they had cleaned the city up and it appeared to me that human ingenuity could not possibly go any further in the matter of handling the population of a modern city without any of the necessary mechanical facilities.

Outside of Soviet Russia I had often heard of the disasters that had befallen the Nevsky Prospect and its fine stores and shops; that the wood blocks had been torn up from the roadway to be used as firewood; that the stores had been dismantled and deserted; that the city was rapidly falling into ruins; that life was not safe. All of this may have been true at one time. But if the Nevsky was at any time torn up, it has since been repaved; if the city were at one time falling into ruins rapidly, the fall must have been arrested rather quickly; if life were not safe there at one time, conditions must have changed very drastically since. Most of the stores and shops are not now in use on account of the centralizing of whatever is available for distribution in the Soviet stores which of course gives an air of desertion to the Nevsky, but perhaps the resulting saving of labor may compensate the citizens for the loss of excitement previously enjoyed at the bargain counter. If "shopping" constitutes one of the joys of living, then that part of life's pleasure is gone in Petrograd.

Petrograd? Such paucity of excitement never was. Even the street cars and street traffic generally appeared to be in a conspiracy to impress upon the stranger that here at least was one city in the world that was not intent upon conveying to the visitor a sense of importance through its noises.

People there were in plenty. But there was nothing extraordinary about that. Just such crowds were on the streets of Reval and Riga. The only noticeable difference was that the people in Petrograd all seemed to be going somewhere or to have some object in view. Reval streets were

crowded with people having no apparent aim in life, interspersed with stumbling drunkards. These were absent from the streets of Petrograd.

A Shopping Experience

A few flower stores seemed to be the only retail distributing agencies left of the old system, and the abandoned shops, for which Communism appeared to have no use, lent a somewhat melancholy note to what were at one time the retail shopping districts. One large store window on the Nevsky attracted my attention. The brilliant colorings of the wares exhibited could be discerned from across the street and were in strong contrast to the empty and placarded windows of most of the other stores. It had evidently been taken over by the glass and crockery department of the Petrograd Soviet, for it was filled with plates, dishes, cups and saucers, on all of which were patterns descriptive of the evils of Capitalism and the hopes of Communism. The workmanship and finish appeared to be so strikingly good that I inquired to find out if it were possible to purchase some of them to take away with me. Here I had concrete contact with Communism in actual practice. I was politely informed that my money was not an all powerful talisman in Soviet Russia! Had I a work-book? Had I an order from the Soviet? It appeared that the plates, etc., had not been made solely for people with money who might cart them away and place them on shelves to be gaped at as curios. They were made for the use of people who could show that they had rendered some service and that they had need of them.

A curious place this Petrograd under the Soviet administration! I found out afterwards that it was almost impossible to buy anything there. I inquired about butter, eggs, and a number of other things that the Anglo-Saxon generally considers necessary to existence, and discovered that when there were any supplies available they were insufficient for the requirements of the children, hospitals and maternity homes. I gave up the quest. It seemed so absolutely absurd in that atmosphere and environment to ask for things that were needed in the hospitals and children's homes. Bolshevism may not be a religion, but its adherents have a very effective way of making one feel that some of the usually accepted powers of money are a sacrilege.

Not many methods of propagating the ideals of Bolshevism have been overlooked by the Communists. If the people will not or cannot read, or there is a shortage of paper for printing purposes then give it to them in pictures on their plates with every meal!

On the Winter Palace Square, squads of recruits for the Red Army were being initiated into the mysteries of advancing and retiring at four paces, loading and firing and other points of reception etiquette wherewith to greet the Polish armies and other adventurers who might decide to try their fortunes against the Soviet Republic.

Most of the offices on the East side of the Square

were occupied by various departments of the Petrograd Soviet and a swarm of callers and workers gave them a most animated appearance. Motors were dashing up every few minutes and as speedily dashing away again. If there is anything slow about the Bolshevik administration, it is not the fault of the chauffeurs.

Condition of Public Buildings

The Dome of St. Isaac's Cathedral, glittering in the sunlight, appeared to me to offer about as good a vantage ground as any to view the city. I fully intended to count the steps winding in a small spiral through blocks of stone that made one wonder how men ever managed to get them there, but my head came into contact with so many rocky projections and encountered the lower extremities of so many stolidly descending pilgrims that I could not keep my count. In some places guides assembled us and took charge of parties of about twenty. There was often no room to pass with visitors travelling in opposite directions. By holding on to the coat-tail of the person in front, and ducking our heads, we eventually found ourselves on top of the Dome.

They told me that this Cathedral, sometimes called the Temple of the North, cost fifteen millions of dollars and took forty years to build. I quite believe it. I have heard the Bolsheviks accused of despoiling the churches and cathedrals of Russia, but I could find no traces of any damage; priests, worshippers and pilgrims appeared to me to be pursuing their various ways as if no "Specter of Bolshevism" were troubling the Universe; a couple of old beggars, quite evidently too old to work and quite evidently too accustomed to the crowds to be satisfied with the seclusion of the Old Peoples' Homes no matter how comfortable they might be, stood at the door soliciting alms.

Viewed from the top of St. Isaac's, Petrograd lies spread out over a level plain, a mass of huge buildings and palaces with the silent Neva flowing along the North side; Smolny Institute, the Marinsky and Tauride Palaces, scores of churches, large public gardens—now vegetable plots—the Peter and Paul Fortress and Mars Field all open up an unlimited field for the imagination as one looks down upon them. Long strings of one-horse wagons were bringing in wood for fuel from the countryside and St. Isaac's Square was one huge pile of cordwood gathered up to keep the city in fuel for heating and cooking purposes.

The Winter Palace of the Tsars shows very little trace of damage; on the front a few rifle bullet holes in the walls, with here and there a small piece of coping stone knocked off. Inside the pictures and furnishings appear to be practically untouched and the old caretaker, left at the same post by the Bolsheviks, as very many of the old Tsar's retinue in charge of public buildings seem to be, appeared quite at a loss when I asked him to show me the damage done by the Bolsheviks at the time of the revolution.

The Museum of the Revolution

At this point F—— at one time a resident of Cleveland, Ohio, hearing that an "American" was wandering around the Palace, hurried along to get some news from home. Although a trifle disappointed when I turned out to be a far-North American, he was a veritable find for me and immediately took me under his wing.

F—— is assistant curator at the Museum of the Revolution, and his special department consists of the records of the Secret Service Department of the old Tsarist police. I spent quite a lot of time browsing through these exhibits. One of the sections shows the names, photos and records of the thirty-five thousand odd secret service operators and *agents-provocateurs*. Swift retribution has been handed out to a large number of these gentlemen. Numbers have escaped from Russia and many others are still at large although carefully watched for counter-revolutionary tendencies.

Thousands of charts and files of records are being catalogued for the Museum. Among others I have distinct recollections of the conspiracy charts of the Polish Premier Pilsudski, then, I believe, a leader of the Polish Socialist Party; also one of Kamenev, now President of the Moscow Soviet.

When Petrograd becomes accessible to the ordinary traveller it will probably pay the secret service departments of the European and some other countries to send representatives to these exhibits. The experiences gained and the methods acquired by the Tsarist police through the handling of so many secret operatives would undoubtedly be of some service. There would of course be the drawback that they might become a little nervous if the thought ever occurred to them that their own activities might similarly be at some time on exhibition in a public museum. This might be overcome by an arrangement whereby their records might be instantly destroyable, but that is a little matter that may well be left to the departments concerned.

The record charts are very ingenious contrivances; completed they have the appearance of a spider's web and might well be compared with one. The suspect's name is indicated in the center and from the name, lines radiate to other names; on these lines are index numbers under which, on file, may be found particulars of the connection, such as attendance at the same meeting, a letter, a conversation or a visit to the same house; from these second names more lines radiate giving the key to particulars of still other connections; the person whose movements were under observation and had been recorded had quite possibly never heard of many whose names were recorded on the edge of his or her chart but there was the connection, even if it could only be shown through the indirect medium of three or four connecting parties: all could thereby be shown to be parties to the same "conspiracy." A covering index gave particulars of the various charts wherein any individual figured, some of them being mentioned in charts differing very widely both in the matters covered and the districts concerned.

Records of a secret volunteer organization for the protection of the Tsar, with minute particulars of roads to be traversed by him and places to be visited, accompanied with details of the posting of these volunteers and sketches and particulars of every window and doorway in the vicinity, gives some idea of the elaborate measures that were found necessary to safeguard the royal person.

Reports from Agents in New York

Records are on file covering a meeting held in the city of New York on January 13, 1915, for the purpose of considering a building to be used as a Russian Immigration House. Another report filed in Petrograd about the same time gave particulars of a meeting of the unemployed in New York, held on January 26, 1915, particularly dealing with the speeches of one "Olgin" and one "Albert Abram Kagon." I have no means of verifying these names and dates; I give them simply as I copied them from the reports of the Tsar's Secret Service Police Agents in New York.

Large numbers of newspaper clippings and copies of Russian language papers published in America, found among these police records in Russia by the Bolsheviki, are on file and are being catalogued for exhibit in this Police Section of the Museum of the Revolution.

New Uses of Public Buildings

Royal suites, galleries of pictures, banquet halls, rooms and halls containing priceless specimens of old armour and statuary are thronged with visitors and kept warm, well ventilated and scrupulously clean.

Soviet Russia is hungry and clad for the most part in rags; soap is an almost unknown luxury; but neither dirt, dust nor unseemly conduct is tolerated in the museums, art galleries and palaces (now public property) of Communist Russia.

Some may remember the Hotel de l'Europe, probably one of the best if not *the* best hotel in the city. The guests do not now dress for dinner or lounge in the spacious lobbies and salons. It is now populated by some two hundred and fifty children, most of them orphans, now wards of the State. It is used as a reception and distributing center for homeless children. They are received and particulars are registered in a special office; they are then bathed and given clean clothes while their own—if any, and if worth saving—are being disinfected and given a delousing treatment; they are then kept under special observation for twenty-six days and after that are drafted off into whatever school, vacation home or hospital may be considered by the doctors and vocation specialists the most appropriate for the child considering its physical and moral condition and the propensities shown during the time under observation. One meal at which I observed them consisted of dry rye bread and water. My mind instantly recalled the answer that I had previously received regarding a supply of milk: "We have not enough for the children!"

Science in Soviet Russia

By A. V. LUNACHARSKY

With the support of the Commissariat of Education, there has been established in Petrograd one of the most interesting scientific institutions in Europe. This is the institute for research in radiology. The institute is housed in a large building formerly belonging to the Homeopathic Society. Here Professors Nemenov and Joffe, a doctor and a physicist, have extended the field of radio research. Through the efforts of these directors the institute has become an extraordinarily active center for scientific study. Here lives a small scientific world in itself, where conferences are held and addresses delivered. In the hospital of the institution great success has been obtained in the treatment of internal illness, such as diseases of the stomach, by Röntgen-therapeutics. In spite of unfavorable conditions, the institute has already published a thick volume with illustrations dealing with its achievements.

This will astonish the scientific circles of Western Europe. On behalf of the Soviet Government Professor Nemenov has gone to Germany in order to learn what progress has been made abroad in his field, to establish connections with European scientists, and to buy the necessary material for the continuation of this work. He sends back many articles from foreign newspapers and magazines in which general astonishment and wonder are expressed that it has been possible to open an institution in starving Russia which should provoke the envy of the scientists of Western Europe. The *Izvestia* publishes the following summary of a letter received from Professor Nemenov in Germany: "In Nauheim I stepped almost directly from the train into the Congress of Natural Scientists and Physicists. My appearance on the platform and my account of conditions in Russia created a sensation. The ideas of the people abroad about Soviet Russia and about the situation in which Russian scientists live are absurd. It was not very difficult for me to give them the real facts. I showed them our publications and photographs of our institute and of our work. My description of the work in Röntgen-therapeutics made a great impression.

"From several conversations it is plain that the majority of the German professors would gladly come to a congress in Petrograd if one were held. I visited many cities in Germany and was everywhere received in a friendly manner. So far four articles about Russia and our institute have been published in the leading papers, including the 'Vossische Zeitung', 'Frankfurter Zeitung' and 'Leipziger Zeitung'. The German universities are receiving insufficient support from the State. Many of them on this account, for example the University in Jena, have been compelled to sell their stocks of radium and platinum. Professor Lisigang is organizing a collection of scientific works to be sent to Russia. In artistic circles also there exists a great desire to establish connections with the artistic world in Russia."

How Workers Study in the Russian Universities

(From the New York "Forward", April 10)

By MOYSSAYE OLGIN

THE working class has come into power in Russia, and is naturally preparing its own intellectual development. Individual workers studied even under the old regime. Otherwise a militant working class would have been impossible. It is thirty years since the best Russian workers began to study. They studied in forbidden places and in prisons and in Siberia. They neglected no means to obtain ideas. Now the enlightened workers have become the doers, the leaders, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. Now they occupy the highest places in the Soviets, in the Communist Party, in the management of factories, in the trade unions. They are the backbone of the proletarian government. It is *their* government, *their* regime, and if things go wrong they have themselves to blame.

If you talk with such a worker you will not see any difference at first between him and a bourgeois intellectual. He has for so long read, listened, spoken, mingled with party workers, that he has acquired the style and manners of an educated man. But sometimes an error in his speech, an ungrammatical expression, betrays the fact that he has not studied at school. Thus, for example, he sometimes says "collidor" for "corridor", "takh-tical reasons" for "tactical reasons", or he uses a foreign word in an incorrect way.

But this is not the real difference. It has often happened in a long talk with a Russian worker that I have not been able to decide where he had received his education: in a university or a factory or in revolutionary work.

Worker and Bourgeois Intellectuals

Where, then does the proletarian intellectual differ from the son of a merchant or a manufacturer? Chiefly in knowing thoroughly the life and thoughts and feelings of the laboring masses. It may be that he himself sits in an office or in an executive committee; he may not have worked in a factory for years, but a worker he remains nevertheless: he feels the *spirit* of labor, he can speak with the workers *as one of them*, he can see clearly what oppresses them. Not one of the bourgeois intellectuals, no matter how much he has "observed" the life of the worker, will have such an intimate knowledge of the proletarian world as one who has himself been a worker from childhood.

Besides, the worker-intellectual has other needs than the professional intellectuals: the latter need refinement and luxury, the most beautiful and the best in the capitalist world; if they lack these they will be unhappy, they will be unable to work. The worker-intellectual, on the other hand, can content himself with less; he can adapt himself more readily to difficult conditions; he has greater physical and moral strength. This

can be illustrated by the difference in their peculations; an intellectual who steals while occupying the position of factory manager, will steal enough for a piano; an intellectual who has formerly been a worker will in the same position steal enough for an extra pair of boots; of pianos and automobiles he has never dreamed.

A third important difference is that "intellectual" activity is not for the worker his only means of livelihood: if fortune changes he takes off his coat, rolls up his sleeves and sets to work, laughing at all his troubles; his hands will always furnish him with bread. For the intellectual, on the other hand, this activity is his livelihood. If he loses it he is a fish out of water. That is why he thinks that without him the world will perish. In general he is more bound by traditions and theories, he has less spirit and less strength than the worker-intellectual.

The Worker Intellectual and the Masses

But the greatest difference is that *the professional intellectual is better off in a capitalistic order and the worker under a proletarian order*. If tomorrow another Kolchak comes into power in Russia—all these bourgeois intellectuals who now speak of freedom and democracy will become the leaders and the rulers in political as well as in economic life (as was the case under Nicholas). They will be at the head of the country. Naturally, the bourgeois cannot be true friends of the Soviet government—a few idealists excepted. The worker-intellectual, however, knows that if the Soviet government falls, his power falls with it, his pride, his reign. And so he is devoted body and soul to the present regime. For him it is not a theoretical question of a better or worse form of political state—for him, for his class, it is a question of slavery or dominion. Today, under the Soviets, he, Sergei the smith, is a commissar, a commander, the administrator of a province, a judge, a diplomat. Tomorrow, if there should be a capitalistic system, this same Sergei would be dirt under the feet of the employers: if they wish they dismiss him; if they wish they put him on the black list and he perishes without work.

Therefore the working masses have more faith in a proletarian intellectual, even though he is doing no physical work, and is living the same life as an intellectual of the bourgeoisie. They feel that Sovietism is for him a serious thing. They will perhaps be unable to explain why they prefer him: he is not as good a speaker or so capable as the bourgeois book-man. Yet they know instinctively that he may be trusted.

How the Worker Intellectual Is Trained

But more proletarian intellectuals are wanted. In the time of Nicholas very few workers could

educate themselves. Only after the November revolution did Russia begin to create a broad intellectual class of workers and peasants. Now the whole country is one great school of proletarian education.

Disregarding the popular schools and the secondary schools for children and the various courses for adults in evening schools, clubs, trade unions, factories we have three kinds of fundamental educational institutions for workers and peasants: 1. workers' faculties, 2. military schools, 3. party-schools. In all these institutions the teaching is *scientific*, not popular, and all three are great factories of proletarian intellectuals.

The Workers' Faculties

The workers' faculties would in America be called perhaps preparatory schools, because their aim is to prepare workers and peasants for the universities. There is a difference, however, between the preparatory school and a workers' faculty. The faculty so conducts the studies that its students must from the first day accustom themselves to a scientific method of investigation.

This is their method: they bring together several hundred young men and women workers and peasants—from 16 to 20 or 25 years of age—they give them several professors from the university or the polytechnicum, they give them dwellings and rations—and they study. The students are picked; a recommendation from a factory, a union or a local Soviet is required for admission. Most of the students are *sent* by the various institutions and are *supported* at their expense: they are workers or peasants who have already distinguished themselves in community work, and proved their ability and spirit. In the workers' faculties the task of the students is to become acquainted as quickly as possible with the scientific method, in order to be able to carry on scientific investigation.

The workers' faculty, then, is *more a gymnasium* and less a university*. It is different from a gymnasium in that the learning is very serious and scientific. It differs from a university in that it leads the students only through the first stages of scientific investigation, but in the university spirit. The future mathematician learns arithmetic, algebra and geometry, on a purely scientific basis. The future economist studies the history of society, the elements of political economy and so on—but not as popular studies. The time is divided into *trimesters*—terms of three months each. The entire course must be completed in six trimesters—that is, in twenty months, (including vacations). When the course is finished, our worker or peasant becomes a full-fledged student of a regular university or technological institute.

I have seen the student, I have visited his classes. He is a new kind of student, another sort of intellectual. In appearance he is a "tramp"—a Vanka

*A secondary educational institution (eight years) between elementary schools and the university.

or Vaaka or Styepka, who heats the oven in the factory or works the soil in the fields. But what a hunger this Vanka has for learning! With what wild eagerness he attacks the courses! Laziness is unknown to him, and complaints of hunger. He works. He studies from morning till late at night. He and his fellows overcome every difficulty—within and without. Sometimes the class rooms are not heated. Sometimes there is no writing paper. Sometimes the electricity fails and fagots must be lighted, if there is no kerosene. Sometimes hunger gnaws at the stomach. But the work goes on. With iron will and patience the young students go on developing their minds, training their spirit of investigation. When they enter the university then only will they try their wings.

The distinguishing characteristic of the workers' faculties is that they give only the most essential, but they give it scientifically. The student is saved from many foolish and childish "predmet" (subjects) which would be stuffed into him in the gymnasium; what he does learn is serious and fundamental. A worker who can read, write and figure, and has a good head, if he studies through the six semesters, can be prepared for the university—perhaps much better than a former "gymnast."

Workers' faculties have grown up over the whole length and breadth of Russia. They function in all the provincial capitals and in many county capitals. They are being opened even where there is no university. The expectation is that after the students finish they will be sent to the nearest university town, or that meanwhile a university will grow up about the workers' faculty. In fact the workers' faculty is becoming in many places the cornerstone for a complete university. It accommodates several hundred students. Throughout Russia there are tens of thousands of such students. When they have completed their courses they will become "specialists" (in various scientific branches). It is hoped that they will be more loyal than the present day "specialists" who have been left as a heritage of the bourgeois regime.

The workers' faculties have been organized only within the last two years.

The Military School

2. The military school (military courses) is a school for Red officers. Just as the factory must have an engineer, so must the regiment have a commander: both are "specialists". And as the factory made use of the former engineer, who served the capitalist regime, so the Red army made use of the former commander, who served the Tsar. But the former commander was less trustworthy than the former factory manager, and the Soviet republic has begun to create its own commanders from among the young workers and peasants. The idea is simply that there is nothing a young worker or peasant cannot learn to do, if only there be a teacher. Usually he learns *more rapidly than a son of the bourgeoisie* and makes

better use of his knowledge in the interests of the new order.

It is remarkable with what rapidity the system of military courses has been developed in Russia. In January 1921, the number of those taking courses was not less than one hundred thousand. About the courses in general I shall have more occasion to speak later. Here I will only remark that although the military sciences are taught there, a general education is also given, and in effect they are great factories of intellectual workers. Now that the war has ended, they are preparing to improve the courses and give the students a better education. I have seen thousands of students who have at least appeared more intelligent than the former *Yunkers*,* the children of princes.

The Party School

3. *The party-school* develops Communist social workers. The Communist party, as we know, is the government machine of Russia. The machine must have men. The men must have special training in all branches of management. The aim of these schools is to provide this training. They are divided into three classes, lower, middle and higher, and are under the local committees or the central committee. The lower school gives the most essential elementary ideas of society in general, and of Russia in particular. The middle school develops and adds to this knowledge. The higher school is a Communist university. All the schools are concerned with practical social work. The students engage in this work almost from the beginning.

The courses in the schools are not merely propaganda. They are not abstract. They have to do with practical daily questions. A social worker must now know everything, must be able to answer all questions. It is not as once, when an official used to come with an order: do so and so and ask no questions. Now questions are asked. And if you are a government official and cannot give a clear answer, you are good for nothing. A food commissar who goes about the country collecting grain from the peasants must be familiar with all food questions and especially know Russian conditions. A worker in a railroad union must know the union movement and everything that pertains to transport. The manager of a factory must be a specialist in economic questions. If he lacks this knowledge he enters the party school. The number of such schools is very large. There is not a single county capital without one. The course lasts from three to six months, seldom longer. But the studying is done with a will. In Russia now everything is done in haste: there is no time to lose. Knowledge is *seized*, like hot cakes. There need be only a little foundation, the rest will be built up by practice and reading.

The Sverdlov University

The most able, the most educated young workers are sent to the Communist University in Mos-

*Military cadets.

cow, named after Sverdlov. Concerning this university also there will be occasion to speak later. Here I will only remark that in this university is found the pick of the Communist youth. The courses formerly lasted three months, then six; now, since January 1921, a course of eight months is being given: five and a half months of theoretical work and three or four months of practical work in various commissariats. The number of students is above 1200.

Here is a table of the subjects which are now studied there:

	A Course of
Chemistry	12 hours
Physics	16 "
Astronomy	12 "
Biology	30 "
Modern Russian History	48 "
General History of Modern Times.....	96 "
History of Materialism.....	24 "
History of the Russian Communist Party	60 "
History of Human Society.....	32 "
Economic Science:	
Development of Capitalistic Society	} 110 "
Political Economy	
Economics of the Transition Period	

In addition there is a great deal of work in groups, seminars, practice in group reading, public speaking, etc.

Altogether: a course of 18 weeks, 36 hours a week. After the course is completed the students are assigned to various commissariats, each according to his choice, to see the machinery of government in practice. Later they return to the institutions which have sent them, and they themselves become government workers.

The New Intellectual

Thus a new intellectual is now being produced in Russia. He is not yet ripe. He is half-baked. He is not polished. But he has a terrible thirst for learning. He has the divine audacity that stops at nothing. And he is young! He knows no fear. He does not weigh everything. He is not tortured by doubts. If I cannot today—I will tomorrow. If I have made mistakes I am nevertheless richer in experience, and next time I will do better. And if it is hard meanwhile—well, I will suffer. And yet life is interesting—and long live the world!

Such is the spirit of these intellectuals. For, they are on the whole different from the bourgeois intellectuals. They are strong. They have blood in their veins, and muscles on their bones. If it is necessary—they will do physical work too. If they must—they will sleep without a pillow and eat next to nothing. In Nizhni-Novgorod I once spent the night at the quarters of the executive committee and in the same room a committee worker was sleeping on the floor near the stove, with a piece of wood for a pillow, and a thin coat serving for both a mattress and a

quilt. In the morning the fellow turned out to be a commissar—with a hundred thousand soldiers under him.

He has no traditions—the new intellectual. He has not the thousand prejudices which for the bourgeois intellectuals are a sacred heritage. He dares *everything*. Critics call this experimenting. So be it. One thing is clear: the new intellectual is not bored. He lives with all his senses. He lives years in one day. And how thankful he is

to the old intellectuals when they come and share with him their accumulated knowledge. Professor Pokrovsky, the historian, they carry about on their shoulders. Why? Because he is one of them, because he gives his knowledge to the working class. But such as Pokrovsky are rare, they can be counted on one's fingers. The rest—the great mass of the learned and the specialists—grumble and complain. That pleases them more. And they still wonder that they are not respected.

The Three Whales

By IVAN ULIANOV

(This popular tale is characteristic of the simple, homelike stories now current in Russia, pointing as their moral some revolutionary truth.)

WE were told in our village that the world was supported by three whales. This legend had gone from farm to farm, from mouth to mouth, beginning with the most remote times. We had spent much time guessing what was the size of the whales, and were convinced that they must be very large indeed, for the task of bearing the whole world is no joke. A learned man once came to the village and said to the peasants:

"What stupid ignorant people you are, surely the world cannot rest on three whales! How do you picture these to yourself?"

"Of course it can," the more courageous of the peasants spoke up.

"Very well, let us say the world is supported on three whales; but what do the whales stand on?" This question floored the peasants. They scratched their heads, brooded, and found no answer.

The learned man soon left the village but the disputes and talks they had started knew no end. Some maintained that the earth did rest on three whales, others, that it revolved about an iron axis.

The village was divided into two camps by these disputes. Who knows how the thing might have ended, if a factory worker named Ivanov—God bless him!—had not arrived in our village.

"What are you fighting about, peasants?" asked Ivanov in one of our gatherings. We told him the story, and the worker after some thought made the following statement:

"Peasants! Comrades! Your ancestors have told you that the earth reposes on three whales; let us examine whether this or something else is the case, let us ponder the thing as far as our peasant understanding may go."

"How shall we ponder? We are stupid and untrained," muttered the peasants.

"You are right, Comrades, the landed proprietors never took any pains to teach you peasants anything," Ivanov began, "they kept you in ignorance in order the more easily to deceive you."

"Comrades! Your ancestors spoke the holy truth to you, they have not deceived you. But you must enter fully into this, you must understand well, and then it will shine for you more brightly

than the sun. It will be higher than the blue sky and fairer than a green meadow full of flowers.

"For one of these three whales on whom the earth rests—and he is the greatest whale of all—is the *peasant*. This whale plows the earth, sows the ground, and with his grain feeds all mankind.

"The second whale is the *worker*. He builds the railroads and the houses, the factories and mines, he forges the iron, builds machines, and makes weapons.

"The third whale is the *soldier*. This whale, arms in hand, his breast to the struggle, defends both other whales from all their enemies who would steal from them all that they have created with their blood and by the sweat of their brow,—and which is their property alone by all laws of eternal justice.

"And these three whales, united by the indissoluble bond of labor, bear upon their shoulders the entire universe, all mankind. There is no power, Comrades, which can burst this iron bond and separate the three whales from each other, for this would mean the destruction of all the world—of all mankind."

"You cudged your brains, you scratched your heads in a vain attempt to answer the learned men when they asked you what these three whales were standing on. And yet the answer is so plain and simple: *these whales stand on the earth!*"

"Long live the indissoluble union of the three whales, united by the unbreakable bond of labor, under the flag of the Peasants', Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets!"

RUSSIAN TRADE

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H. G. Wells Makes A Mistake

(The literary periodical "Vyestnik Literaturny" publishes the following protest against Wells from the pen of the Russian critic K. I. Chukovsky.)

IN 1916, together with Alexey Tolstoy and V. D. Nabokov, I paid a visit to the English novelist H. G. Wells and spent a Sunday with him at his home. It was natural that Mr. Wells when he visited Russia in 1920 should also look me up in the "House of the Artists", and that I should consider it my duty to show him the courtesy of accompanying him as a guide on his journeys through Russia. He wanted to know about the Russian educational system, and I took him to the Tenishevsky School, even under Tsarism one of the most modern and most democratic schools in Petrograd. It was a pleasure to me to find that the pupils at the Tenishevsky School had no reason to be ashamed of the impression they made. It appeared to me that Mr. Wells was by no means unfavorably moved by the popularity he seemed to enjoy among the Russian children.

But now I am told that Mr. Wells in his book on Russia has expressed his conviction that the entire scene had been arranged in advance, and that the pupils of the Tenishevsky School as a matter of fact had never even heard him spoken of, and had simply been taught to repeat parrot fashion, in the days preceding his visit, the titles of his books, in order to pull the wool over his eyes.

By this statement Mr. Wells has offended both me and the children. He has offended me in my capacity as a writer, a representative of the Russian intelligentsia, which gave him such a warm and friendly reception in Petrograd. I accompanied him not only in my capacity as a private individual, but also as an official representative of two literary organizations, including practically all the writers in Petrograd, the "House of the Artists" and the "World Literature" organization.

To suppose that an independent Russian author would abuse the confidence of his colleagues, would be capable of playing so base a part as to stage an ostensibly spontaneous act of homage on the part of children,—is an insinuation both against me and against those who chose me to be their representative. I repeat that neither the children, the teachers, nor the administration of the school were prepared for our visit. The whole thing was spontaneous and unarranged. Half an hour before we set out, I tried to ring up the school, but the telephone was out of order. All the pupils at the Tenishevsky School can bear me out in this statement.

I am particularly hurt by the fact that Mr. Wells' insinuation should be directed also against the children. Is it possible that he really believes that Russian children, the children of Russian professors, lawyers, teachers, doctors, writers, etc., could be so base as to simulate enthusiasm for a person they had never heard of, on command?

Of course Mr. Wells did not wish to offend me and narrates the incident quite jocosely and in-

nocently. According to his words, I had tried to make the affair as pleasant for him as possible, through mere friendship for him.

He does not know that Russian newspapers abroad have journalists who are now calling me a "Bolshevik agent", on the basis of his jovial account, and yet there have been such cases. To judge from Russian newspapers appearing in Paris, Berlin, Prague, etc., it appears that these lies have already been long in circulation. Their authors, who cannot be punished either by the courts or by boxing their ears, represent me as an *agent* of the government. I cannot meet these accusers, for they are abroad and I am in Petrograd. I cannot make them answer before the courts. In fact, I am not even certain that they will ever see these lines.

My only hope is that the All-Russian Authors Society, which knows my social and literary activity, may find it possible to protect one of its members from our friends abroad, who seem to regard the liberty of the press as the liberty to defame one's neighbors.

As for Mr. Wells, I am convinced that in the next edition of his book he will remove his involuntary error, if not for my sake, at least for that of the children, and that he will in the future be more cautious in his expressions concerning Russian authors.

Finally, I cannot refrain from observing that Mr. Wells has not given an absolutely correct account of his conversation with the children. From his book you would think that when I asked them whom they considered to be England's best known writer they all answered: "Wells"! This is not the case. The children are far too decent to engage in such awkward flattery. One of them called out: "Dickens". Another said: "Conan Doyle". Others cried "Oscar Wilde". There was one little fellow who shouted: "Karl Marx". Therefore even if the children considered Mr. Wells to be England's greatest writer, they were too sensitive to say it to his face.

PROTEST BY RUSSIAN AUTHORS

The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Authors Society, having heard of the attacks in the Russian press abroad on K. I. Chukovsky, a member of the Society, particularly in connection with H. G. Wells' visit to Russia, has adopted the following resolution:

"The Society expresses its sympathy with K. I. Chukovsky, who has been so rudely and undeservedly humiliated. Simultaneously, the Executive Committee considers it necessary to observe that the attack on Chukovsky appears to be based on the fact that Chukovsky belongs to the group of authors who remained in Russia and continued their literary activity.

"Therefore the insinuation against K. I. Chukovsky is likewise an insult to the entire above mentioned group of authors, and the Executive Committee has resolved within the near future to take up the question of the attitude of the press abroad toward writers remaining in Russia, in all its bearings of principle."

Art in Soviet Russia

By J. ERENBURG.

(The following article by the Moscow poet, J. Erenburg, who has just passed through Riga on a journey to Paris, appeared in "Novy Put", a Russian organ printed in Riga. The article deals particularly with the artistic life of Russia, especially that of Moscow during the last few years.)

SOVIET Russia has recently made very definite achievements and — in comparison with those of the West they are valuable achievements — in the field of art, in spite of the difficult conditions of life and the cruel privations that have been imposed upon this people.

The most interesting phenomenon in the theatrical world is that of the Intimate or Little Theatre. The chief characteristic of this institution is the tendency to center attention on external action as opposed to internal development. From this tendency there follows a sort of cult of gesture, an adaptation to the actor and to his creative talent. It is evident that this conception of the theatre assigns an important role to the painter.

The Intimate Theatre in the first place renounces all flat decorations. The most interesting productions of this institution have thus far been *Princess Brambilla* (from one of the *Tales of Hoffmann*), and Claudel's mystery play *The Glad Tidings*. In the former of these the fantastic decorations of Yakubov attracted great attention, while the second was characterized by a very impressive success in the architectonic field. The performance of Verhaeren's *Sheet-Lighting* was a great event in the artistic life of Moscow.

As for the Art Theatre—it has given evidence in its activity of a turn toward the so-called 'left' in art. At present the theatre is engaged in preparing performances of Cervantes' *Interludes*, with scenes and costumes by the painter Madame Exter.

In the Great Theatre the ballet has received great attention; among interesting productions in this realm Stravinsky's *Petrushka* must be mentioned.

Two general tendencies may be distinguished in the art of the theatre: the first aims at eliminating the theatre as such and fusing it with life. The second tendency is to retain the theatre and to achieve a severe internal organization of the art of acting. This latter tendency is represented by the Intimate Theatre. At present there is a third direction, as yet purely theoretical, which seeks to reanimate the Intimate Theatre by a form of drama conceived as the art of gesture in the widest sense. The organ of the first group, of which Meierhold is a prominent representative, is the *Theatrical Journal*, that of the second *The Culture of the Theatre*, which is issued by the Organization of Academic Theatres.

It must be observed that the interest in the theatre, which always was very intense in Russia, has now assumed very unusual dimensions. In the field of painting, two parallel currents are to be noted. One is in favor of the abolition of painting as a separate branch of the cultural life, and a fusion of this art with life itself; the other aims at the retention of painting as such. As for art tendencies in general, the development of Suprem-

atism must be mentioned, which is a sort of reaction to Cubism. Suprematism renounces any attempt to represent real objects, such as is still the basis of Cubism, as well as a space conception of that which is represented. Malyevich and Lizitsky are working in this field. Closely allied with them is Rodzhenko, who is able, by a special technique, to produce the impression that the objects reproduced are approaching or receding. Cubism is dying out in Russia. An important fact in the field of practical work is the establishment of the Museum for Painting.

An interesting phenomenon in the field of sculpture is the plan for the Monument of the International, designed by Tatlin. The general outline of the monument is that of three great cubes, placed one over the other in a spiral form, and constructed of steel and glass.

It is my impression that this monument is an added step in the line of development begun by the Eiffel Tower. But no artist has hitherto succeeded in carrying out such a plan. The desire to eliminate painting and sculpture as separate arts, the artistic efforts to utilize them as a portion of life itself, may be explained psychologically. In the epoch of the great decline of material civilization, in which Moscow is moving forward along the path that began in Asia and ended in America, the desire to Americanize the city is becoming stronger and stronger.

In any discussion of poetry and literature in general, the terrible lack of books must be mentioned. Furthermore our printing facilities are exceedingly poor. One of the consequences of this condition is that the works of poets are actually being circulated and sold in manuscript form. Among creations circulated in this way I may mention the epic of A. Byely, which is a splendid achievement in the field of poetic prose.

ILLUSTRATED ISSUES OF SOVIET RUSSIA

A few hundred copies of our past two issues (dated April 30 and May 7) are still on hand. They contain many illustrations, and are well worth keeping. These two copies will be mailed to any address upon receipt of twenty cents.

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 W. 40 St.,

New York, N. Y.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street,

New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

THE recognition of the Soviet Government by Great Britain, which was implicit in the trade agreement and acknowledged by English officials when that document was signed, has been reaffirmed by the British Court. The Court of Appeals has reversed the decision of Justice Roche in the Sagor case. The original decision in that case, which had to do with certain Russian timber disposed of in London by the Soviet Trade Representative, was that since the British Government had never recognized the Soviet Government the court could not admit the latter's title to goods which it had required by decree. Our readers will remember the penetrating analysis of that decision by Mr. Lincoln Colcord published in *SOVIET RUSSIA* January 22, 1921. "The question actually at issue," wrote Mr. Colcord, "is not property, but rather sovereignty. British courts are arrogating to themselves the establishment of fundamental law and the interpretation of that law for Russia. That is, they are assuming both a legislative and a judicial function for Russia, on the strength of the fact that the British Government refuses to recognize the Government of Russia. It is an interesting revelation, also, that this decision in the British Courts runs contrary to British interests; for the institution of property must be maintained at any selfish cost."

That early decision, if left standing, raised an insuperable bar to the resumption of trade between England and Russia. To overcome this obstacle, Mr. Krassin suggested that the British Government, if it really desired trade, should introduce into Parliament a special bill postponing, until this question had been regulated by a general peace conference, any legal action in England aimed to recover property taken over by decree by the Soviet Government. The British Government felt itself constitutionally unable to take this step. Whereupon Mr. Krassin accommodated them with another solution. "I think I see a way out of this difficulty," said Mr. Krassin. "It is to bring a new test case before the British Courts as soon as the trade agreement is signed." Accordingly a clause was introduced into Article XIII of the Trade Agreement which provided that if, as the result of any action in the British Courts, property of the Soviet Government was attached on account of prior obligations, the Soviet Government should

have the right to terminate the agreement forthwith. This gave fair notice to the British Government that it must recognize fully and irrevocably the sovereignty of the Soviet State and that British Courts should not again presume to question the validity of decrees of the Workers' Republic.

The outcome was fairly certain. The trade agreement in itself constituted recognition of the Soviet Government. From the moment of its signature the British Courts were able to hold that they could not question any acts of the Soviet Government. In the recent decision by the Court of Appeals, therefore, it was held that since the Soviet Government was now recognized by the British Government it was not within the jurisdiction of the Court to question the Russian Government's title to any goods in its possession. "An act of a State," said the Court, "recognized by the British Government, must be entitled to the same respect as an act of a sovereign state, whether done before or after recognition." In other words, the British Courts no longer assume to interpret Russian legislation. They leave that to Russia.

A LARGE group of interested British exporters gathered recently at the British Chamber of Commerce to hear Sir Bernard Pares, of the School of Slavonic Studies, London University, discuss the steps which must be taken to capture the Russian market for British trade. "Sir Bernard was very insistent," reports the *New York Daily News Record*, April 22, 1921, "upon the point that during the past few years Russia had been treated in England, not as an affair of Russian politics, but as an affair of British politics, and Russian questions had been settled in the light of British political views. The Germans, he said, would have the monopoly of the reconstruction of Russia unless the English people became more active in their trade policy toward Russia. No one, he said, could talk of expelling the Germans from Russia, the thing was unthinkable, but an important step remained to be taken, namely, to push British trade into Russia, and to let British trade have its full share in the reconstruction of Russia."

In addition to the exceedingly active Russian section of the British Chamber of Commerce, there is also in London a Russo-British Chamber of Commerce. This busy institution is of quite a different character and purpose from the American body of similar name, the chief aim of which, according to one of its members, is to prevent the resumption of trade between Russia and America. The Russo-British Chamber of Commerce is out for Russian trade—as much of it and as soon as possible. The membership of the general council of the Russo-British chamber shows an imposing array of British bankers and traders. Sir Francis Barker, of Vickers, Ltd., is chairman of the executive council, which includes such representatives of British trade and finance as Sir William Priestley of Priestley's, Bradford; H. W. Lee, of the Fine Cotton Spinners' and Doublers' Association, Bradford; G. Palliser Martin, of St. Phillip's Flax

and Hemp Mills, Bristol; Sir Richard Vassar-Smith, of Lloyd's Bank; Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Langdale Ottley, of Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., Ltd., etc. The office of the chamber, reports a recent press despatch, "is besieged with inquiries from British traders regarding prospects in the Russian markets."

A brief survey of current items in the daily press reveals the exhilarating haste with which British and Continental traders are rushing to fling their wares into the economic vacuum so well described by the Secretary of State. On March 22, less than a week after signing of the English trade agreement, a dispatch from London to the New York *Evening Post* reported:

"England is losing no time in putting into effect the trade agreement with Russia. It has already decided to send a staff of men well acquainted with Russia to Moscow, Petrograd, Odessa and probably to one or two other places. Details of the plans are being worked out and the personnel considered, and the Government hopes to have these men on their way very soon.

"The head of staff at Moscow will be virtually a British Minister to Russia with political powers far in advance of any trade emissary England ever sent to a foreign country, and the trade representatives to the other cities will have more power than the average Consul. The Government is devoting great care to selecting these men from the rush of applications. . .

"Leonid Krassin will remain in London as Russia's representative, and will maintain quite a staff here which will be able to give trade information. Your correspondent was told at the Board of Trade that already there are negotiations in progress between Russia and British firms for large orders of manufactured articles and that business is expected to develop steadily."

Ten days later the correspondent of the New York *Herald* reported from Reval:

"A British official mission is now on its way to Moscow, and British firms are getting ready to repair Russian locomotives and to supply new ones. I met here in Reval the other day a Mr. Grimshaw, a Yorkshire man, representing the great cloth manufacturers of his native country, who has just sold Lenin 150,000 pounds worth of English cloth and got paid in gold and platinum 200,000 pounds, which gives him 50,000 pounds to go on with; and there have, I am sure, been many other deals like this."

* * *

THE establishment of a Soviet regime in Georgia, the Caucasian republic on the shores of the Black Sea, in its time created a great commotion in the ranks of Franco-British imperialists, Russian patriots and "democratic" Socialists. The first two partners of this sympathetic trinity were losing thereby a convenient landing place and starting point for future armed adventures against Soviet Russia. On the other hand, the Socialists of the Menshevik type in Russia as well as in Western Europe—were deprived of a living and shining example of a Social Democratic republic—a paradise where the working class was ruling in a civilized manner, without dispossessing or disfranchising the bourgeoisie, without civil war and terror, and without incurring the anger of the great capitalistic powers. They opened all the sluices of their abuse, accusing the Bolsheviks of imperialism, of emulating the expansionist policy of the Tsar, of disregarding the self-determination of small nationalities. . .

Leaving aside the question that the establishment of a Soviet regime in this Caucasian republic was not in any way caused by Russian intervention, but was a purely internal matter of the Mohammedan mountain tribes and the Communist workers of Georgia, it is at least curious to notice that this cry for national independence should be raised by the leading politicians of exactly this little republic. The great man of Georgia was the famous Menshevik Tseretelli, formerly a member of the Russian Duma and at the time of Kerensky generally considered the guiding spirit of this eloquent but not very astute lawyer. In the heyday of their power neither the great Alexander nor his Georgian Aristotle even for a moment seriously considered the idea of national independence or self-determination. The most they were willing to concede was a kind of autonomy for Poland and Finland—within the boundaries of the Russian empire. Champions of "unity" as long as capitalists were ruling the country—these "Socialists" embraced the principle of "self-determination" as soon as the workers became the masters of the land. . .

BERTRAND Russell in his articles about Soviet Russia had written in 1920 about the privileges enjoyed by the Communists in Russia. This accusation against the ruling party in the Soviet Republic has since been over and over again repeated by all more or less unfriendly critics. On this head we read in the Moscow *Pravda* of March 22, the following:

"They speak all the time about the privileges of the Communists.

"Such privileges really exist, although the party is conducting an energetic struggle against them and although they cannot in the slightest be compared with the privileges that would be granted to its adherents by any other government.

"But we invite everybody to ponder over the following fact: At the time when there took place the congress of our party, the governing party, there occurred the unfortunate Kronstadt events.

"What did the Congress do?

"It sent a third of its members as simple Red front soldiers to the most dangerous posts. Up to the present it has become known that three of them have been killed and seventeen wounded, but it is possible that the real number of those killed and wounded is by far larger.

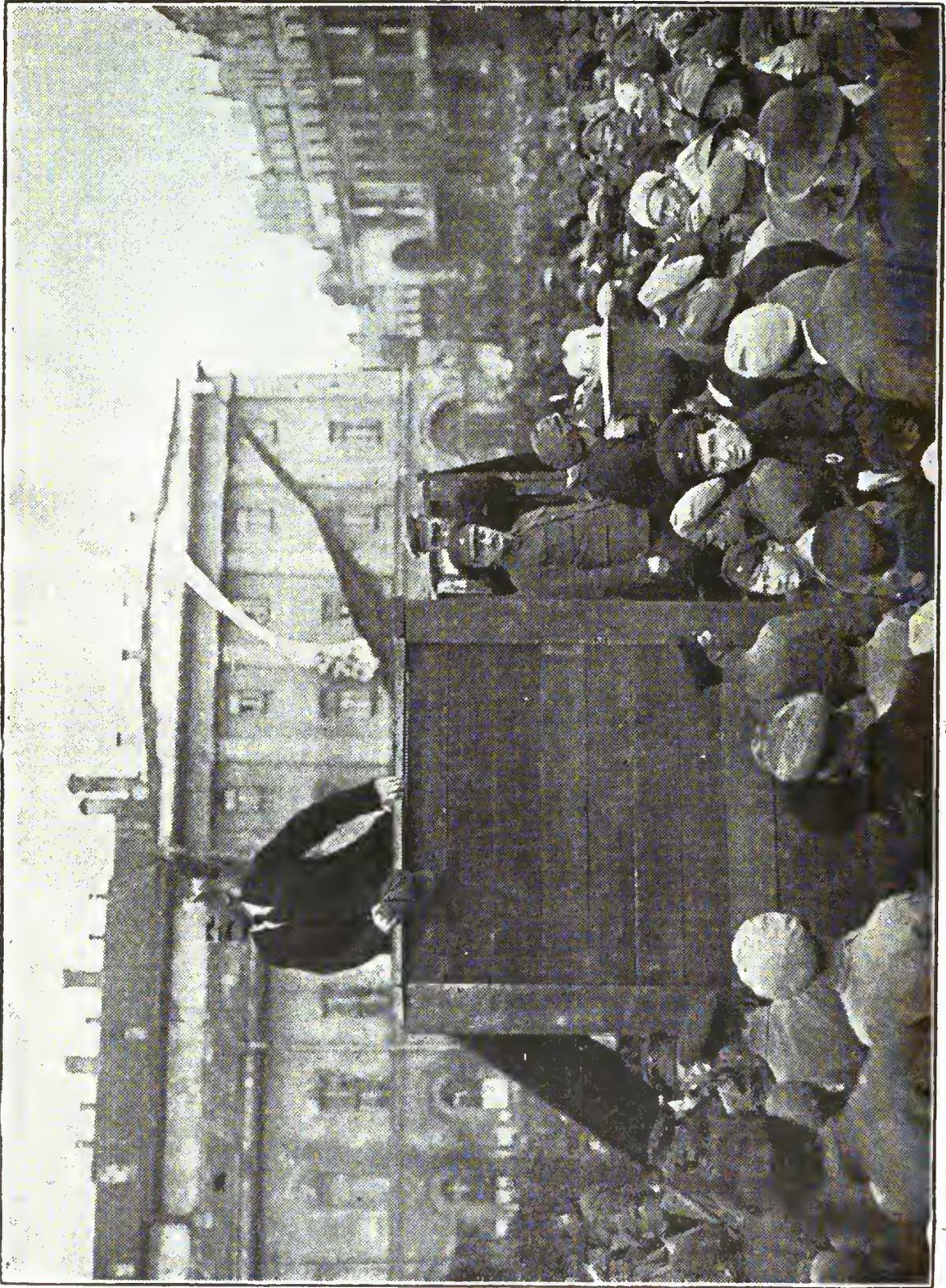
"Where and when did any governing party act this way? When and where did anything like this happen in history?

"Anybody who was at Kronstadt can tell how heroically the delegates of the Congress fought there.

"What party has ever thus sent its best sons into the murderous fire?

"Every honest worker should ponder over these facts. The Communists died in the first ranks. Their example was a spur for the others and the Revolution was victorious.

"Glory to the fallen heroes!"



LENIN ADDRESSING AN OPEN AIR MEETING. (Trotsky may be seen in the audience, on the right of the platform.)

Lenin's Speech on the Tax in Kind

(The speech delivered by Lenin on March 15 in the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party on the "tax in kind" has been quoted several times in SOVIET RUSSIA. We are now in a position to communicate the entire speech to our readers.)

COMRADES: The question of substituting a tax in kind for the requisition of grain is above all a political question, because the essence of this question is the relation of the working class to the peasantry. The very fact that this question had to be put proves that we must subject the relations between the workers and peasants on the hostile or peaceful attitude of whom depends the fate of our revolution, to an examination and revision that must be as complete and intelligent as possible. I need not dwell long on the question of the causes that have made such a revision necessary. You all know what are the circumstances that have made the situation of the peasantry a particularly difficult one. First of all there is the great distress that was brought about by war, destruction and failure of crops, which necessarily brought with it a certain alienation of the peasantry from the proletariat to the bourgeoisie.

Let me speak but a few words on the theoretical significance of this question. There is no doubt that the social revolution in a country where the overwhelming majority of the population consists of small farmers and producers may only be achieved by providing for a number of special transition measures that would be entirely unnecessary in countries in which the wage workers constitute the overwhelming majority in industry and agriculture. In countries with a highly developed capitalism a special class of agricultural wage workers has developed in the course of decades. Only such a class may prepare the ground socially, economically, and politically for the immediate transition to Socialism. We have already emphasized in a number of pamphlets and speeches, as well as in our press, that in Russia the state of affairs is not the same, in other words, that in Russia the industrial workers are in the minority and the small farmers overwhelmingly in the majority. The social revolution in such a country may meet with complete success only under two conditions:

1. It must be supported by the social revolution in one or more of the advanced countries. As you know, much has been accomplished in this respect in recent days, as compared with the past, but this condition is still far from fulfillment.

2. There must be an understanding between the proletariat, which is the executor of the dictatorship and holds the state power in its hands, and the majority of the population. This understanding will be wide in its scope, and may include a great number of measures and transitional stages. It must be mentioned here that we must clarify the matter of our propaganda and education. People who think that politics means petty intrigues, who sometimes have even gone so far

as to undertake acts of deception, must be most emphatically condemned in our midst. The working classes must not be deceived. In three years we have done very much to elevate the political consciousness of the masses. The masses have learned most in the open struggle. In accordance with our view of life and our ten years of revolutionary experience and the practical lessons of our revolution, we must look at things as they are: the interests of classes are different; the small peasant has aims that are not the same as those of the worker.

We know that only an understanding with the peasantry can save the social revolution until the revolution is ready to break out in other countries. We must speak practically on this matter in all meetings, and in our press. We must not attempt to hide anything; we must say openly that the peasantry are discontented with the form of the relations thus far realized with us, that they do not want this form, and that it has to be changed. This is a fact. The peasants have clearly expressed their will in this matter. But this will is the will of great masses of the working population. We must reckon with this fact and we should be sufficiently objective in our politics to say "Let us go over this question!"

We must say: if you want to go backward, if you want to restore private property and bring about free trade, this will mean that you are handed over irrecoverably to the power of the landed proprietors and capitalists. A great number of historical examples and lessons of the revolution will prove this. Anyone who has even the most rudimentary acquaintance with the principles of Communism and political economy must be convinced of the inevitability of these facts. Let us go over this question together: is it in the interest of the peasants to remove themselves so far from the proletariat as to hand over the country once more to the power of the capitalists and landed proprietors, or is it not in their interest to do so?

It is my impression that if we properly examine this question, we shall come to the conclusion that in spite of the divergence between the economic interests of the proletariat and the small peasants, the final outcome is in our favor. Difficult as our situation is, the question of contenting the middle and small peasants must be solved. There are now more peasants with medium holdings than before. Oppositions have been adjusted; the soil is more equitably distributed; the estates of the big peasants have for the most part been expropriated. In Russia this has been more fully realized than in Ukraine and in Siberia, but on the whole statistics show that a certain levelling process has

begun, in other words, that the sharp contrasts between the big peasants and the landless peasants have been removed. In general we may say that the peasantry now has holdings of so-called medium size.

Alteration of the Economic Basis

Can we make these medium peasants content with their economic position? If anyone among the Communists believed that the entire economic basis could be altered in three years, he was a dreamer. It is not a crime to admit that there are many such dreamers among us. In fact that condition is not even a disadvantage. How could we have undertaken a social revolution in a country like ours if we had not had such dreamers? Practice has also shown, however, that these experiments as such have played also a negative role, since people who were led by the best intentions and desires went into the villages in order to establish agricultural collective economy, without knowing anything about agriculture, or without having any experience in organizing collective farms. You know very well how many cases of that kind there have been. I repeat that this is not surprising, since the transformation of the entire psychology of the petty peasants is a labor that will require generations. This question of stabilizing the ideology of the small peasants can be solved only on a material basis. The application of tractors and machinery in agriculture on a large scale, the electrification of the whole country, would immediately produce a transformation of the thought of the small peasants. And when I speak of generations, remember that generations do not necessarily mean centuries. You know very well that the obtaining of tractors and machinery and the carrying out of the electrification of a gigantic country are a matter of decades. Objectively considered, that is the state of things.

Let us now ask, what is to be done? We must make efforts to satisfy the requirements of our peasants, who are dissatisfied, and rightly so, who cannot be satisfied with the present state of affairs. We must say: this thing cannot go on. How shall we satisfy the peasants, in fact, what do we mean by satisfying the peasants? Whence shall we obtain the answer to this question? The demands themselves will be our answer. We know these desires and demands. We must, however, subject them to a revision and attempt to connect all that we know of the economic demands of the peasants with our knowledge of the economic situation. If we go carefully into this question we must at once come to the conclusion that the small peasants can be satisfied in two ways: *in the first place, by a certain freedom of exchange of commodities, a certain freedom for the small peasants, and, in the second place, we must get commodities and products; for what would be the use of a freedom to exchange commodities, if there are no commodities to exchange? And what is the use of a freedom to trade if you have nothing with which to carry on trade? We must well note these two condi-*

tions, for otherwise the whole thing will remain on paper, and you know classes cannot be contented with paper decrees, but only with material facts. How we are to get the goods—we shall speak of that later. First, let us speak of what is really meant by freedom to exchange commodities. Freedom to exchange commodities means free trade, free trade means: back to capitalism. Freedom to exchange commodities, free trade, means an act of exchange between the individual small peasants. All of us who know even the *a b c's* of Marxism will understand that this exchange of commodities, this freedom to trade, inevitably will result in a division of the producers of commodities into possessors of capital and possessors of labor power, in other words, that we shall have new forms of capitalist wage-slavery, which never descended from on high, but always developed, in all countries, out of the agricultural classes who had products in their hands. We know this very well in theory, and everyone in Russia who has observed the life and economic conditions of the small peasants cannot fail to come to this conclusion.

Communist Party and Free Trade

The question now is: Can the Communist Party recognize free trade and pass over to this state? Are there not irreconcilable incompatibilities in this situation? Our answer must be that the practical settling of these questions is of extreme difficulty. I can foresee, and I have already observed in conversations with many comrades, that replacing the grain requisitions by a tax in kind is going to center most of the discussion on the matter of the right to exchange commodities within the limits of the local economic needs. What does this mean; what limits must here be drawn; how are we to realize this condition? If anyone thinks that an answer to this question may already be given at this Congress he is mistaken. This question will not be answered before it is taken up in our legislation. Our problem in this Congress is to formulate the main lines of the question. Our party is a governing party and the decision that the party congress adopts will be binding for the whole Republic. We must therefore take up this question now as a matter of principle only.

Our decision on the principle involved in this question must be communicated by us to the peasantry, for the spring campaign is at hand. We must call in the assistance of our entire party apparatus, of all our theoretical powers, of all our practical experiences, in order to decide what is best to be done. Theoretically speaking, we may to a certain extent reestablish free trade and hand over to the small peasants the rights and privileges of capitalism, without in that way destroying the root of the political power of the proletariat. Is this possible? If we were in a position to obtain even a small quantity of commodities and the state should take possession of these commodities, the proletariat now holding political power would receive, in addition to that political power, the economic power also. The opening of the com-

modity exchange will have an invigorating effect on the small peasants whose activity has been almost crippled by the pressure of the destruction brought about by the war and the impossibility of developing their economic life normally. The individual small peasants need a stimulus that will be adapted to their economic situation. We cannot extricate ourselves from this difficulty without resorting to freedom of local exchange of commodities. If this exchange of commodities gives to the state a certain minimum quantity of grain, sufficient to satisfy the needs of the cities, of the factories, and of industry, this exchange of commodities will contribute to solidify and strengthen the political and national power of the proletariat. The peasantry demand that the worker, who holds in his hands all the factories and all industries, shall prove to them in fact that he is ready to enter into exchange relations with them. On the other hand, a great agricultural state with poor communications, in the individual parts of which agriculture does not operate under the same conditions, emphatically requires a certain freedom of commodity exchange in the domain of local agriculture and local industry.

In this field everything has been defective until now. It would be the greatest crime not to admit this fact.

Relations with Cooperatives

But we were under an iron compulsion. For up to the present time we have had such incredibly difficult conditions, produced by the war, that it was impossible for us to take any other than war-like measures, even in the field of agriculture. It is a miracle that our distracted country has been able to bear a war of this kind. But this miracle has not descended from on high; it was born of the economic interests of the working class and the peasantry. Simultaneously—and this must not be overlooked in propaganda and agitation—we went further than was necessary from either a theoretical or a political standpoint. We may admit a free local exchange of commodities in such a way as not to destroy the political power of the proletariat. How this is to be done will be shown by actual practice. It is my duty only to show theoretically that it *is possible*. The proletariat holding the state power in its hands can, if it has control of certain products, put these products into circulation and thus secure a certain satisfying of the middle and small peasants. This satisfying of their needs must be undertaken on the basis of the local exchange of commodities.

Now let me say a few words on this local exchange. First I must here touch the question of the cooperatives. It is of course a fact that we shall need the cooperatives in a local exchange of commodities. Our program emphasizes that the cooperatives which we took over from capitalism are the best instrument of distribution and that we must preserve this instrument. So far for our program. But have we really utilized the cooperatives as fully as we might have? No! And

this is partly due to our own errors, partly forced upon us by the war. The cooperatives embraced elements whose economic situation was relatively secure, and who were therefore, in their political sympathies, Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists. What can you do about it? It is a law. (*Laughter from the audience.*) The Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists are people who consciously or unconsciously cooperate in reconstructing capitalism and give their aid to the Yudeniches. That is also a law. We must fight them, and when you are fighting, you fight to the utmost. We must defend ourselves, and we have done so. But can the present situation continue to be maintained? No, it is impossible. It would doubtless be an error if we should tie our hands, and therefore I propose, in the question of cooperatives, the following resolution, which is very short. I shall read it:

"In view of the fact that the resolution of the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, as to our relations with the cooperatives, is based entirely on the principle of requisitions of grain, which are now replaced by a tax in kind, the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party resolves to alter the resolution in question. The Congress commissions the Central Committee to formulate the conditions for developing and improving the structure and activity of the cooperatives, in accordance with the program of the Russian Communist Party, and to take as its basis the substitution of a tax in kind for the requisition of grain."

The resolution of the Ninth Congress ties our hands. It says that the cooperatives are to be placed under the Commissariat of Provisions. The Commissariat of Provisions is an excellent institution. But it would be a great political error if we should forcibly put the cooperatives under the Commissariat for Provisions, and thus tie our hands, in the regulation of our relations with the small peasants. We must give the newly elected Central Committee instructions to elaborate the new measures and undertake alterations. In this matter we stand, theoretically speaking, before a great number of transitional stages and transitional measures. One thing is clear to us: the resolution of the Ninth Congress assumed that our development would follow a straight line. It has turned out, as is always the case in all the history of revolutions, that the course of evolution has followed zigzag lines. Therefore it would be a political error to tie ourselves down to any resolution. If we now alter this resolution, we may say that we are acting in the spirit of our program, as is demanded by the importance of the cooperative organizations.

In altering this resolution, we say that we must accept the substitution of a tax in kind for the grain requisitions as a basis for our measures. When shall we be able to put it through? Not before the harvest, in other words, not for a number of months. Will this measure be the same in all places? By no means. To attempt to proceed with a rubber stamp in Central Russia, Ukraine, and Siberia, as if they were parts of the same

region, would be the greatest folly. I propose that we publish this fundamental idea of the freedom of local exchange of commodities as a resolution of the Congress. I imagine that in a few days a letter or appeal from the Central Committee will be published, which will state much better than I am doing here the following: do not hurry, destroy nothing, and act so as to content in the highest possible measure the demands of the middle peasantry, without causing the interests of the proletariat to suffer thereby. Try to do both these things and draw practical conclusions from your experiences, and then inform us what you have achieved, and we shall form a special commission, or even several commissions, which must then devote themselves to the study of these practical experiences. We must subject to a tenfold inspection the measures we have taken, before we may proceed on the basis of our experiences.

How and Where to Get Commodities

We shall now be asked how and where we are going to get commodities. This will be much easier for us now, since our economic situation, as measured by the international yardstick, has much improved. How we shall get the commodities—that is another question. But the possibility of obtaining the commodities is now at hand. The economic relations which we are maintaining with the upper classes of other states will give to us, the proletarian state power, the possibility of granting to the peasantry the alleviation of a free exchange of commodities. I know that this has called forth derision. In Moscow there is a large group of representatives of the bureaucratic intelligentsia who are at great effort to produce a certain "public opinion". This group began to make fun of us: "See what has become of Communism. It is like a man walking on crutches and with his face made unrecognizable by a great bandage." Communism in their eyes is now a sort of caricature. I have heard jokes and jibes of this kind frequently. Russia came out of the war in such a condition as really to resemble a man who has been beaten up until he is half dead. For seven years they have been striking us, and we may now be glad that we can move about at all, even if it is with the aid of crutches. Such is our position. And if any one says that we can get out of this situation without the aid of crutches, he will give evidence of a complete misunderstanding of the present situation. So long as the revolution has not yet broken out in other countries, we must not grudge the hundreds of millions and milliards, which our boundless resources and our rich raw materials afford us, as a compensation for the trade that the advanced capitalist countries may give us. We shall later recover all this with advantage to ourselves. If the most advanced countries are still smarting with the wounds inflicted by four years of war, what is to be said of us, who have been waging war for seven years?

In our backward country we have need now of an economic breathing spell, after our seven years

of war. We have learned from the reports of Comrade Lezhava that many hundreds of thousands of poods of various foodstuffs have already been purchased in foreign countries and are being forwarded here with the greatest possible speed by way of Lithuania, Finland and Latvia. Today we have received news that a contract covering the delivery of 18,500,000 poods of coal, purchased by us, has been signed in London, in order to furnish the industry of Petrograd with fuel. If this will help us provide commodities for the peasants, it may be irregular or even in violation of our program, but we need a breathing spell.

Exchange of Commodities by Individuals

I must say a few words still on the exchange of commodities by individuals. When we speak of freedom of exchange we mean an exchange of commodities by individuals, in other words, an aid to the big peasants. We must not hide from ourselves the fact that the substitution of a tax in kind for grain requisitions represents a certain strengthening of the wealthy peasantry. But this tendency of the wealthy peasants must not be resisted by means of edicts, by means of prohibitions, but by national measures and national concentration. If the nation can receive machines, it will be strengthened and elevated thereby. And if the machines are available in sufficient quantity, and the electrification has been carried out, this will mean the end of the big peasants. But so long as this is not possible, we must give a certain quantity of goods away. He who has the goods at his disposal, also holds the power. The peasants in Russia, as far as their possessions are concerned, have recently been much equalized, and now consist for the most part of medium peasants; and we need not fear that the exchange of commodities will be completely individualized. Each man will be in a position to give the state some compensation for these goods. One will furnish his excess in grain, another will give garden products, a third will give his labor power. The situation is now this: either we must economically satisfy the medium peasants and consent to a freedom of commodity exchange, or it will be impossible to maintain the power of the proletariat in Russia, in view of the slowing down of the international revolution. We are economically not fitted for this task. We must be clear on this point, and speak of it fearlessly. In the proposed legislation there are a number of other contradictions. Therefore the final words have been made to read thus: "The Congress approves in its general outline the proposal of the Central Committee to replace the grain requisitions by a grain tax, and commissions the Central Committee of the Party to eliminate these contradictions in as short a period as possible." We have not yet had an opportunity to eliminate these contradictions. We have not had sufficient time for these details. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars will work out in detail a plan for carrying out the tax in kind as well as

the necessary edict. If you accept this proposal today, we can immediately refer it to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, which will then, together with the Council of People's Commissars and the Supreme Council of National Economy, and that of the National Defence, make this project a law, and—what is more important—issue practical instructions.

Why This Change Was Necessary

Why was it necessary for us to substitute a tax in kind for the grain requisitions? The grain requisitions created a peculiar monopoly which demanded all the excess grain and foodstuffs from the peasants. But we could not do otherwise, since we were in a position of extreme distress. The national monopoly is the very best method from the Socialist standpoint. But in a peasant nation, having control of a certain amount of industry and a certain quantity of goods, the system of taxes and of free exchange of commodities is capable of application as a transition measure. This exchange of commodities will be a spur and a stimulus for the peasants. The peasants will and must make efforts, in their own interest, to raise the productivity of their farms, because they will now not be asked to give up all their excess foodstuffs, but only the amount covered by the tax in kind, to be delivered as far as possible in advance. We must build up our national economic life with an eye to the economic position of the middle peasant, whose ideology we have not been able to alter in the course of these three years. The quantity of foodstuffs to be raised by the grain requisitions was increased last year. The amount of foodstuffs to be raised by the tax in kind should be much smaller.

If there is a crop failure, we cannot take any excess foodstuffs, because there will not be any to take, unless we want to deprive the peasant of the last bite he has to eat. Should we have a crop failure, we shall all have to starve a bit, and the state will be saved. Otherwise the state would go to pieces. If we have a good harvest, our excess supply will amount to half a billion poods; this will be sufficient for consumption and will even enable us to create a certain grain reserve. The main point is to stimulate the peasant. Therefore we propose the acceptance of the resolution. It is always difficult to look for transition measures. As we have not succeeded in advancing equally and in a straight line, we must not be petty, but must simply gather our forces. A peasant who has even a modicum of class-consciousness cannot help understanding that we represent as a government the working classes, those working classes with whom the toiling peasant can agree (and the peasants represent nine tenths of our population). A class-conscious peasant understands very well that every turn for the worse means a return to the old Tsarist Government. The Kronstadt events have clearly emphasized this. The Kronstadt people do not want the White Guards and they do not want us, but they cannot have anybody else. The

Kronstadt mutineers have put themselves in a position which is the best kind of agitation for us and against any other kind of government.

Acceptable Relations with the Peasants

We are now enabled to come to an arrangement with the peasant, and this arrangement must be brought about with intelligence and adaptability. We understand the whole apparatus of the Commissariat of Provisions and we know that it is a very efficient apparatus and must be preserved. But we must subordinate this apparatus to the demands of policy. The whole magnificent machinery of the Commissariat of Provisions will be of no use to us if we are not able to achieve acceptable relations with the peasants. If the political situation requires a decisive change, adaptability, and wise measures of transition, the leaders must accommodate themselves to this condition. A well built apparatus must be able to function under any circumstances. If its structure becomes a mere petrification, it will lose its applicability. For this reason precisely we must apply all our forces to achieve a complete subordination of this apparatus to the demands of policy. *Policy* means: the relation between the various classes, and this relation decides the fate of the republic. We must always keep the great whole before our eyes; this very evening we must be in a position to proclaim to all the world by wireless that the Congress of the governing party has replaced the grain requisitions by a tax in kind and has thus stimulated the small peasants to improve their methods and increase their cultivated area. If the Congress will take this step, it will improve the relation between the proletariat and the peasant and may give expression to its conviction that in this way a permanent relation may be attained between the peasantry and the proletariat. (*Stormy applause.*)

REOPENING PUTILOV WORKS

On April 15 activity in the Putilov Works, Petrograd was resumed. The first departments to start functioning will be those for the manufacture of railroad cars, locomotives, machines and automobiles. In connection with the new economic tasks of Petrograd industry, it has been found that it is absolutely necessary to reorganize the Putilov Works completely.

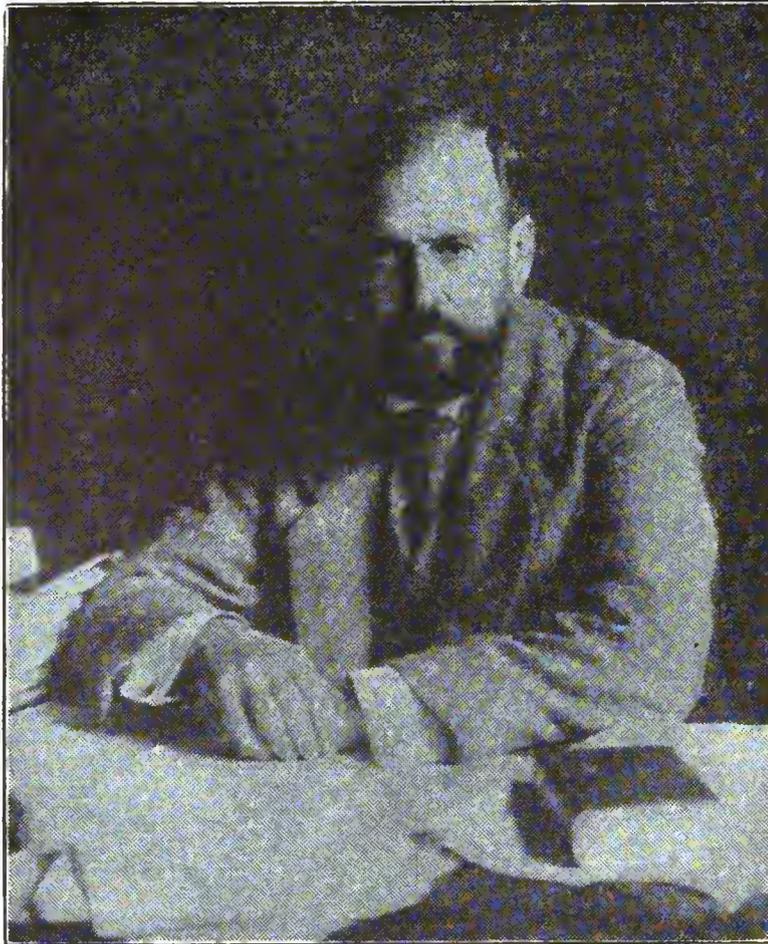
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Christian Georgyevich Rakovsky

(Comrade Rakovsky occupies in Ukraine a position corresponding to that of Lenin in Russia. Its natural resources and the fertility of its land, make Ukraine, with its more than 35 million inhabitants, one of the most important parts of the Soviet Federation.)

THE present leader of the Communist reconstruction in Ukraine, the head of the People's Commissars, Christian Georgyevich Rakovsky, was born on September 1, 1873 in a little Bulgarian town, Kotel. He belongs to the very old Rakovsky family known in the history of the Balkan revolutionary struggles, a family which from the beginning of the nineteenth century played an important role in the revolutionary movement of the Balkans in general, and in Bulgaria particularly. He early showed the heritage of his revolutionary family traditions. As a youngster, while in the sixth class of gymnasium he was expelled for distributing Socialist propaganda, and organizing revolutionary circles.

In 1890, Rakovsky unable to finish his studies, went to Geneva, Switzerland. Here he immediately entered into the Russian Social Democratic organization at the head of which at that time were Plekhanov, Sazulich and Axelrod. Through Plekhanov, he familiarized himself with the international labor movement.

For seven years Rakovsky, thanks to governmental persecution, spent his time wandering between the universities of Switzerland, Germany, and France. In 1892 he was arrested by the authorities of Geneva for an attempt against one of the Russian agents provocateurs. He was expelled by the Berlin police for his participation in the German labor movement and in the Russian Social Democratic movement. Finally the French Government permitted him to study there, but only under very strict police surveillance.

While working in Russian, German, French, Swiss, and other organizations, Rakovsky did not forget his native country. He published in Geneva a Bulgarian paper, "Social Democrat", and directed the Socialist papers in Bulgaria itself.

After having completed his studies in the Medical Faculty in 1897, Rakovsky wrote a brilliant doctor's dissertation which gives a Marxian explanation of criminality and degeneration, a work which has been translated into Russian. Upon his return to Bulgaria, there began a struggle against

Russian Tsarism. Rakovsky organized throughout the whole country a great number of meetings, started a campaign in the press, and published a big historical work under the title "*On Russian Policy in the East*". In view of the fact that the country where his family was living was occupied by the Rumanians he was mobilized for military service, where he continued Socialist propaganda.

In 1900 Rakovsky went to Russia. He was immediately arrested and expelled through Reval to Germany where he completed his well known work *Present Day France*, published under the pseudonym Insarov. In order to get in touch with the French labor movement, Rakovsky entered the juridical faculty of the University of Paris; but within a year he returned to Russia and again was compelled to leave the country. The years 1900-1903 Rakovsky spent writing for the Russian Marxian review, *Novoye Slovo*, and other papers. In 1904 began the so-called "Rumanian period" when he reorganized the Socialist Party in Rumania, which had been liquidated by Social Democratic intellectuals.

There now began a violent persecution by the Rumanian authorities and bourgeoisie, and in 1907 Rakovsky was arrested following the peasant uprisings. He was deprived of his political rights, and entrance to Rumania was forbidden him. The whole organized Rumanian proletariat rose in his support and he returned to Rumania to arouse public opinion by bringing his case before the courts; but the Rumanian government did not give him this opportunity and tried to send him over the border again. The border countries refused to receive the revolutionist who at that time was already known to the entire western European proletariat, and the Rumanian government, to solve this problem, was on the point of shooting him. This brought about an uprising of the workers in Bucharest which ended with a bloody conflict in which more than fifty workers and policemen were victims. An attempt to remove Rakovsky from Bucharest was foiled by the workers who tore up the rails. The Government, powerless itself, asked Rakovsky to exert his influence on the workers and agreed to return all his rights. This was done in 1912; it was a brilliant victory for the labor party over the Rumanian oligarchy.

During his "Rumanian period", Rakovsky renewed his close relations with the Russian revolutionary movement. In 1905 he went on the mutinous warship "Prince Potemkin" and influenced the insurgent sailors not to surrender and to go instead to the aid of the striking workers at Batum. Later Rakovsky went to the relief of the insurgents who remained in Rumania thus bringing upon himself new persecutions. Compelled to leave the country in 1907 he renewed his relations with the Western revolutionary movement. He also returned again to Bulgaria where he founded the paper *Forward*.

During the great war the Rumanian Government shamefully persecuted Rakovsky as well as the

Socialist press. There were arrests and armed police attacks in one of which Rakovsky was wounded.

The Russian Government was watching the July manifestations in Galatz. In a telegram of June 17, 1916, the Russian envoy Poklevsky informed his government as follows:

"For the happenings in Galatz the Rumanian Government has removed from his post the Prefect Gussy. It transferred the prosecuting attorney and indicted Rakovsky and the chief syndicalist sponsors of the manifestations. The latter have convoked numerous meetings protesting against bloodshed in Galatz and in general against the war."

These manifestations were so powerful and threatening that the Rumanian Government was compelled to release Rakovsky as well as other prisoners. When with Rumania's declaration of war the workers were mobilized, the Government again arrested Comrade Rakovsky.

These activities and especially the Zimmerwald conference, initiation of which Rakovsky shared with Lenin and Trotsky, stirred against him violent attacks of the European imperialist press of all countries, particularly of France, Italy and Russia. Thanks to the Russian Revolution on May 1, 1917, when the Russian garrison of the city of Jassy freed the political prisoners under the eyes of the Rumanian king and his spies, Rakovsky again was released from prison.

The Russian envoy Masslov in a secret telegram reported thus: "Yesterday on May 1 there took place in Jassy a meeting of the Russian garrison; those participating in the manifestation proceeded in an orderly fashion through the streets, the participants bearing red flags on which were inscriptions in Russian and Rumanian. During the manifestation the troops gathered upon the square to which they brought, in an automobile, the Rumanian Socialist Rakovsky who had just been released and who in a short speech greeted the soldiers. Rakovsky was answered in French by the Russian non-commissioned officer Giller, who concluded his speech with the wish that the same fate might overtake the Rumanian king that had befallen the Russian Tsar and that in the Balkans there should be formed, as soon as possible, a federation of democratic republics. Rakovsky was then brought to safety. In his conversation with me the Rumanian minister expressed his regret and accused his policemen for not executing the order concerning the removal of Rakovsky before the manifestation of May 1." It must be added that this shameful action did not succeed owing to the fact that Rakovsky fell "gravely ill" in time.

From this moment there began the Russian-Ukrainian period of the activity of Rakovsky. After coming to Odessa he organized a great number of meetings, gatherings, and lectures, in which he advocated his slogan "Down with the War," thus bringing upon himself persecutions and attacks from the Provisional Government as well as from the social-patriotic press and very quickly after his arrival in Petrograd he was entered on the list

of the "twelve" whose arrest was asked by Burtsev as well as by the Rumanian Government. As revealed in a secret note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tereschenko, and in a telegram of Kerensky of August 30 to the General Staff, every effort was made to put an end to the activities of Rakovsky. General Lukomsky, at the time of the revolt of Kornilov gave an order to arrest him but this did not succeed owing to the liquidation of the Kornilov attempt. After learning of this order Rakovsky went to Kronstadt.

At the time of the November Revolution Rakovsky was in Stockholm from which place he sent his greetings and support of the revolution. Upon his return to Russia, he was ordered to Odessa and Sebastopol with a body of sailors for the liquidation of the counter-revolution in Rumania and in Ukraine. Following his return to Moscow Comrade Rakovsky appeared again in Ukraine together with Comrade Manuilsky in the role of the head of the peace delegation. This activity of Rakovsky is known to everybody.

After the conclusion of the negotiations Comrade Rakovsky was delegated as a member of the Russian Soviet Embassy to Germany. He returned to Germany later in behalf of the Central Executive Committee together with Comrades Joffe, Radek, Bukharin, Ignatov, Marchlewski, but he was arrested in Vilna and forced back to Russia. In January, 1919, according to the decision of the Ukrainian Communist Party Rakovsky was called back and at the Third Congress of the Ukrainian Soviets confirmed as head of the Soviet of People's Commissars. When the Soviet power returned after the crushing of Denikin, Comrade Rakovsky became again the head of the Soviet of People's Commissars, being at the same time the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and member of the Executive Committee of the Third International.

TREATY WITH WHITE RUSSIA

Moscow, April 6.—A treaty has been signed between Soviet Russia and the Soviet Republic of White Russia by which the contracting parties enter into a defensive and economic alliance. For the best realization of the intentions of the treaty, the two governments declare a union of their following commissariats: military and naval affairs, Supreme Councils of Public Economy, foreign trade, finance, labor, ways and communications, posts and telegraphs. These united People's Commissariats of both countries will enter into the composition of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and will have their plenipotentiary representatives in the Council of the People's Commissars of White Russia, subject to appointment and control by the White Russian Central Executive Committee and by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

MAILS WITH EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

On April 6, the British Post Master General stated at London that the mail service with Russia would be resumed on April 20, at the regular international postage rates. The Russian Post Office was said to have stated that it could receive mail for all of European Russia and likewise for Ukraine, Georgia, and the Russian districts in Asia generally, including Vladivostok. This mail service is to embrace letters, printed matter, parcels post, and samples. As the service has not yet been completely organized, all mail matter is for the present to be forwarded to Moscow, in order to be reforwarded from that point.

Soviet Russia printed last week a statement from the United States Post Office Department outlining the conditions for the sending of letters from the United States to Soviet Russia. From a recent issue of *Social Demokrat*, Christiania, Norway, we learn that the Norwegian Government on March 29, accepted a suggestion from the Russian Soviet Government that postal relations be resumed between the two countries by way of Riga. As the Norwegian daily states, Chief Clerk Summershild of the Norwegian Post Office Department, had learned that a favorable reply was about to be forwarded to Russia.

"Norway has been in postal communication with Russia by way of Vardö," was explained by the chief clerk. Efforts will be made to continue these means of communication in the future also, at least as far as Northern Norway is concerned.

The postal communication by way of Riga will be inaugurated within the next few days.

Next Week's

Soviet Russia

KARL RADEK. This brilliant publicist describes the work of The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia.

THE UNIFIED LABOR SCHOOL IN RUSSIA. An account of the new type of school adapted to a society in which there are no privileged classes, and in which modern pedagogical methods are for the first time applied on a wide scale.

MANUILSKY AND SHUMSKY. Portraits and biographies giving the picturesque careers of two of the leading members of the Ukrainian Soviet Government headed by Rakovsky.

BEHIND THE SCENES OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION. An exposure of the conflicting currents in the counter-revolutionary camp, headed by Savinkov, Burtsev, Kerensky, Milyukov, and others.

News Items from Russia

HEALTH AND EDUCATION

Moscow, April 24.—The Moscow Soviet has issued instructions for increasing the number of children's homes in the city and province of Moscow and for the improvement of the existing institutions. Generous grants are to be made for supplying young folks with clothing and other comforts and with healthy conditions of recreation and education. It is ordered that all the children's establishments in Moscow must be visited by physicians at least twice weekly, and in the district at least once weekly. Complete sanitary and hospital facilities must be provided, regardless of expense.

In order to aid the federated autonomous Eastern Soviet republics to create sufficient numbers of native political leaders from among the toiling masses, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has instructed the People's Commissariat of Education to establish a university at Moscow for Eastern toilers where instruction shall be given in their native tongues. The status of the students in this university, with respect to stipends, etc., will be the same as that of students in other state universities.

The All-Russian Trade Union of Soviet Workers maintains hundreds of schools for professional and business training. The All-Russian Trade Union Educational Council has approved the budget of this Union for a billion and a half rubles to be spent in the current year in carrying on its three hundred and sixty schools with a graduating capacity of 135,000 pupils annually.

The People's Commissariat of Health is conducting operations to make the famous medical mud-baths in the Odessa liman a great All-Russian curative centre for all afflicted persons.

An All-Russian Bacteriological Convention opens in Moscow on May 15.

ON THE AGRICULTURAL FRONT

The Russian Telegraph Agency reports the success of the recent "Red Sower's Week," held throughout Soviet Russia. (See SOVIET RUSSIA, May 7, 1921, page 463.) On April 11 the first agricultural demonstration train left Moscow for Yaroslav, Vologda and Viatka. The train was scheduled to make twenty halts at stations en route and to take part everywhere in the country-wide sowing campaign. The train carries an agricultural museum, a workshop for repairing agricultural implements and a corps of trained lecturers, including agriculturists, veterinarians, etc. A dispatch from Moscow, April 10, reported the agricultural campaign in full swing in all provinces of the Soviet Federation. In the province of Novgorod numerous village smithies had been opened and were supplied with the necessary materials for the repair of tools and machinery. In

Viatka, in addition to repair work, new implements were being manufactured. In the Petrograd province smithies and workshops had been established in every village for the free repair of the peasants' tools. In Tuman province flying detachments of blacksmiths and mechanics were dispatched to cover the whole territory and bring relief to the farmers whose tools were in need of repair. Similar reports of intense activity are received from every province, indicating the wide-spread interest aroused by "Red Sower's Week."

The sowing campaign was conducted successfully throughout White Russia. Much enthusiasm is being shown by the peasants of this region over the latest agrarian reforms adopted in White Russia along with the rest of the Soviet Federation.

Reports from the Tartar republic show a full appreciation and satisfaction among the Tartar peasants with respect to the recent measures affecting the food tax, free trading and cooperation.

A message from Tashkent reports the wonderfully stimulating effect produced on the peasants by the agrarian reforms introduced in the Turkestan Republic. Similar reports arrive from the Kuban Cossack districts, from the Altai mountain area, and from widely scattered points throughout the Soviet Federation.

The Moscow agricultural department has organized circulating libraries for spreading a knowledge of scientific agricultural methods throughout the province. Three hundred such libraries have already been dispatched to the rural districts.

NON-PARTY WORKERS RESPOND TO COMMUNISM

Moscow, April 7.—A series of mass meetings of workers belonging to no political party, held at Moscow this week, showed the remarkable growth of political consciousness among the large unattached masses of the Moscow proletariat. After Mensheviks, Anarchists and other spokesmen had had their full say and a patient hearing, these meetings invariably adopted the resolution formulated by the Communists, covering a wide range of current questions from the Soviet agrarian policy and free trading to the Hungarian monarchist counter-revolution. The *Izvestia*, in a review of the meetings and the resolutions adopted, observes: "Moscow's politically unattached masses fully grasped the international situation and responded to the call, *Workers of all lands, unite!* In this we see an augury for the triumph of the workers' cause."

Forty-three factory meetings were also held at Petrograd to elect delegates to a city conference of politically unattached workers.

—Russian Telegraph Agency.

MORE FORGERIES

The following statement was issued by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs at Moscow on April 5:

"The German radio station at Nauen has spread fantastic nonsense about alleged letters captured in possession of a Bolshevist courier en route to Berlin through Czecho-Slovakia. Couriers from Riga to Berlin do not go via Czecho-Slovakia. No Bolshevist couriers have been searched and no letters have been captured. The alleged letter from Litvinov to Kopp is a complete forgery. Litvinov is not in Riga but in Reval, whereas the forged letter is dated 'Riga' and signed 'Litvinov.' The contents of this forgery are pure fantasy and provocation for the purpose of harming Soviet Russia. The alleged letter from the so-called extremist Barlov to Berlin is another forgery. This extremist Barlov is a non-existent person. The intent of these forgeries is obviously to create the impression that Moscow gives the orders for the risings in Germany. This lie had to be corroborated by forgeries."

(Signed)

CHICHERIN.

"SATURDAYING" IN BOKHARA

Emulating the example of the Russian Subbotniks, Soviet Bokhara's workers on March 17 arranged a voluntary labor half-day on Friday, the Moslem day of rest. The Bokhara Soviet Government declared the Turkman language official while allowing Russian functionaries to use the Russian language if they choose. The Bokhara Soviet Republic is establishing an aerial mail system to cover the most out of the way towns and villages.

Telegram from "Vestnik", Moscow, to Russian Trade Delegation, London, March 21, 1921.

THE REPUBLIC OF TURKESTAN

Moscow, April 12.—The autonomous Republic of Turkestan has been proclaimed. The previously existing institutions in Tashkent are abolished. The Turkestan Mission is being closed. Turkestan will now be an autonomous Republic, governed by a Soviet Congress and an Executive Committee, but will remain within the limits of the Soviet Federation.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

When the Workers Made the Laws

in Russia they put them into simple language, easy to understand, brief and to the point. The laws of the Soviet Republic are unlike those of any other country, in this respect. They are characterized throughout by a sincere desire to insure the well-being of the working people.

The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia

a booklet of 85 pages, contains the complete text of the laws regarding Marriage, Divorce, Family Right, Inheritance, Domestic Relations, Rights of Children, etc. Price 25 cents, postpaid.

Labor Laws of Soviet Russia

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Radek on Communist Congress

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The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party

By KARL RADEK

Unity of the Party

ONCE again the bourgeois press of the world was filled with information about the impending downfall of the Soviet Government, and once again all their expectations came to nothing. The Kronstadt uprising is liquidated, the local peasant uprisings in Siberia suppressed, and the political work of the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party completely destroyed all the hopes of the Russian counter-revolutionists. The decisions passed by the Congress with regard to the two most important questions on the agenda, namely, the question of the attitude to the peasantry, and that of the relations between the Communist vanguard of the proletariat and the more backward masses, were carried by an overwhelming majority and showed the Congress to have been firmly united. The differences of opinion prevailing in the party with regard to the second question, i. e., that of the Labor Unions, were settled not without some disagreement. Six comrades voted against the resolution adopted by the Congress. But as a matter of fact, the discussion on this question, which had been carried on since the month of December, involving the widest masses of the Party, and giving rise to an extensive literature, has straightened out the most important points of difference. The authority of the Party Congress and the overwhelming majority of the Party which came out for the Lenin platform make it perfectly certain that the comrades will submit to that majority without reserve. This, of course, is self-evident. The leaders of the Communist Party of Russia know not only how to make the masses submit to party discipline, but also how to submit to that discipline themselves. Just as the great organizer of the Red Army submitted to party discipline, so did the leaders of the so-called

"labor opposition" of Shlyapnikov and others, who were inclined to give a syndicalist interpretation to the dissatisfaction of the tired and exhausted non-party masses of the workers. The Party Congress condemned these syndicalist leanings, but recognized the services of these comrades in the struggle against bureaucratic methods with which we are confronted as a result of the long war, and the weakening of the proletarian ranks. The Congress elected some of these comrades into the Executive Committee in order that they might help in rooting out the abuses which actually exist, and strengthen relationships with the non-party masses. These comrades were of course not altogether pleased by the fact that the Congress condemned their syndicalist tendencies. But so great is the authority of the Congress, and so strong the consciousness that the Communist Party of Russia, in spite of all its faults, and weaknesses, brought about by the war, is nevertheless the only Party, and the regime created by it the only regime possible in Russia today, that the leaders of all the various groups acquiesce in the decisions of the Congress.

The Attitude Towards the Peasants

As I said above, the first question the Congress had to deal with was that of the attitude towards the peasants. The precarious state of agriculture, caused by seven years of war, and the confidence gained by the peasants that the restoration of feudalism was no longer possible, led to a disturbance in the relationships between the working class and the peasantry. Some of the latter are of the opinion that the proletarian government is imposing upon them obligations too difficult to fulfil. It was the concern of the Congress to investigate the matter and see whether there was

any possibility of easing the burdens of the peasantry without at the same time jeopardizing the food supplies of the city workers. The Congress had to examine the possibility of modifying our food policy, and it came to a unanimous conclusion that this can be done, that our policy in this matter can be modified in such a way as to meet the needs of the peasantry and to lessen their dissatisfaction without injuring the food supplies of the towns. This modification consists in the abolition of the system of requisitioning all the food-stuffs that remain in the possession of the peasants in excess of the direct needs of their respective households. The Congress decided to replace this by a tax in kind which would take from the peasants only a certain part of their products fixed in accordance with the number of members in each family, the number of head of cattle, and the proportion of the crops, leaving the rest in the hands of the peasant to dispose of at his discretion.

Probable Effects of the Tax in Kind

Thus the Congress adopted a measure which will result in getting the peasants interested in increasing the area of cultivation and raising the productivity of labor. The peasant will be afforded the opportunity of exchanging the products of agriculture for articles of manufacture which will be supplied to him out of a special fund created by the Commissariat of Food Supplies for that purpose. This fund of manufactured articles for the needs of the farmsteads is to be set up partly from goods acquired abroad, and partly from the products of our nationalized industry which will not be overburdened by the needs of the army and the war, as was the case hitherto. In view of the fact that the partial demobilization of the army will strike from the list a couple of million persons dependent upon the government for their food supplies, and in view of the fact that the trade agreement with England, which will probably be followed by similar agreements with America and Germany, will put the Soviet Government in the position of an intermediary between the capitalist world-market and the Russian peasantry, we may confidently assert that this modification of our food policy will improve the condition of the peasantry without at the same time curtailing the food supplies of the cities. The most important point in this matter is the fact that it will tend to raise the interest of the peasants in extending their crops and will put on a firm foundation the measures adopted by the recent Congress of Soviets for the purpose of widening the area of cultivation. This new policy is of course not without its dangers, for in those cases where the Soviet Government will not prove to be in a condition to effect the exchange of the agricultural products for manufactured goods, the peasant will endeavor to trade his surplus agricultural products with the speculator and the handicraftsman, and this might lead to a reintroduction of the factor of private capital in Soviet Russia. This danger can be avert-

ed only by intensifying the production of nationalized industry. Should this intensification be brought about, the speculator and the handicraft worker will of course not be able to compete with the nationalized industry, and will not succeed in accumulating any capital. The strengthening of the nationalized industry and its development in turn depends upon whether our talk of concessions finds realization in actual investments by Western-European capital. It will also depend upon whether the proletarian revolution in the West will proceed at a quicker pace and thus put the Russian Soviet Republic in the position of receiving manufactured products from the European proletariat. It will likewise depend upon whether Russia is going to enjoy a period of peace during the coming months, or whether it will be compelled to take up arms again.

The Russian Communist Party has not been in the habit of minimizing the dangers confronting it, and it is well aware that never since the October revolution has it ever been outside the danger zone. It has based its policy all through on the principle that its cause will depend upon the development of the revolution in Europe. It is true that the European proletariat has not triumphed yet, but nevertheless the trend of events in Europe is in favor of Soviet Russia. The German revolution saved Soviet Russia from the danger of being strangled by German imperialism. The revolutionizing of the French and English workers has prevented the crushing of the Russian Red Army by Western European imperialism.

While obtaining a new breathing spell on the internal front, through its concessions to the peasants, Soviet Russia is convinced that its diplomatic strategy and the further development of the world revolution will make it possible to use this breathing spell in the interest of the Western European proletariat.

Why the Tax in Kind Was Introduced

The concessions to the peasants are dictated not only by the difficulties of the moment, but also by the desire to improve our agriculture, and thus enable Soviet Russia to serve as the granary of the European revolution should the latter be subjected to a blockade by Anglo-Saxon capitalism. This answers the accusation of opportunism and compromise with the peasantry, raised against the Communist Party by the lackeys of the European bourgeoisie and their henchmen, the "Socialists" of the Center. This "opportunism" of the Soviet Government is the greatest service which it can render to the European proletariat. Everything that contributes towards the retention of power in the hands of the Russian working class, serves the interests of the European workers. This service cannot be rendered by Soviet Russia if it were to fall in the attempt to carry out "pure socialism" in its state of isolation. On the contrary, Soviet Russia must serve as a step-ladder for the European revolution to climb upon, irrespective of the compromises that may have to be resorted to for the moment. What

matters is that the vanguard of the proletariat should retain the power of government in its hands and thus prevent the European counter-revolution from using the millions of the Russian peasants for the suppression of the growing European revolution, and also of utilizing the economic resources of Russia for the restoration of European capitalism.

The Non-Party Masses

In making all these concessions to the petty bourgeois of the Russian village and the European capitalists, the Russian Communist Party must endeavor to strengthen its own social basis on the foundation of the working class. During the war and during the revolution, the Russian working class underwent very considerable transformations. While the war lasted, hundreds and thousands of peasants, mechanics and shopkeepers were drawn into the factories, partly by the high wages and partly to avoid military service. During the civil war and the accompanying scarcity of food, many workers migrated to the country. Hundreds of thousands of staunch proletarians were withdrawn from the factories to serve in the Red Army and defend the Soviet Republic, or to take part in administration. This resulted in weakening the number of the Communist vanguard in the factories. At the same time the labor mobilizations drew numbers of peasants to factory work in the cities and thus strengthened the ranks of the petty bourgeois elements in industry.

The working class, thus changed in its social composition, had to suffer extreme hardships during the war. The satisfaction of their primary necessities had to be put off in order that the army could be fed and clothed, and they were compelled to suffer privation while exerting themselves for the needs of the army. The most backward in these trying moments looked upon the Communists as hard taskmasters imposing upon them more and more sacrifices. This gave rise to some tension between the non-Communist workers on the one hand and the Communist Party and the Soviet Government on the other.

One of the most important problems of the Communist Party at the present time is to lessen that tension between the vanguard and the rear-guard of the working class and to smooth out all the difficulties. This must be done both on the economic and on the spiritual field. Having adopted the platform of Lenin calling for proletarian democracy in the Labor Union, for political propaganda among the non-party workers, and for the attraction of the non-party man to Trade Union and Government functions, the Communist Party is starting anew its fight to win over the non-party workers. By setting up a special committee to take energetic measures to alleviate the wants of the working masses, this struggle for the recruiting of non-party masses is put on a material basis. Naturally, the inequalities in the position of the workers of various industries cannot be abolished yet. The miners, the machinists and the metal workers, must be given most attention in order

that the work of reconstruction be pushed forward.

At the same time the Congress has instructed the Government to abolish all unnecessary inequalities and all undeserved privileges, as well as to adopt measures leading to the alleviation of the condition of the average worker. That the efforts of the Party in this direction will be crowned with success there is no doubt. At a number of mass meetings and conferences of non-party men held during the last few weeks it was brought home to the masses that the Communist Party is the only Party which, having defended Soviet Russia by arms, is in a position to get the workers out of a state of need and privation and raise them to a higher level of existence. The expectations of the counter-revolutionists that the mutiny at Kronstadt would serve as a signal for general labor disturbances among the working population and thus lead to the downfall of the Soviet government, have come to nought. The liquidation of the White-Guard plot at Kronstadt, afforded the Soviet government the possibility of proving to the non-party workers that the danger of counter-revolution was not yet over. The mere fact that the mutiny of the sailors comprising in the main, peasant youths from South Russia and from the Black Sea coast, gave the White-Guard generals at Kronstadt the upper hand; that this uprising caused all the White-Guard emigrés in Europe to start out for Esthonia and Finland with the view of directing the counter-revolution from Kronstadt against Soviet Russia; that it opened the door wide for any imperialist intervention, proved even to the non-party laboring masses *that every move directed against the Soviet Government is a move in favor of the Russian and European Junker and Capitalist counter-revolution.* Thus the Socialist Revolutionists and the Mensheviks, who without possessing any program for the alleviation of privation and the solution of our social problems are endeavoring to stir up the dissatisfied and tired out masses, have once again revealed themselves to the working masses as conscious or unconscious agents of the European counter-revolution.

But the Russian working masses are not going to become the victims of the European counter-revolution. Under the pressure of the great need, the sacrifices and the hardships which the defence of Soviet Russia and the work of its reconstruction impose upon them, the working masses, especially the backward elements may waver from time to time, but in the decisive moments of danger, when the peril of counter-revolution appears before them, they close their ranks anew and rally again with doubled efforts around the Communist Party as the mainstay of the revolution.

Reconstruction of the Communist Party

In order to establish a new attitude towards the peasantry, and in order to draw the millions of non-party workers into the Communist Party, the latter must adopt new forms of organization, must rearrange and purify its own ranks. This question of party organization was closely connected with

every one of the great political questions that the Congress had to deal with. Just because the Communist Party has adopted the method of concession to the petty bourgeois peasant elements, it is incumbent upon it to strengthen its proletarian ranks so that it might be the determining factor in the relationships with the petty bourgeoisie instead of succumbing to and becoming the victim of petty bourgeois influences.

The Communist Party as the dominating party has become the centre of attraction for many petty bourgeois careerist elements, especially those of the intelligentsia. But owing to its propaganda activity among the Red Army men, the Party succeeded in winning over to its side the best elements of the peasant youth who have joined the Communist organizations and attended the Communist military schools. Now the task of the Communist Party today is to rid itself of the careerist elements, to assimilate the peasant youth that had defended the Soviet government, and what is most important, to draw into its ranks hundreds of thousands of proletarians who stood hitherto outside of the Party.

Party Organization

The Party organization must be modified. When we were confronted with the task of overcoming the White-Guard hosts, the Party was compelled to resort to an iron military discipline and could not allow the principle of democracy within the Party to prevail. Thus very important decisions frequently had to be passed without preliminary discussion among the masses. The Central Committee pressed by the needs of the moment had to commandeer hundreds and thousands of members from every part of the country and the Communist Party was more like an army than a political organization. But as soon as the iron rings of the war period were somewhat loosened, the Party arranged for a discussion on the various questions of policy and organization which served to review its forces and examine its weaknesses. All the questions that had accumulated within the party were thus brought to the front and a higher level of unity, based upon party consciousness, was brought about. The Party combated on the one hand the tendency towards carrying over the military methods into the field of production and economic reconstruction, and on the other hand the opposite tendency toward following an unlimited democratic policy in the work of reconstruction. It refused to submit to the pressure of the non-party elements calling for the diminution of the guiding influence of the Party the effect of which would be to deliver the direction of industry absolutely into the hands of the Trade Unions although the great mass of the workers, being non-party men and tired out, would not be capable of subordinating their momentary moods to the lasting interests of the proletariat as a whole. The military tendency involved the peril of drawing the non-party proletarian masses away from the Communist Party, but the syndicalist tendency on the other hand threatens to let the ship of state drift without a rudder and without a cap-

tain. The party adopted the policy of drawing the non-party masses into its ranks and bringing them nearer to the Communist vanguard and get them to participate in the solution of the political and economic problems.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is possible only as the dictatorship of its class-conscious vanguard, i. e., as the dictatorship of the Communist Party. The Communist Party must bear in mind, however, that by itself, without the assistance of the wide masses, it will not be in a position to fulfil the historic mission imposed upon it by the revolution. Democracy within the Party is essential lest the Party become petrified and be deprived of the possibility of relying upon the voluntary and joyous subordination of the wide masses in the most trying moments.

But at the same time the Party must beware not to jeopardize the proletarian dictatorship in the interests of democratic forms. This idea found expression at the Party Congress, and was emphasized within the ranks of the party. The calculations of the counter-revolutionists upon the possibility of a split within the Communist Party, the hopes that they entertained that some elements of the Party were going to open the way for them against the fortresses of the Russian revolution, have come to nought. The decision passed by the Party Congress giving the authority to a two-thirds majority of the Central Committee, of the substitutes and of the control committee to expel from the Party any member of the Central Committee who would not abide by the decisions of that Committee or would act at cross purposes with its policy, testifies that the Party is firm in its determination that the Central Committee should at all times hold in its hand the direction of the cause of the revolution, and should in no way resemble that war council where one order is countermanded by another resulting in a general disorder and in lack of proper direction.

The Results of the Party Congress

The Russian counter-revolutionists and the international capitalists apparently expected to see the approach of the Thermidor of the Russian Revolution. They believed that after the Communist Party had fought and won the land for the peasants, the latter being secure in their possessions will break away from the Communist Party. They also counted upon the Communist Party alienating the non-party masses by imposing excessive demands upon them and thus, deprived of its social basis and robbed of all support, collapsing. They already pictured to themselves the Robespierre of the Russian Revolution ridding himself not only of his Dantonists and Hebertists but estranging even the Paris Commune (of 1793) with its Chaumette, and they only waited for the moment when the head of the Russian Robespierre would fall at the Place de la Roquette amidst the joyous shouts of the gilded youth and the passive acquiescence of the masses who brought him to power.

But this analogy of the learned counter-revolu-

tionist did not suit the occasion. The Soviet Government will find a way of strengthening the ties connecting it with the peasantry. The tens of thousands of peasant youths who have been trained as Red officers on the fronts and in the military schools, and who realize the present situation of Russia and understand the necessity of a union between the peasants and the working class, will serve as the connecting links. The peasantry will become convinced that the Soviet Government is the only one which is capable, not only of carrying through the agrarian revolution, but also of improving the agricultural conditions of the peasants. The Russian Communist Party did not suffer any breach as a result of the party discussion recently carried on. It has gathered together all the various groups that participated in that discussion, subordinating them to the overwhelming majority of the party, and is now proceeding to strengthen and make more close its relations to those elements that had brought it to power. The situation during the French Revolution and the fate of the Jacobin dictatorship were essentially different. Robespierre was forced to break with the Parisian proletariat for he was averse to the dream of the young proletariat for social equality.

The Communist Party of Russia is the party of

the proletariat. The goal which it pursues, the Socialist organization of industry, is just as much in accord with the present times as the free individual trade was in accord with the times of youthful capitalism. The concessions made by the Communist Party of Russia to the capitalist elements are transitory. The course of the times runs in the direction of the organization of industry on a Communist basis. Only the slow course of development calls for some concessions to the past. Robespierre was washed away by the tide of history. The Communist Party of Russia will steer upon that tide to its final triumph.

Robespierre had to break with the Parisian proletariat because he was a representative of the bourgeoisie. But the Communist party of Russia will stand more and more firmly on its native soil, on its kinship with the proletariat, and draw more power from that kinship. For it is in its essence and in its goal the party of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of Russia may have to sustain even harder struggles. But it will triumph in the end. The decisions of the Tenth Party Congress are imbued with proletarian energy, and the elasticity and circumspection of these decisions stand as security for the triumphant forward march of the Russian Soviet Republic.

Russian and British Treaties with Persia

By A. C. FREEMAN

(Readers will find the text of the treaty between the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and the Government of Persia in SOVIET RUSSIA, issue of April 30, 1921.)

The contrast between the Asiatic policies of Great Britain and of Soviet Russia is strikingly illustrated in the treaties which these two countries have concluded with Persia. The Persian Government was forced to give its assent to the so-called Anglo-Persian Agreement of August 1919 under the pressure of British troops, who had occupied a large portion of Persian territory during the war. Subsequently a widespread insurrection in Mesopotamia compelled the British Government to curtail its imperialistic activities in Persia; and the Persian Government, responding to the will of the people, was able to negotiate a treaty of friendship and mutual aid with Soviet Russia, which was signed at Moscow on February 26, 1921.

The only point of similarity between the two treaties is their alleged objective. Both the Russian Soviet Government and the British Government profess the desire to see Persia's independence and prosperity assured. The two governments, however, evidently have very different ideas about the proper means of achieving this end. So Clause 2 of the Anglo-Russian Agreement reads as follows:

"The British Government will supply, at the cost of the Persian Government, the services of whatever expert advisers may, after consultation between the two Governments, be considered necessary for the several departments of the Persian Administration. These advisers shall be engaged on contracts and endowed with adequate powers,

the nature of which shall be the matter of agreement between the Persian Government and the advisers."

This typically imperialistic proposal, which obviously foreshadows the complete subjection of Persia's economic resources to British control, may profitably be compared with the following extract from Clause 1 of the Russian-Persian Treaty:

"Wishing to see the Persian people independent, flourishing, and freely controlling the whole of its own possessions, the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. (Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic) declares all tractates, treaties, conventions and agreements concluded by the late Tsarist Government with Persia and tending to the diminution of the rights of the Persian people completely null and void."

This promise is elaborated and given specific application in a large number of subsequent clauses, which provide for the complete renunciation of the various concessions extorted from Persia by force and fraud under the Tsarist regime. In view of the British proposal to introduce "experts endowed with adequate powers", "who shall be engaged on contracts", into various departments of the Persian administration, Clause 4 of the Russo-Persian Treaty is significant:

"Recognizing the right of each people to the free and unhindered settlement of its political fate, each of the High Contracting Parties disclaims and will strictly refrain from interference in the internal affairs of the other party."

The British imperialists realize very well that it is not enough to secure mere paper concessions,

There is always the possibility that an overburdened people may rise in revolt against their foreign taskmasters. It is necessary to have a reliable army, equipped with the most modern implements of destruction, to repress any such unaccountable manifestations of unwillingness to receive the blessings of Western civilization. Clause 3 of the Anglo-Persian Agreement provides for the creation of such an army:

"The British Government will supply, at the cost of the Persian Government, such officers and such munitions and equipment of modern type as may be adjudged necessary by a joint commission of military experts, British and Persian, which shall assemble forthwith for the purpose of estimating the needs of Persia in respect of the formation of a uniform force which the Persian Government proposes to create for the establishment and preservation of order in the country and on its frontiers."

Needless to say there is no parallel clause in the treaty between Soviet Russia and Persia.

Loans have always been a favorite method employed by Western financial adventurers in exploiting the unfortunate Oriental peoples who fall into their clutches. The British and Tsarist governments formerly vied with each other in pressing loans, with ruinous conditions attached, upon the Persian people. So one is not surprised to find that, in Clause 4 of the Anglo-Persian Agreement, the British Government offers "to provide or arrange a substantial loan for the Persian Government, for which adequate security shall be sought by the two Governments in consultation in the revenues of the customs or other sources of income at the disposal of the Persian Government."

With masterly but unconscious irony the purpose of the loan is stated to be the financing of the "reforms" indicated in clauses 2 and 3 of the Agreement. In other words the Persian people are to be forced to supply the funds needed for their own political and economic enslavement.

The second part of the Anglo-Persian Agreement contains specific conditions for the granting of a loan of 2,000,000 pounds sterling to the Persian Government at 7 per cent interest, with provisions for repayment within twenty years. The loan is secured by an assignment of revenues derived from the Persian customs.

While the Anglo-Persian Agreement is not definitely mentioned, its financial policy is clearly described and vigorously criticized in Clauses 8 and 9 of the Russo-Persian Treaty:

"The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. declares its complete rejection of that financial policy which the Tsarist Government of Russia pursued in the past, supplying the Government of Persia with financial means not in order to assist the economic development and flourishing of the Persian people, but in the form of a political enfeffement of Persia. The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. therefore resigns all rights to the loans furnished to Persia by the Tsarist Government, and declares such loans null and not to be repaid. It similarly resigns all demands for the use of these state revenues of Persia by which the said loans were guaranteed.

"The Government of the R. S. F. S. R., in accordance with its expressed condemnation of the colonial policy of capitalism, which served and is serving as a reason for innumerable miseries and sheddings of blood, renounces

the use of those financial undertakings of Tsarist Russia which had as their object the economic enfeffement of Persia. It therefore hands over to the complete possession of the Persian people the financial sums, valuables, and in general, the assets and liabilities of the Discount Credit Bank of Persia, and similarly the movable and immovable property of the said Bank existing on the territory of Persia."

The British Government combines tender solicitude for the welfare of the Persian people with a proper regard for the interests of British subjects who may care to invest money in the exploitation of Persian resources. Both of these motives appear in Clause 5 of the Anglo-Persian Agreement:

"The British Government, fully recognizing the urgent need which exists for the improvement of communications in Persia, with a view both to the extension of trade and the prevention of famine, are prepared to co-operate with the Persian Government for the encouragement of Anglo-Persian enterprise in this direction, both by means of railway construction and other forms of transport; subject always to the examination of the problems by experts and to agreement between the two Governments as to the particular projects which may be most necessary, practicable and profitable."

The Soviet Government, in Clause 10 of the Russian-Persian Treaty, sets forth a very different conception of the best way to assist the Persian people in their internal development:

"The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. repudiates the tendency of world imperialism which strives to build in foreign countries roads and telegraph lines not so much for the cultural development of the peoples as for insuring for itself the means of military penetration. In view of this, and wishing to provide the Persian people with the possibility of free disposal of the means of communication and correspondence, vitally necessary for the independence and cultural development of each people, and further, as far as it can, to compensate Persia for the losses caused her by the troops of the Tsarist Government, the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. gratuitously hands over as the absolute property of the Persian people the following Russian erections":

Then follows a list of railways, steamers, barges, telegraph and telephone lines, etc. England offers to encourage "Anglo-Persian enterprise" in the carrying out of such projects as may appear "profitable." Soviet Russia restores to the Persian people without compensation the properties which the Tsarist Government had acquired for imperialistic purposes.

The Anglo-Persian Agreement and the Russo-Persian Treaty reflect very accurately the character of the governments which made them. The British Government, considering only the interests of a few financial imperialists, imposes upon the Persian people a crushing weight of debt and concessions. The Russian Soviet Government, expressing the will of the Russian workers and peasants, gives validity to its verbal recognition of Persia's independence, by unconditionally renouncing all the properties and concessions by which the scheming Tsarist diplomats had attempted to destroy that independence. A comparison of the texts of the two documents shows very clearly why Soviet Russia, without resorting to force or intrigue, has been able to establish the most cordial and intimate relations with all the Asiatic border states, from China to the Black Sea.

Behind the Scenes of the Counter-Revolution

By A. D.

INNER disorganization, complete political and moral disintegration marks the life of the counter-revolutionary emigrés. The Kronstadt uprising may have succeeded in uniting in a mad dance for several weeks, the White Guard generals, the liberal professors and the Social-Revolutionaries of Kerensky's type, but the political decomposition of the emigrés following this period was accelerated.

Of late three distinct tendencies found expression in the midst of the emigrés, whose leaders are conducting a bitter verbal war.

On the right flank, headed by Wrangel's staff, are the monarchists and the Black Hundreds who have united with the Socialist renegades Burtsev and Alexinsky, and the right wing of the Cadets. Foaming at the mouth, they try to prove that the Bolsheviki must and can be destroyed by foreign interventionists, and the reorganized Wrangel army of which but small fragments are left. Their organs are the Constantinople "Vechernaya Pressa", the Berlin "Rul", and the Paris "Common Cause", which is usually called the "Common Cesspool". At the head of the "Common Cause" is the well-known political adventurer Burtsev, who "proves", in every issue of the paper that Wrangel is the lawful successor to the Russian administrative power. Although the so-called "Crimean Army" no longer exists as a definite military force, Burtsev hysterically argues that the Crimean army is the reincarnation of the ideals of the old army. He argues frantically that France, Germany and other capitalist powers must aid the Wrangel men in the name of civilization and progress.

In Berlin the right wing Cadets publish the "Rul". In one of its latest issues, this newspaper of ex-capitalists calls in a voice of one wailing in a desert: "Europe, America and Japan can help us. Is it possible that in the 20th century the whole world is indifferent to this greatest human butchery, begun by the Bolsheviki!"

At the same time, under the protection of Wrangel, a "Council" was formed in Constantinople, consisting of ex-members of the four convened Dumas and ex-members of the State Council. Thanks to the assistance of the French government this Council is still eking out a miserable life summoning the "Russian people" to unite around Wrangel.

In this connection it must be said that the idea of a "Constituent Assembly" seems to be too "left" for Wrangel and his clique. That is why neither the Constantinople, nor the Berlin group, nor Burtsev's "Common Cesspool", supported the Paris conference of the ex-members of the Constituent Assembly, among whom were Kerensky, Chernov and Milyukov.

The Wrangel adherents stand for openly reactionary tactics with a definite orientation to old monarchism. They are even opposed to combining

with the Right Social-Revolutionaries, considering them enemies of the Russian Imperial idea.

In his speech, addressed to the Kuban Cossacks on Lesbos Island, Wrangel, calling the Cadets and Social-Revolutionaries "scoundrels", loudly cried out: "Already the Russian people are coming and are joining forces with us. They are not the trash of the conference at Paris, but true Russian people."

But who is this trash? It is Kerensky and Milyukov; it is the so-called "democracy".

The emigrés' newspapers state that during the Kronstadt uprising prayer services were arranged by Russian monarchists, and they prayed for victory over the Bolsheviki and for the restoration of monarchy in Russia.

Bishop Eulogius in Berlin and archpriest Vostokov in Belgrad and thousands of priests, argue that a monarchy is Russia's only salvation. And Wrangel is with them. But these pillars of the old regime are nevertheless aware that there is no future for them. They are capable of baseness toward their fatherland; but they are but shadows of the decayed counter-revolution. The Constantinople "Evening Press" writes:

"A strange longing is growing every day—to seek far away, unknown countries, to cross the seas, and under the sun of a strange sky to look for one's lost happiness—away from Europe."

Thousands of Wrangel's adherents intend to go to Brazil, thousands are dispersed in all parts of Asia Minor. When the Paris "Temps" stated officially that the French government refused to support the army of Wrangel, Burtsev frantically exclaimed: "Et tu, Brute!"

Against England Burtsev had already for a long time been leading a bitter campaign; and after her trade agreement with Soviet Russia was signed, she was cursed as an enemy of the Russian people.

The emigrés are losing ground; slowly but gradually they are getting stewed in their own juice.

"We are against foreign intervention in Russian affairs," declares Kerensky's organ "Volya Rossii," which is published in Prague—"We believe in an anti-Bolshevist national movement." An anti-Bolshevist front must be created within Russia.

But how can this plan be realized?

Let us see what is said about it by Savinkov, the leader of the Evacuation Committee of Poland, in a note presented to the French Ministry of War. The contents of this note were published recently by "Novy Put" at Riga.

"Foreign armies will not save Russia. It is necessary to organize the peasants, under the supervision of men who are on the spot. Information bureaus should be organized in all border republics with the main office at Warsaw. Russia must be crowded with secret organizations within the Red army and among the peasants as well as with

partisans bands. It is necessary to penetrate even into the Soviet institutions and have reliable people there."

Therefore, give us money, money, money. These, then are the plans of the Russian counter-revolutionaries who are more "left" than Wrangel.

And evidently they are in possession of money. According to "L'Humanité" of December, the Savinkov Committee spent twenty million Polish marks and four hundred and twenty five thousand French francs. The Warsaw cabinet openly supports Savinkov and Filosofov.

Moscow quickly sensed that the counter-revolutionaries beyond the boundary of Russia, though rejecting the idea of foreign intervention, still remain bitter enemies of the Russian working people. In this connection the Moscow *Pravda* says: "Heretofore the Allies speculated upon our military defeat; now they speculate upon our internal disorganization, upon the increased internal frictions in the great social mechanism of Russia. . . ."

Intervention has ended; we are no longer engaged in open warfare. *But there is a concealed battle front.* We are in a state of war, This new conflict has special methods. We must learn to be victorious in this new war."

The Kronstadt uprising was the first attempt to put into practice the new policy of the interventionists. In Paris, Prague and Berlin it was known beforehand that there would be fireworks at Kronstadt. Rodichev, the eloquent liberal, wrote in February: "It is time to begin." And at the same time "The Common Cause" declared: "The emancipation must begin with Petrograd." The Paris "Matin" also tattled about the brewing uprising.

The Kronstadt affair united in patriotic ecstasy, the Wrangel adherents, with the friends of "democracy," and this is another confirmation that in reality there is no difference of principle among these various tendencies. The Paris *Posledniye Novosti*, choking with enthusiasm, says: "Hail to the fighters for liberty. We did not know when the hour of liberation would come, but we knew that the time was near."

At the head of this paper is Professor Milyukov, the same Milyukov who at the time of the Tsar's Duma pronounced fiery speeches against the "left asses" and called the Red Flag a "red rag".

But now he is for "the people", for the "Red Flag", yes, for the union with the "left ass" Kerensky; now he has become so "left" that he is even ready to support the Soviet as long as there are no Communists in it, as long as it is non-partisan. Milyukov is now opposed to foreign intervention; for, as you see, he believes that the Russian people themselves will throw down the Bolsheviks.

To cover Russia with a network of spy organizations, to promote insurrections of *kulaks*,* to conduct against Russia a frantic campaign of lies, this is where the yellow Socialists of the type of Kerensky have arrived who have united with the "Left" Cadets of the Milyukov type.

*Rich peasants.

The organ of Kerensky, *Volya Rossii*, some time ago wrote that "the whole Wrangel business is one uninterrupted bacchanal of robberies, thefts, and of unlimited tyranny."

It is a realistic picture. But from the moral point of view, is there any difference between the bands of Wrangel and the adherents of Savinkov, Kerensky, Milyukov when they are stabbing in the back these suffering Russian people with a dagger poisoned with the venom of hate, and when with the money of Polish or French interventionists they are organizing bands of insurgents? To these the Moscow *Izvestiya* addresses the following words: "We are standing for peaceful work. But whoever will interfere with this peaceful work to them the laboring class will offer energetic resistance."

THE TREATY WITH BOKHARA

The following is the essential part of the treaty with Bokhara:

"The November Revolution—overthrowing the yoke of capital, presented the right of free self-determination to all the peoples of the former Russian Empire.

"Guided by this principle and renouncing in particular the colonial policy of the capitalist governments of Russia, of whom the toiling masses of Bokhara as well as other nations of the East were the object of exploitation, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, unconditionally recognizes the complete independence and autonomy of the Bokhara Soviet Republic, and hereafter disclaims all the rights enjoyed by Tsarist Russia in Bokhara, and annuls the treaties and agreements concluded between the Turkestan Soviet Republic and the former Government of the Emir.

"Swayed by the profound conviction that there not only exists no diversity of interests between the working masses of all countries, but that the betterment of their conditions can only be obtained in a common struggle and in unity of forces against the imperialist bourgeoisie of the world, the Bokhara Soviet Republic on the one hand and the Russian Soviet Republic on the other hereby conclude a military and political treaty.

"Both contracting Republics mutually undertake to prohibit the formation or quartering on the territory of each of organizations or individuals whose aim is to fight against the other.

"Russia and Bokhara undertake to render each other mutual support in defence of their independence.

"Both contracting parties are immediately to draw up and conclude a special economic contract, whose guiding principles are to be the co-ordination of the economic and commercial policies of both republics and the mutual recognition by each of the supreme right to organize on the territory of the other various industrial, agricultural, transport, mining and other enterprises.

"The R. S. F. S. R. is to aid the Soviet Republic of Bokhara in establishing the industry of the latter.

Russians Held in France

By BORIS SOUVARINE

(From *L'Humanité*, Paris, April 11, 1921)

L'*Humanité* on April 9 published an answer of M. Briand to Marcel Cachin on the subject of the repatriation of Russians. The *Internationale* of yesterday published a wireless from Chicherin on the same subject. The question has therefore been emphatically stated: now to answer it. M. Briand argues on the administrative definition of the various categories of Russians who reside in France. Some are soldiers on "indefinite leave without pay"; others are "deserters"; these two categories are said to have "lost the right to free repatriation and to military rations and are considered as alien civilians." M. Briand does not speak of the Russians who belong neither to one nor to the other of these two classes. But this is mere metaphysical hair-splitting. Russians who are interested will understand nothing of this and no one will be found who can be made to admit that they are responsible for the situation in which they are thus arbitrarily placed.

The only fact that counts is this: there are in France tens of thousands of Russians who want to go back to their homes. Some are soldiers demobilized in some way that God alone knows, others are prisoners who came from Germany, others still, are emigrés who have been living in France for several years. There are also among them many women and children. Unemployment which is daily increasing also increases the number of Russians who are asking for repatriation.

In view of this situation we ask of the Government: What practical measures are you ready to take to repatriate the Russians who are being held in France against their will?

M. Briand's Promise

M. Briand in his letter to Cachin said:

"The French Government allows all Russians who desire it, the right to return to their country. It is ready to transport them at its own expense up to the boundary or to a French sea port from where it is the duty of the Soviet authorities to furnish them with the means of reaching Russia."

We record this promise. But it is not sufficient to say that the Russians are free to return to their country; they must also be provided with the possibility of doing so.

At what port are the Russians to be landed? Who will give them the necessary papers, authorizations, visas, for travelling nowadays in Europe that is bristling with frontiers? Will they be permitted to receive money to arrange their business affairs and undertake the trip? All these are questions calling for definite answers, in the absence of which it is absurd to think of repatriation.

Does the passage of M. Briand's letter quoted above imply that the Government accepts the dispatching of a Russian ship to a French port? We can hardly think so. Then, what is the Government

waiting for before it undertakes its *practical measures*? What is it waiting for before it keeps the promises that were made last year at Copenhagen in its name?

The Litvinov-Duchesne Agreement

For the Government has shamelessly violated the agreement signed April 20, 1920, between Litvinov, the Bolshevik plenipotentiary, and M. Duchesne, Consul of France. Soviet Russia did honor to its own signature and repatriated all the Frenchmen residing in Russia. But bourgeois France considers its treaties to be scraps of paper.

The Litvinov-Duchesne treaty includes the following clause:

Article 1.—The French Government shall repatriate to Soviet Russia and to Soviet Ukraine all Russian soldiers accepting such repatriation, those who may have been a part of the Russian Expeditionary Army to France and Macedonia, as well as those who may have been made prisoners of war and are now in France, Algeria, or Salonika, or in any other territory, under French authority to which they may have been sent by the French Government.

The French Government shall repatriate also to Russia civilians who may express a desire to be so repatriated and who may be natives of the regions at present under the power of the Russian or Ukrainian Soviets. It follows that any procedure that has been undertaken against them in France shall be annulled without permitting any other procedure to be started before their repatriation, and no attention shall be paid to condemnations, penal obligations, and fiscal claims to which they may have been or may still be subject.

If the French Government had respected its undertakings the question of repatriation would not be under discussion today. But it is not too late for M. Briand to pay the debts incurred by M. Millerand.

Chicherin's Proposition

In what way may M. Briand concretely carry out his promise? He must: 1) establish a repatriation bureau for Russians, without distinction of categories; 2) permit the Moscow Government to send to Paris the funds necessary for repatriation operations; 3) organize a transportation service between a French port and a Russian port.

The only way of attaining this result is to comply with Chicherin's proposal, which says in part:

"We therefore find ourselves obliged to insist once more on our categorical demand that the French Government finally carry out the agreement concluded between the two Governments on the subject of the repatriation of their nationals.

"Until such time as the French Government may really satisfy this legitimate demand, which has

been the subject of a regular agreement, we shall maintain our position that France has failed in its obligations.

"It seems to us moreover that the only means of eliminating the difficulties and misunderstandings that have come about in this matter would be to grant to a special Russian Commission the authorization to supervise the definitive carrying out of the repatriation agreement and to conduct the transportation arrangements for our nationals until they reach Russia."

This proposition of Chicherin's is of course the only practical suggestion that can put an end to the unfortunate situation of the thousands of Russians who are suffering because of the ill-will of the French Government. If the latter should find the propositions not acceptable, let it make known what means it intends to take to secure the repatriation of the exiled Russians.

TWO NOTES TO FRANCE

Chicherin to Briand, April 8, 1921

On April 8 Chicherin despatched a note to Premier Briand of France in reply to Briand's radio of April 3, in which the latter claimed that the French Government had not received the note of the Soviet Government protesting against the detention of 25,000 Russian prisoners. Chicherin, in his reply, stated that the Eiffel Tower radio station had accepted the Russian message, but refused to give acknowledgement as usual. The Russian Government, Chicherin stated, is glad to learn that the French Government is ready to allow the repatriation of all Russians who so desire; but the Russian Government insists that a great number of Russian soldiers are still detained in France, as is established by authoritative information published in *L'Humanité*, giving exact details regarding Russian soldiers and citizens forcibly held at Cannes, La Rochelle, Lyons, etc. The Russian Government must therefore insist on the fulfilment by the French Government of its reciprocal treaty obligations. As the only means of solving all difficulties and misunderstandings, the Russian Government proposes that a special Russian Commission be admitted to France to control the fulfilment of the repatriation convention. Experience has shown that, without such a direct controlling organ, the Russian Government can never be assured that all Russians desiring repatriation are given full opportunity to return to Russia.

Chicherin to Briand, April 22, 1921

In a radio message dated April 22, to Premier Briand the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, expresses astonishment that the French Government, in its radios of April 8 and 15, considers as discharged all its obligations under the Copenhagen Convention on repatriation, in view of the fact that numerous Russian soldiers are still detained in France. Equally surprising is the French belief that France is fulfilling all its obligations by offering to concentrate the Russians at Marseilles to be repatriated thence by the Russian and Ukrainian Governments at their own expense. In this the French Government actually violates both the word and the spirit of the Copenhagen Convention, which binds the French Gov-

ernment to repatriate all Russian soldiers and civilians who so desire, supplying them with the means to travel to the ports or borders of Russia or the Ukraine. The Convention also stipulated the complete cessation of all prosecutions started against Russian or Ukrainian citizens in France, pending their repatriation, also the annulment of all sentences and fines already imposed. Unfortunately all these obligations have been flagrantly violated by France. Great numbers of Russians are still languishing in concentration camps and prisons in France and the African colonies, despite these solemn treaty undertakings. Now the French Government spurns that point of the Convention which stipulates the repatriation of Russians at the expense of the French Government and wishes to shift this expense to the Russian Government. Protesting against these gross violations, the Russian Government points to its own good faith in repatriating all French citizens, particularly the members of the French military mission, before France redeemed its own obligations. The Russian Government is constrained to admit that its confidence has been misplaced and is now rewarded by the refusal of the French Government to fulfill its obligations. The Russian Government cannot help considering as mere derision the proposal that it should send a Russian steamer to Marseilles, after France and her allies have denounced the Black Sea ports of all the vessels they could lay their hands on. As for using the Baltic Fleet for this purpose, the French Government cannot be unaware of all the obstacles hindering such a plan. The Russian Government cannot consider this proposal as anything else than a manoeuvre to disguise from the French people the bad faith of the French Government towards Russia. Taking all these circumstances into account, the Russian Government sees as the only solution capable of satisfying the demands of right and justice the sending of a Russian controlling commission to Marseilles to control the realization of the Copenhagen Convention. The Russian Government, which has never swerved from either the words or the spirit of the Copenhagen Convention, must equally insist upon the necessity for France to fulfil exactly the stipulation concerning the repatriation of Russians at the expense of France. The Russian Government agrees upon Marseilles as the location for the Russian controlling commission, instead of Paris, but on the condition that the commission shall not be isolated from the Russian repatriates, in order that it may be able to ascertain their wishes and verify their actual situation. The presence of the Russian Commission at Marseilles is also necessary in order to verify the identity of those seeking repatriation so as to prevent the repatriation of elements detrimental to the internal safety of the allied Soviet Republics. Thus basing itself on the sanctity of the pledged word, the Russian Government expects that the French Government will immediately proceed to repatriate from France at its own expense all Russian and Ukrainian citizens so desirous and that it will also provide the Russian Commission which will be sent to Marseilles with means and facilities to discharge its mission and bring the repatriation operations to a successful conclusion.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

AGRICULTURE

Moscow, April 24.—The People's Commissariat of Food announces that on April 17 the sowing program had reached an average of 83 per cent completion in all the provinces of the Soviet Federation.

Emulating the example of the urban Communist workers, the peasants in many villages have arranged subbotniks—voluntary Saturday afternoon labor for the commonwealth—devoted to tilling the land of peasant soldiers not yet returned from foreign captivity.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

A New Period of Soviet History

THE workers' democracy seems to be more and more successful in its course, not only in the field of the trade union movement but also in the other branches of the Soviet system. The circulars of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee express this successful progress very clearly.

Those who behold in the newly announced altered tack of Soviet policy a mere flirting with "democratic prejudices" and an adaptation to the demands of the "Workers' Opposition"* are falling into a grave error. In the first place there is no doubt that in the demands of the "Workers' Opposition" there is a sound kernel which could not be annihilated even by the representatives of this tendency with all their sometimes ill considered conduct. Furthermore, if one should consider the new tendency in the Soviet Republic as a forced concession to the spirit of the times, as a desire to be accommodating in words alone but to make no concessions in fact, such a policy—if it existed at all—could by no means be regarded as evidence of hostility to the principle of the workers' democracy on which the Soviet order is based, and which had as a temporary measure only been forced into the background, as the moment demanded. Anyone who thinks he can dispose of the devil of workers' democracy with cheap devices and insincere promises understands the essence of the present epoch as little as do the active opponents of the workers' democracy and of them there appear to be none at all among the members of the Communist Party.

We are dealing here with something far more serious than a political speculation of one sort or another. A whole epoch in the history of the public Soviet life has passed and a new one is beginning. The concentration of the work of the Soviets in the small collegiums of the executive organs, and the resulting actual exclusion of the masses from active participation in the work of the Soviets, was produced by the difficult situation that arose from the fierce civil war. But this period has now passed. The order of the day now presents tasks of peaceful, particularly economic, reconstruction, which cannot be solved without conscious active participation of the working masses themselves. Lacking this participation, even questions of political, administrative and other nature cannot be solved. Therefore one of the three circulars mentioned arrives at the irrefutable conclusion: the close of the military operations on all the republic's fronts and the now ensuing period of peaceful reconstruction imperatively demand the calling of the active masses of the workers to creative work; such active participation is of course the basis of the Constitution of the Soviet Federation.

The circulars proposed to the Provincial Executive Committee that they reconstitute the city

*A current within the Russian Communist Party headed by Comrades Kollontay and Shlyapnikov.

Soviets without delay wherever the latter had ceased their activities for reasons connected with the civil war, and further that they comply strictly with the regulations provided in the Constitution for new elections and for convocation of Soviet organs, and finally that they summon regular conferences of the local Soviet bodies.

Only with such a participation of the broadest masses in the work will it be possible to unite the local Soviet bodies in their activity with the masses of the population and to attain a realization of the plan for reconstruction of our public life, more particularly of our economic life, as provided by the various Soviet Congresses.

The regulations contained in the circulars have been of greater significance when considered from the political standpoint. The desire of the masses of workers and peasants to participate in the reconstruction of the Soviet Republic—and this desire is expressed in ways that are very convincing—is well met by these circulars; tendencies to aid in this reconstruction have been evinced with particular emphasis since the end of the civil and foreign wars. With the transition to normal life, there is all the less readiness to accept the extraordinary situations that have been recognized as necessary during the war period. The Republic can only gain in popularity if it complies with the desires of the masses to participate actively in Soviet reconstruction.

And, finally, let us not forget that in accepting the cooperation of the broadest masses in our reconstruction we are shifting the responsibility for the general process of work in the Republic from the shoulders of a comparatively small group of the most prominent workers to those of the whole mass of the active workers that are thus attracted to our tasks. We are convinced that the carrying out of these measures will aid in eliminating all those obstacles that were rather abundantly placed in the path of the advance of the Soviet power.

—Rosta.

Soviet Diplomacy

Relations with other governments during the last six months of 1920 are set forth in **SOVIET RUSSIA**, which printed the official texts of more than thirty notes sent from Moscow during that period. Some of these were the notes relating to the British trade agreement—now an accomplished fact. These issues, bound (Volume III), comprising 652 pages, with illustrations and maps, sent postpaid for five dollars. Address

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 West 40th St.,

New York, N. Y.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

IT has been decided to publish SOVIET RUSSIA hereafter as a monthly magazine. While the Workers' Republic was defending itself against invaders on every frontier and when the hostile censorships and blockades intercepted every avenue of communication, we published as frequently as possible in order to give our readers the latest news which they could not find elsewhere. Now, however, with the complete triumph of the Red Army on every front and with the gradual crumbling away of the blockades, it is no longer so vitally urgent for us to hurry to press every week. Authentic and recent news about Soviet Russia is more accessible to those who are interested and know where to look for it. The Socialist and Labor press and the liberal journals, and even some of the more enterprising capitalist papers, are able to present brief news reports from Russia. Russia is no longer completely isolated from the outside world. There are official Soviet Delegations in England, Italy, Germany, Scandinavia and elsewhere. Information is not so difficult to obtain as formerly, and although the lies and misrepresentations continue, the Russian Republic is no longer without defenders, official and others, who are in a position to give quick disproof to each fabrication as it appears. We are sure that none of our readers will ever again be beguiled or even in the least alarmed by the inventions of the enemies of Soviet Russia. Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel have served this good purpose at least. The "capture" of Petrograd by Yudenich and the "revolution" at Kronstadt have taught a lasting lesson. No matter what lies may be printed in the capitalist press, we can be confident that no intelligent friend of Russia will ever again lose heart or be misled—even if SOVIET RUSSIA does not arrive every week to bring reassurance that all is well at Moscow. The Soviet Republic stands firm and unshakable. The dark days of doubt and danger are passed. It is no longer necessary for us to print a magazine every week to tell you that Lenin has not arrested Trotsky and that cannibalism is not practiced in Petrograd.

We have decided therefore to convert SOVIET RUSSIA into a monthly magazine. By this arrangement it will be possible for us to improve the

magazine, to publish better articles and more of them. Our general editorial policy will remain unchanged. We will endeavor to secure the most informative and the most authoritative articles upon the progress of events in Soviet Russia. We will aim to supplement the news about Russia which appears in the daily and weekly press. We will continue to print the best pictures and posters from Russia. The monthly SOVIET RUSSIA, of course, will contain more pages than our weekly issues. We shall extend our subscriptions so that every subscriber will receive even more printed pages than we could afford to give on a weekly basis.

We know that our readers will like the monthly SOVIET RUSSIA and will give it their appreciative support.

The next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, which will be the first regular monthly number, will be dated July 1st and will be mailed to our subscribers before the end of June.

For further details and announcement regarding change in price of the larger, better monthly SOVIET RUSSIA, see the back page of this issue.

FRITZ Mauthner in his famous "Kritik der Sprache" comes to the conclusion that human language is an extremely unfit instrument for expressing our thoughts and that, in a much larger measure than is generally known, this is a source of tragic misunderstandings. There is an example of this, it seems to us, in the much quoted, we would almost say, liturgical, saying of Karl Marx, according to which "Capitalism is its own grave digger". This sentence which, subjectively, in the mind of its author, no doubt was a revolutionary slogan serving to encourage the enemies of the present system, in reality turned out to be the best weapon in the hands of the most faithful servants of the ruling classes, the democratic "Marxian Socialists" out of whose ranks blossomed such "grave diggers" of the bourgeoisie as Briand and Millerand, Scheidemann and Noske, Kautsky and Hilferding, Pilsudski and Daszynski, Hyndman, Plekhanov and Alexinsky. For, argued they quite logically, if capitalism is its own grave-digger, what is the use of incurring all sorts of unpleasantnesses in trying to accelerate this inevitable outcome? They thus evolved a fatalistic theory of socialist passivism and pacific socialism that lost its temper only if the struggle was directed for political democracy, or national independence, but remained law-abiding and respectable wherever "civilized" government was established. Prosperous politicians, editors, organizers and educators of the ignorant masses, they looked at the emancipation of the working class "sub specie aeternitatis" (from the point of view of eternity) and were righteously indignant when a band of declassés, heretics and daredevils, disregarding the time honored formula of "revolutionary" automatism and fatalism, undertook to give the "grave-digger" a helping hand and by a rather energetic massage — such as is nowadays still practiced by

the sympathetic Sardinian peasants on old men and women who do not die quick enough—tried to shorten the somewhat prolonged, though “inevitable”, agony of capitalism. They called this procedure thoroughly unscientific, barbarian, un-Marxian, utopian, and Bakunistic, and waited with impatience for the success of the combined White armies which were to vindicate the honor of the Marxian theories as they understood and preached them, and to extinguish the hopes of the unruly masses.

Their expectations were, however, not fulfilled. Soviet Russia's existence is assured in spite of the fact that it still has to overcome very serious internal problems, problems that are the inevitable after effect of the long struggle. But the present situation in the camp of her enemies, the imperialist powers, seems to indicate that after all there is also a grain of truth in that old automatic conception of the “grave-digging” theory. Just as the rivalry of Allied and German imperialism brought about the war, the Russian Revolution and the disorganization of capitalistic economy in the Western world, just so Anglo-French rivalry is on the best way to add a new chapter and a rather interesting one, to the history of the decline of European capitalism. The attitude of the French ruling clique, which with such admirable frankness and Gargantuan appetite is out to swallow up the whole European continent, confirms all the Francophile raptures about the pioneer, nay Messianic role of the Gallic spirit in the progress of humanity. The increasing number of mutinies, the growing insubordination of the soldiers, not to speak of the unmistakable dissatisfaction of the peasants and workers, will no doubt sooner or later cause the French Gargantua a fatal attack of indigestion. And the role played in this procedure by the two great men of *la belle Marianne*, the renegade Socialists Millerand and Briand, almost suggests to one the thought of Konrad Wallenrod, the tragic hero of Adam Mickiewicz's, the great Polish poet's epos. During the Homeric struggles between the heathen Lithuanians and the Christian “Knights of the Teutonic Order” who in the fourteenth century with fire and sword were robbing and enslaving a free, primitive people under the pretext of converting them to the gospel of the Redeemer, there arose in the ranks of the oppressed Lithuanians a man, who under the name of Konrad Wallenrod entered the order of the pious “Knights”. Through his bravery and astuteness he rose to the highest rank—that of Grand Master i. e. the ruler of Eastern Prussia. As their leader he then deliberately pushed his Order to a number of unsuccessful adventures against Lithuania — thus preparing the downfall of the enemies of his country. . . . Who knows whether in a far distant future, when capitalism and imperialism will be only a memory and an “aching shame” of primeval times, such as is the ape to man and man to the superman—some romantic poet will not stimulate the imagination of the Terrestrial Soviet High School youth with the myth of Alexander and Aristides (Millerand and

Briand) who, rising from the ranks of the lowly, and seeing the hopelessness of their struggle along the regular paths, decided to sacrifice what is even higher than life itself, and taking upon themselves the stigma of traitors became the leaders of their masters with the only purpose of pushing them headlong into self-destruction. . . .

MANY New Yorkers remember with glee the time when the Red Flag waved on Fifth Avenue from the windows of the Union League Club. This was at the time of the March Revolution, when the workers and soldiers of Petrograd had thrown over a “pro-German” Tsarist Government and under the leadership of Prince Lvov, Professor Milyukov and Alexander Kerensky established a “civilized government” that was to continue the war for freedom and democracy and incidentally get Constantinople and the Straits and protect the interests of Russian capitalism better than its corrupt predecessor. The old imperial flag had to be discarded and a new one adopted which corresponded to the aspirations of the victorious workers and would make them more inclined to accept their new rulers. The United States had just become an “associated nation” and while displaying the flags of all the Allies, the Union League Club could not exclude the new national emblem of the powerful Eastern ally. A few months later Russia “treacherously deserted from the war”, and went ways quite of her own and her flag quite naturally became taboo. Special laws were voted against the display of any rag dyed with that hateful color.

Four years have passed since that time. Owing to the heroic efforts of the Russian workers and the help of the European proletariat the Red Flag of the Soviet Republic still waves from the towers of the Kremlin. It is soon going to fly from the offices of Russian Representatives in most European countries. It has already reappeared in New York. Not in the windows of the Union League Club, nor on any other building. And it is not exactly a flag. It is far more impressive than that.

We advise our readers who live in New York to look in the hall of the new building of the British Cunard Line, on lower Broadway not far from Wall Street. There may be seen two charts presenting the steamship routes—one on the Pacific and Indian Ocean, and the other on the Atlantic and Indian Ocean. The former shows the Eastern part of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia, with the important countries marked by their national emblems. There fly the flags of China and Australia and the French tricolor on the African colonies. But more impressive than those three, are two large red bands over European and Asiatic Russia—nearly two thirds of the world's largest continent. The other chart, presenting mainly Europe with small French, German and British flags, shows a similar proportion of territory covered by the Red Flag. We urge our readers to see the charts before it is too late. Some adherents of the theory of ignoring Soviet Russia may have them removed.

The Unified Labor School

("Novy Mir", Berlin, February 26, and March 5, 1921)

The Unified Labor School

EACH historic period has its school. The school of pre-revolutionary Russia—the school of dead book learning—was a true product of the autocratic capitalist order in a state ruled by the police: its class character was indicated by the division into a lower school for the "people", and a higher school for the privileged classes. The former contributed scraps of knowledge to a very limited number of people. Its methods led to the creation of meek, submissive subjects, instead of free and reasoning individuals. The privileged intermediary schools and colleges, corresponding to the demands of an autocratic state, mainly turned out a great army of bureaucrats, physicians, lawyers, judges and other specialists, who were serving primarily these very same "higher" classes.

The revolution came, and together with the old order the old school was done away with. New life imperiously demanded a new school. With the present economic disorder, and the absence of the necessary teaching personnel, the task of building new schools is greatly hindered, especially when simultaneously with the organization and conduct of the schools it is necessary to work out the theory and introduce it to the teachers at large, who assumed a passive or even hostile attitude during the early period after the revolution.

However, these difficulties did not curb the activity of the workers of a new era. Much has been done, and with the establishment of economic equilibrium, the new school will also reach completion.

All privileged schools have been abolished. The unified labor school was proclaimed open not only to all the children of the Soviet Republic, but free to all throughout the course. The government undertook to provide for the children school supplies, clothing, shoes and hot luncheons.

Examinations were abolished, along with corporal punishment, and schools were organized on a co-educational basis. Because of existing conditions these problems can only gradually be realized. However, even under present conditions child welfare receives first consideration.

The foundation of the new school is, according to Lunacharsky, "a synthesis of labor and science." "We must," says Lunacharsky (see "Report of the People's Commissariat of Education, 1917-1920") "teach our children the joy of free cooperative creation in a Socialist state, instead of the torment of servile capitalist labor. We must instil in them the feeling of being not mere residents but members of one great community of workers, builders and organizers with a broad outlook and a flexible, inquiring mind."

In order to realize these problems there is only one method to choose, and that is labor, both mental and manual. These are not separate as in

capitalistic society, but constitute a unit, a synthesis. The psychological make-up of the child demands physical activity during the first stages of development: therefore the children work in specially arranged workshops; they clean the school rooms, care for the kitchen, garden and domestic animals and in addition they model, draw and perform elementary laboratory experiments, etc.

During a more advanced stage of development the children are made familiar with the industrial life of the country, by visiting factories, mills, mines, railroads, hospitals, etc., and in this manner they study the organization and the nature of each industry as a whole.

The arrangement of fields, kitchen-gardens and bee-hives for experimental and exhibition purposes, is an additional activity in the country. We may look forward to the time when the school will really become for the village the source of a higher rural economy. In the city the school is directly connected with industrial production, while the village school is connected with agricultural production. In this manner a vital association is formed between the school and its surroundings.

Systematic excursions are being arranged for city children to the country, and for country children to the city and industrial centers. These excursions have an educational value and broaden the outlook of the children.

To be sure, in all stages of school education manual labor is not the ultimate aim but just a means to training. This should be borne in mind if one desires to understand the labor school and the value of its work.

Physical activity in the new school is based on its value to the physical and mental development of the child. Its value in the physical development has hardly ever been disputed. However, in capitalist society with its arrogant attitude towards labor it existed only as a theory. It is true that in Western Europe and especially in America there are many adherents of the labor school; however, the development has not gone beyond isolated attempts standing aloof from life, and only Soviet Russia is trying to organize the new school on a universal scale.

The child primarily receives impressions from the world of sensations, and reacts to them. As L. Plested states in his book ("Manual Labor and its Place in Early Child Training"), the child "thinks with its muscles"; it "learns to think in the process of action". A child's memory is primarily of a motor-muscular character; it remembers best whatever it has done with its own hands. To the child all work is play. Its interest awakens under it; its attention is strengthened; its imagination grows deeper and richer; its will, directed to accessible ends, learns to overcome difficulties and is thereby strengthened. In attaining its ends there is a feeling of happiness, a feeling of the

power and vigor of its ego. The child begins to love creative work and reaches for it.

Thus the labor school, properly organized, responds to the nature of the child and meets its demands. But it also responds to the requirements of a Socialist society, by creating free, active and industrious members.

The new school has only begun its existence in Soviet Russia. It would, therefore, be premature to speak of its achievements.

From the Records of the Russian Schools

Nevertheless it is possible to draw certain conclusions. Such an attempt has been made in the aforementioned report of the Commissariat of Popular Instruction. Its statistics are not abundant. Various causes have prevented the organization of a properly functioning statistical apparatus. Thus, for instance, according to information received from the districts and provinces which were invaded by the "Whites", no data concerning the schools, teachers, and students for the school-year 1917-1918 and 1918-1919, is available, because during the evacuation the records were either destroyed or taken away.

Besides the constant shifting of the border lines in various administrative districts, and the formation of new autonomous cantons hinder a systematic compilation of statistical data. To these drawbacks is added a lack of efficient workers in various localities. However, there is sufficient indication, even in the reports at our disposal that we are drawing nearer to our final aim—the Socialist school.

According to data, covering 34 provinces of the present Soviet Republic, the following table is formed (primary schools):

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Children
1911	47,855	3,060,419
1918-1919	63,317	4,796,284

According to the census the total number of school children (8-12 years of age) in the same provinces was 7,513,870 in 1917.

In 1911 there were 73,040 teachers as compared with 149,797 in 1918-1919.

The growth of educational institutions during the first period of the revolution, the period of the most intense civil war and general disorganization, is shown in the following table, based on 20 provinces of Central Russia (primary schools):

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers
1917-1918	34,394	2,504,855	60,852
1918-1919	37,405	2,709,237	83,506

Considering prevailing conditions, this is, indeed, a step forward to the realization of universal popular education.

Conditions are less satisfactory in secondary schools, such as the former "gymnasiums," vocational schools and other types. Here laboratories, studies, libraries, and the atmosphere of a well-organized state of industry are required. This is,

of course, a task of the future. The condition is relieved by utilizing the existing shops and by organizing school shops of greater technical value.

In 1919 the number of children of secondary school age (12-17) covering 37 provinces was 6,081,236. From the old regime Soviet Russia has taken over only 2,000 secondary schools of various types. In spite of the fact that this number doubled by 1919, it is still inadequate. To fill this gap there are schools with brief two-year courses, and the People's Commissariat of Education has created a number of school-clubs for adolescents, with a program approaching that of the secondary schools. These school clubs spread with great rapidity, especially in factory and mill districts. They are equipped with the stereopticon and moving pictures and their activities include excursions to factories and museums; various diaries, journals and chronicles record school-club life.

A number of experimental exhibit schools were organized in order to prepare scientifically verified material with which to aid school workers. The results obtained in this work are carefully examined and serve as guides in working out the schedules and text books. They are also utilized by various scientific institutions, engaged in research work on the condition of the labor school. There are twelve such institutions in Moscow. Their work is based on the material furnished by sixteen experimental exhibit schools situated in different parts of Soviet Russia. Some of these educational institutions take up the problem of preparing teachers and instructors; others are devoted to special subjects; all take a more or less active part in revising and re-editing text books and guides for the labor school.

The Scholar's Council cooperating with the Department of the Unified School, combines the activity of single institutions with the general activity of the Department and forms new educational units in the provinces.

The "Report" also describes the activities of the Excursion Bureau.

During the three months of its existence the Excursion Bureau directed over 1,000 excursions from 16 various provinces. Beside the central excursion station in Moscow the Bureau formed 17 other stations in the Moscow province as well as others.

From April 1 to October 1, 1920, 117,892 persons passed through the excursion stations in Petrograd and its vicinities, and 3,331 excursions were arranged.

The Commissariat of Popular Education devotes much energy to the preparation of school workers. Of all the old Russian schools there remained 150 teachers' training-schools with courses below secondary schools; 19 with a secondary school course, and 2 higher pedagogical institutes. These institutes were of low value. They gave very little pedagogical practice.

At present the teachers' seminars have been transformed into pedagogic courses and the teachers' institutes have been changed into advanced schools for popular education. Altogether there

are 301 teachers' institutes with 34,115 students, and there are also various short term courses.

Their schedules are broad and thorough. Besides a general scientific education courses are given in the scientific principles of social training, and the organizing of a Socialist labor school. Practical work in schools, kindergartens and educational institutions is quite popular.

These bare figures give us only a dim picture of the hardships which the school has had to overcome, and of the great task which is placed upon its tireless workers. A clearer insight is gained from the articles, reports, etc., which are contributed by the school workers to the Russian pedagogical and general press. Here, occasionally we come face to face with reality; we actually see how the new school is created; we live through all the hardships, and also rejoice in all its accomplishments and victories; we are enchanted with the unceasing energy and enthusiasm and we share the faith of the modest, unknown workers. "This great opportunity for work," we read in one of the descriptions of the labor school, "this opportunity for self-expression, to realize our ideals and dreams, gives us such courage and certainty, that even if we cannot do all, we are so anxious to do it, that eventually we will."

We shall conclude with the words of one of the workers of the school-colony "Spark," which may serve as an illustration of the present status of our schools in general: "We suffer a lack of tables, chalk, geographic maps and supplies, everything but living nature for the study of natural sciences. Yet, it seems to me that we are not poor: we possess the principal thing, the living organism of the school "Spark," which will burst into a huge flame if we add combustible substances."

THE ARRIVAL OF FOREIGN WORKERS

(An interview with the director of the Department of Emigration)

A SHORTAGE OF WORKERS*

("Petrograd Pravda", March 18, 1921)

The mass movement among American workers, prompted by a desire to settle in Soviet Russia, will be a powerful factor in the revival of our industries. The great shortage of workers is indicated by a demand for more workers on the part of unions and institutions. The railroad workers' union requests 10,000 trained workers and unskilled laborers. The province agricultural department demands 52,000 workers. The

*The following data taken from a summary published by the People's Commissariat of Labor, and comprising 25 provinces, serves to substantiate and supplement the statement of the director of the Department of Emigration: the total number of workers and clerical employees in 2,585 small and middle-sized establishments was 746,561, while the total demand for labor was stated at 1,476,983 workers and clerical employees, i. e. the number employed averaged about one-half of the norm. Almost everywhere the number of workers and clerical employees actually employed amounts to no more than 50 per cent of the norm and in a number of cases is as low as 20 to 25 per cent.—*Novy Mir*, Berlin.

union of municipal workers demands 10,000 workers, primarily for service on traffic and railroad stations.

The Distribution of the Arriving Workers.

All emigrant arrivals are divided into two groups: men with large families or over 40 years of age are sent to central Russia, to their home towns. Young workmen and those having small families are taken over by the Department of Labor and are sent to Petrograd factories and mills.

Emigrants arriving at Petrograd depots are directed to community houses where they stay for three or four days. They are freely admitted to the club, the libraries, the dining hall, museums and exhibitions. During this period the newly arrived are supplied with military documents, work books, food cards and an assignment of the place and the kind of work. In order to avoid calling at various institutions, all matters are attended to by the department of emigration with the assistance of representatives of departments that have an interest in this activity. Usually the newcomers are sent to factories in groups of the same specialty. Next year they will be formed into trade corporations in the factories. When a great number of workers arrive they are given charge of a whole industry. The first factory assigned for this purpose is "Promet".

Many skilled workers bring their own machines and tools, as, for example, the tailor group brings sewing machines, the hatters' group has purchased new machines in America and Germany and hopes to organize a factory according to the Taylor system.

Up to the present time the admission and distribution of the emigrants was not quite satisfactory. The Soviet of People's Commissars has granted permits to the emigrants to receive a leave of absence of six days after having been assigned to the factory. The factory committee is considering the granting of leaves of absence after a three-months assignment, which would give an opportunity to show the advisability of utilizing newly arrived workers.

The former method was deficient in determining the qualifications of the worker, because American qualifications differ radically from Russian qualifications, since Americans specialize along certain lines. Arrangements are being made whereby an admission committee, assisted by technicians who have emigrated, would determine more fully the qualifications of each emigrant at the time of arriving at the border line, or at stations in Latvia. For that purpose the receiving committees in Riga, Libau and Ostrov have been supplied with workers familiar with Petrograd industries as well as American conditions.

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ALEXANDER SHUMSKY

Ukrainian Soviet Pioneers

(Alexander Shumsky and D. Z. Manuilsky)

ALEXANDER Shumsky, party name O. Borovoy, a son of a poor, landless peasant, was born in 1890, in Volhynia. While earning his bread as a herdsman he felt all the heavy weight of underpaid peasant labor. Struggling under the burden of social and political oppression, Comrade Shumsky succeeded nevertheless in getting a little education and at the age of sixteen he finished the two year public school course. But he strove on and when he was twenty he left his village and went to Zhitomir where he joined the Social Democratic labor group and got acquainted with party workers, who were engaged in the struggle against the existing system.

When he came to Moscow, Comrade Shumsky with his boundless energy continued his studies and after passing the examination for the secondary school he entered the Veterinary Institute.

In Moscow he got in touch with Ukrainian students and in 1913 he entered the party of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionists; during 1914 he was agitating among the Moscow workers against the war. To evade mobilization, he went in 1916 to Trans-Caspia.

Not till after the revolution, in April 1917, did Comrade Shumsky return to Ukraine where he threw himself into the whirlpool of revolutionary activity. Being a member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionary Party and

a member of the Central Rada (Council)* he was in the left wing section and at that time, when other comrades of his party became members of the Cabinet (Holubovich and others) Comrade Shumsky together with nine others was arrested by the Central Rada and was condemned to be shot for Bolshevik activity.

During the German-imposed rule of the Hetman Skoropadski, Shumsky together with other members succeeded in splitting the Party of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionists, and the Left Wing of this party, called "Communists-Borotbists", on his initiative, started negotiations with the Bolshevik-Communists to establish unity.

In April 1920 Shumsky as a member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Borotbists) finally achieved his aim—fusion of all Communist forces in Ukraine into one party, Communist-Bolsheviks.

In the Soviet construction work Comrade Shumsky occupied a number of responsible positions: in 1919 he was People's Commissar of Education (after Comrade Zatonsky) and at the same time he is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and member of the Presidium of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee.

*Ukrainian Parliament.

D. Z. MANUILSKY, a native of Svyatetsk, a village in the district of Kremenets, Volhynia, was born in 1883, of peasant stock. While yet a child the sad lot of the peasants who for centuries had been serfs of the Polish landlords, deeply impressed his soul and filled him with hatred for the then existing social order. The interest of a school teacher who noticed the abilities of the young boy, brought Manuilsky the good fortune of admittance into the gymnasium of Ostrog where, "I first felt the inequality in the then existing political and social order in the attitude of my school mates, the sons of the Polish landholders, who looked upon me as a proletarian, with boundless contempt."

The religious and police supervision of the school, the oppressive rule of the administration, forced him to seek freedom outside its walls, where, however, the spying eye of the authorities was also carefully watching. Finally a search in the rooms of Manuilsky resulted in his expulsion from the school.

At that time Manuilsky founded, among the peasants of the district of Staro-Konstantinov, the first revolutionary groups. The necessary literature he got from Galicia, from the publications of the "Revolutionary Ukrainian Party," one of the founders of which was the well-known V. K. Vinnichenko. Not a few prominent Soviet workers in Volhynia developed from these groups and they well remember Manuilsky.

In the years 1904-1905, we see Manuilsky in the Petrograd organization, as a member of the Collegium for Petrograd of the Petrograd Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (Bolsheviks), and during the manifestations against the Japanese war, in meetings together with Krylenko, who later became the Commander in Chief of the Red Army. In the beginning of 1905, he was delegated to Kronstadt to work in the underground organization among the soldiers and after the armed insurrection of the sailors on July 19 and 20, he was arrested in the fortress of Kronstadt. Later, Manuilsky was sent to the region of Yakutsk (Eastern Siberia) but he succeeded in escaping on the way. He returned to Kiev and again began his activity among the soldiers.

It was impossible to remain in Kiev, and Manuilsky left the country for Paris where he worked in the party press under the pseudonym of Ivan Bezridny. In the beginning of the imperialist war he founded in Paris, together with Antonov-Ovseyenko, the internationalist paper *Golos* after the suppression of which by the French Government he worked together with Comrade Trotsky on the paper *Nashe Slovo*. At the beginning of the revolution he went back to Petrograd where at the invitation of the party he was, successively, member of the Petrograd City Administration, whose head was the Chairman of the All-Russian Executive Committee, Kalinin; later Assistant People's Commissar for Supplies in Russia; then in 1918, together with Comrade Rakovsky he was delegate to the peace negotiations with Ukraine, where in the

course of eight months he laid the ground for the Ukrainian revolution. At the present moment he is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and also People's Commissar for Agriculture.

News From Ukraine

Moscow, April 8.—The All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Council of the People's Commissars have issued an appeal to the peasants of Ukraine in connection with the tax in kind introduced in place of the former requisition. The appeal says in part:

"The state requirement will be reduced from 150,000,000 poods to 115,000,000 poods. The peasants are to have full control of their surplus products. Ten to twenty per cent of the tax collected will be assigned for the purchase of seeds and tools for the poor peasantry in the villages and also for the formation of a fund for the exchange of goods. The All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Council of the People's Commissars appeal to the peasants to start the spring sowing and not to leave any fields fallow."

The All-Ukrainian Congress of Food Administrators has opened at Kharkov. In his opening address the Ukrainian Food Commissar, Vladimirovsky, emphasized the importance of allowing the peasant complete liberty in disposing of his surplus produce; but pointed out that the state must so organize its industries as to afford direct exchange between the industrial workers and the peasants, thus avoiding profiteering by middlemen.

Traffic has opened over the new pontoon bridge at Kiev. This bridge, over two thousand feet in length, was laid in thirty-six hours.

Moscow, April 23.—The returns reported from the election to the Kiev Soviet show the selection of 1384 deputies comprising 1067 Communists, 300 Non-partisans and 17 of all other parties.

The second All-Ukrainian Sanitation Convention just concluded at Kharkov approved the work of the People's Commissariat of Health and recommended that the Commissariat should arrange with the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions for the election at all factories and workshops, etc., of Committees of Labor and Health Protection. Social Sanitation Commissions are to be elected throughout the Ukraine within one month. The Convention resolved that sanitation work must be based on the following principles: 1st, to attract the widest participation of the working masses in medico-sanitation work; 2nd, to simplify the sanitary organizations and make them truly proletarian; 3rd, to bring closer union with all party and trade union organizations; 4th, to concentrate the chief attention upon the sanitation of cities and villages, the protection of childhood and motherhood, and the combatting of social diseases; 5th, to effect a more systematic distribution of medical practitioners throughout Ukraine.

The All-Ukrainian Conference on Social Alimen-

tation, recently concluded at Nikolayev, resolved to concentrate its efforts on the feeding of children in the schools and at home at the expense of the state. The Conference also resolved to establish social food supply at all railway stations.

A telegram from Kharkov reports that the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee has ratified the Peace Treaty concluded with Poland at Riga.

A Polish trade delegation from the municipalities of Lodz and Brzezany has arrived at Kiev to arrange the details of trade relations with Soviet Ukraine through the Kiev branch of the Ukrainian Commissariat of Foreign Trade.

The Russo-Ukrainian border commission has arrived at Smolensk to establish the border boundaries.

The Ukrainian Soviet Government, in a note to Poland, has protested against the assistance given by the Polish Government to the formation of various Ukrainian counter-revolutionary organizations, despite the terms of the peace treaty which forbids the interference by Poland in the internal affairs of Ukraine. There exists at Tarnow a so-called "Ukrainian People's Government," a Petlura concern, actually recognized and patronized by the Polish military and civil authorities. Similar organizations are tolerated at other places on Polish territory.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

APPEAL OF FORMER WHITE GUARD OFFICERS

Moscow, April 5.—A group of former Wrangel officers, functionaries, and priests who recently returned voluntarily to Soviet Russia from Turkey, in an open letter to all citizens of Soviet Russia, recently published in the press here, declare:

"Mobilized or driven by the force of circumstances into the ranks of the enemies of the Soviet Government, we were involuntarily the abettors and often the active agents of falsehood and violence against the will of the people. The White army, welded by internal terror, fed by the European bourgeois governments, and thrown against its own brothers, burst like a soap bubble. The soul of every warrior became conscious that we were fighting against our own brothers and fellow toilers. We have done with lies and deception. Fellow citizens, do not believe adventurers riding in French automobiles; do not trust their agents who aspire to some prey from the ailing body of Russia. The Russian people has created its own new forms of government. For the common good it bears colossal sacrifices, exposing its breast to the brutal assaults of world capitalism, and exploitation. We prodigal sons, consumed by the desire to join the ranks of the world's warriors for the glorious age of the future, appeal to all who still believe the political charlatans—remember our example and become loyal sons of Soviet Russia, serving her with all your might!"

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

From Soviet Georgia

A MESSAGE from Tiflis reports that members of the different Georgian parties and factions have informed the Georgian Revolutionary Committee of their decision to confer at Tiflis in order to adopt a unanimous resolution in condemnation of the former Government. The masses are enthusiastically supporting the Soviet regime. The prestige of the Soviet Government is very high and the confidence of foreign traders is constantly increasing.

The Italian Consul at Tiflis has sent a wireless message to his Government reporting the exemplary orderliness which prevails in Soviet Georgia. The proclamation of the Soviet regime by the victorious revolutionists was free from any of the excesses reported in the European press. The Georgian Soviet, reported the Italian Consul, maintains perfect order while reconstructing the economic life of the country. The interests of foreigners are fully protected by the new Government.

The American Committee for Near Eastern Relief has sent the following telegram to its office in Constantinople:

"Try to get supplies from the American Red Cross. Concentrate stocks at Constantinople and deliver as soon as the route opens. The Government of Soviet Georgia guarantees us better conditions than the previous government."

The Commissariat of Foreign Trade has held a conference at Tiflis with representatives of Austrian, Belgian, German, Italian, Dutch, Persian, Swiss, Polish and Czechoslovak trading firms. The chairman of the Commissariat assured these representatives that the Georgian Soviet Government would encourage foreign trade to the utmost and would take measures to facilitate European relations and commerce with the entire world. The foreign traders felicitated the Soviet Government and promised to inform the people of Europe of the real state of affairs in Soviet Georgia, which is favorable to foreign trade.

The economic mission from Czecho-Slovakia in Tiflis has offered the Georgian Commissariat of Foreign Trade all kinds of agricultural machinery, manufactured goods, paper, etc., with guarantees of delivery within one month.

The Georgian Government has declared legal tender all currency issued by the Azerbaijan and Armenian Soviet Governments. Acceptance of money issued by the non-Soviet Governments of these Republics is not obligatory.

The composition of the Provisional Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Republic of Georgia is as follows: Chairman and Commissar of Agriculture, Makharadze; Acting Chairman and Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Orakhelashvili; Commissar of War and Marine and Foreign Trade, Elyava; Commissar of Home Affairs, Kirkelidze; Commissar of Labor and Social Welfare, Dumbadze; Commissar of Workers' and Peasants' Control, Elizabedishvili; Commissar of Justice and Finance, Nazaritian; Commissar of Health, Utchaidze; Commissar of Education, Swanidze;

Chairman of the Council of Public Economy, Engineer Demtau; Secretary of the Revolutionary Committee of the Georgian Soviet Republic, Mabrítidze; Chief of Railways, Engineer Katzitadze. The Georgian language has been declared the official language of the State.

The Georgian Government, under the signature of the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Orakhelashvili, has issued a declaration cancelling the powers given by the previous Georgian Government to its representatives abroad and depriving the latter of their status as diplomatic representatives. The following persons, affected by this declaration, are deprived of diplomatic standing: In Berlin—Vladimir Akhmetalashvili; Paris—Former representative for Europe, Okak Chenkeli; London—Former representative, David Gambashidze; Paris—Economic Representative, Matvey Skobelev; Rome—Consul, George Adkhasia; Constantinople—Consul, Joseph Gogolashvili.

All foreign governments are invited to correspond with the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Orakhelashvili. *Russian Telegraph Agency.*

MANIFESTO OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF GEORGIA

To the workers of all countries. The Georgian Revolutionary upheaval which led to the overthrow of the power of the Mensheviks, the agents of international imperialist reaction, and to the establishment of workers' and peasants' rule, was followed by a concerted campaign of lies and calumnies against Soviet Georgia and Soviet Russia. The overthrown Menshevik Government, along the path of its shameful flight with the stolen treasury of the Georgian people, is spreading malignant, slanderous falsehoods about the Georgia of the workers and peasants and is appealing to the imperialists for assistance for a new Georgian invasion. False statements are spread by the bourgeois press, alleging that Soviet Russia committed acts of violence against democratic Georgia, which supposedly became the victim of imperialistic aggression by the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Government. Hence the conclusion is drawn of the necessity for intervention to free Georgia from invaders who presumably carry death and destruction.

Let honest men, all over the world know, let the liars and slanderers who hate the proletarian revolution themselves learn the truth, that in Georgia the power has passed into the hands of the toilers as the result of a victorious rising by the workers and peasants, ruined by the regime of the Georgian Mensheviks. In Georgia, liberated from the lackeys of the international capitalistic robbers, there reigns, ever since the establishment of the Revolutionary Government, exemplary order and perfect freedom for the workers. During the month and half of the existence of workers' and peasants' rule there has not been a single terrorist act in the entire country, there has not been a single case of murder nor of the violence so common under the so-called democrats now overthrown.

The victorious working class has granted all its enemies without exception complete amnesty. If in Georgia, despoiled by the Menshevik Government, there is now no famine, she has to thank exclusively the fraternal aid of her neighbor Soviet Republics in supplying Georgia with bread, petroleum and other necessities, which imperialism denies to nations struggling to straighten their backs and throw off their oppressors.

The Revolutionary Government of Georgia draws the attention of the workers of the world to these new designs by the international robbers who, in league with pseudo-socialists, assail the workers and peasants of Georgia for the purpose of again enslaving her emancipated toilers of city and village. To the black designs of international reaction the toiling masses of Georgia will oppose an ironclad solidarity and a desire for freedom and victory over any hostile attempt against the workers' and peasants' rule of Georgia.

Let it be known to the Entente rulers and their bankrupt servitors, the Mensheviks of all countries, that the Soviet power in Georgia has the support of the toilers, and only over the dead bodies of the people's warriors and the Government established by the masses would it be possible to restore in Georgia the former regime which was overthrown by popular rising and which was backed by spoliatory capitalism and by imperialist reaction.

The Revolutionary Committee of Soviet Georgia, Tiflis, April 12th.

A MENSHEVIST CAPITULATION

Moscow, March 23.—A message from Tiflis gives the details of the agreement reached at Kutais on March 16 between the former Georgian Government and the Revolutionary Committee. By this agreement all military operations cease immediately and the troops of the previous Government give up the rest of Georgian territory occupied by them to the Revolutionary Committee, whose troops occupy the Batum district. From March 25 the late Georgian Government ceases to exist and its armies disband, handing over their arms and equipment to the Revolutionary Committee which declares full amnesty for partisans of the previous Government. The agreement is signed by plenipotentiary representatives, Orakhelashvili for Soviet Georgia, Bordkipanidze for the late Government, and by the plenipotentiary of the Russian Soviet Federation, Yenukidze.

—Russian Telegraph Agency.

ILLUSTRATED ISSUES OF SOVIET RUSSIA

A few hundred copies of the two issues dated April 30th and May 7th are still on hand. They contain many illustrations, and are well worth keeping. Both will be mailed to any address for twenty cents.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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CONFERENCE OF NON-PARTISAN WORKERS

The conference of Petrograd city workers opened April 10 with over nine hundred delegates present, mostly non-partisan workers. The conference adopted greetings to Lenin and invited him to address the gathering (For text of message from Lenin, see SOVIET RUSSIA, May 7, 1921, page 451). During the elections to the presidium, the Mensheviks tried to introduce their declaration, which was however rejected by the non-partisan majority.

Addressing the conference, Zinoviev, the Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, said that this assembly was the best equipped to deal with the serious problems of increasing production and improving the conditions of the workers. These questions, he said, could not be discussed apart from the general labor situation in Russia and Europe. Discussing the behavior of the Mensheviks, Zinoviev reminded his hearers that during the imperialist war the Mensheviks worked on militarist committees, forging weapons to murder the European workers, and later served as ministers in the counter-revolutionary governments, helping in the wholesale butchery of the workers. Dealing with the consequences of the war, Zinoviev pointed to the totals of war victims throughout Europe and to the unprecedented growth of unemployment and mortality among the working class in England, America and other countries previously prosperous. After three years of the starvation blockade, Russia is now entering upon peaceful reconstruction, having concluded peace with its neighbors, despite all the trickery of the enemies of the revolution. The Trade Agreement with England will force the other capitalist nations to follow suit in recognizing the Soviet Government. In conclusion, Zinoviev appealed to the non-partisan workers to work with their Communist mates for the economic reconstruction of the country. His final words were applauded by the entire conference: "By our united efforts we will lead Russia into the glorious road which will evoke the admiration of all the nations of the world."

After a discussion of Zinoviev's address, the Conference adopted unanimously a resolution expressing satisfaction with the treaties of peace and trade recently concluded by the Soviet Government with many countries. The resolution further endorsed the recent decrees on tax in kind, on premiums in kind and on cooperative trading. Finally the conference declared that the closest cooperation of the progressive non-partisan workers with the Communists was imperatively necessary for the welfare of the workers and peasantry. With the termination of war and the resumption of peaceful life all progressive forces must work harmoniously to strengthen the Soviet regime and help to remove all shortcomings caused by the onerous years of warfare. The resolution concluded with the following words: "The opponents of Soviet Russia who expect to make capital out of our difficult situation are sadly miscalculating. The

hard times we will survive; a return to domination by landlords and capitalists we will never allow."

Reviewing the results of the non-partisan conference the Petrograd *Pravda* points out the failure of the counter-revolutionists who hoped to create a wall between the Communist leaders and the non-partisan working masses. The Petrograd workers, said the *Pravda*, more eloquently than ever have demonstrated their firm determination to follow the lead of the Communists against the enemies of the revolution. Albeit sharply criticising the Soviet authorities at times, the conference came to the conclusion that the Soviet power truly represents working class rule, which is the only salvation for the working class. A certain definite thought permeated all the decisions of the conference; namely, that all the resources of the country must be placed at the disposal of the toilers. The conference expressed its firm will for greater equality and the abolition of all not absolutely necessary privileges. This, says the *Pravda*, was the voice of the master of Russia—the proletariat—which means the complete vindication and endorsement of the Communist Party program and policy and a continued mandate to that party for the guidance of the destinies of the proletarian state.

The Petrograd *Krasnaya Gazeta* says that the solid support given by the non-partisan workers to the Communist program places a moral obligation on the Petrograd proletariat to associate itself actively with the Soviet Government in the economic reconstruction and in all administrative work for the commonwealth. Years of war and revolution have left a tremendous amount of work for willing hands and the Petrograd workers, as the pioneers of the Russian Revolution, certainly will not take a second place in the gigantic constructive tasks which the era of peace places squarely before the liberated Socialist country.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

THREE NEW DECREES

Moscow, April 9.—Moscow newspapers publish three decrees by the Council of People's Commissars, dealing with premiums in kind, wage reforms, and the cooperatives.

The first decree tentatively introduces the distribution of premiums in kind among the workers in important industries in the form of giving them a part of the product of their labor to exchange with the peasants for agricultural produce. A fund of products will thus be created which will be handed over by the factory administrations to the workers' cooperatives. Each worker will have a share in this fund in proportion to his individual productive contribution. Factories producing articles unsuitable for exchange with the peasants may be authorized to manufacture articles of prime necessity in spare time or in work time without diminishing normal production. All regulations in this matter will be made by the All-Russian

Trade Union Council in agreement with the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

The second decree removes the previous restrictions on the extent of super-earnings by pieceworkers. The economic administrations are authorized, in agreement with the trade unions, to institute simplified systems of payment, making the connection between wages and production more apparent. The All-Russian Trade Union Council is instructed to elaborate within one month a uniform scale for all categories of labor in the different branches of industry.

The third decree establishes the rights and privileges of the cooperatives, which are to play an important part in the exchange and redistribution of commodities in view of the new food tax in kind, replacing the former levy, and the authorization of free trading in agricultural produce. All citizens of every locality must belong to one, and only one, of the cooperatives, which will be subdivided into smaller territorial or occupational units. Each of these units will have the right to acquire on behalf of their shareholders, through the various cooperatives, products and articles of every kind in exchange for money or kind. Consumers' cooperatives are entitled to exchange and to purchase surplus agricultural produce and the products of small industries. For these purposes they may conclude all kinds of contracts within the limits of Soviet legislation. The Cooperatives are also entrusted by the State with the collection and exchange of manufactured goods in return for agricultural produce. They also perform the functions of state distributing agencies in supplying the population with necessary articles obtained from nationalized industries or from foreign imports. Each cooperative shall be administered by a directorate of three members, with a controlling committee elected at the general meeting of members. Local cooperatives are grouped in provincial unions, whose directors shall be elected by a meeting of the delegates of the local cooperatives. The dates of elections are fixed by the Centrosoyuz, which is the Central Union of all Russian Cooperative Societies, in agreement with the local Executive Committees. The Central Executive Committee may send representatives to the provincial directorates.

—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

INDUSTRY, TRANSPORTATION, TRADE

Moscow, April 11.—A Soviet decree, published April 11, placed all waterway transportation under the control of the railway administration. Schedules of fares and rates are to be compiled by the People's Commissariat of Communications. Free fares are granted to workers and employees traveling to and from their work, or on furlough, also to pupils, students and excursionists, and to all children under sixteen years, and all invalids, unemployed, destitute, etc.

Navigation opened on the Volga early in April. All preparations were completed in the Volga

regions for a vigorous spring fishing season. Navigation was resumed from Saratov to Astrakhan. The first steamer, named "Red Fleet", left Astrakhan on April 12. Astrakhan reports that the spring fishing opened successfully. Over three million poods of fish were caught on the first day of the season.

With the steady flow of rafted timber down the Dnieper, all the sawmills at Yekaterinoslav, Kremenchug and Cherkassy are resuming operations.

The first state factory in Russia for the manufacture of artists' pigments will be opened shortly at Petrograd.

The Petrograd shipyards have completed heavy repairs on numerous large and small vessels, putting them in commission for navigation. Active preparations are going forward in the port of Petrograd for the reception of foreign steamers. Particular attention is being given to the repair of mechanical unloading cranes, the greater number of which are already in readiness for use.

Numerous provincial Councils of Economy throughout Russia and Ukraine have prepared large stocks of goods for foreign export through the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade.

The special commission which inspected the metallurgical industries of Kuban and the Black Sea regions has reported very favorably on the particularly high productivity of the Krasnodar* metal factories, which are now producing twenty per cent above the pre-war standards. The Commission also reports with satisfaction a series of technical improvements worked out at these factories.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

April 28, 1921.

Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA:

That all rumors recently spread by the American press, alleging the occurrence of pogroms in Soviet Ukraine during the months of February and March, 1921, are false and malicious inventions to damage the prestige of the Soviet Government is the essence of an official cable recently received from Moscow.

The cablegram, received by Dr. D. Dubrowsky, American Representative of the All-Russian Jewish Public Committee, reads:

"The American Jewish press of February and March contains reports of pogroms against the Jewish population of Ukraine, in the cities of Odessa, Ekaterinoslav, Kiev, and others, that have allegedly occurred during these months. In view of the fact that these reports are absolutely false, the Jewish Public Committee is compelled to publish a categorical denial. The Jewish Public Committee announces that during the period in question, no pogroms occurred in Ukraine or in any other place under the control of the Soviet Government."

This denial of the Jewish Public Committee is corroborated by a second cable received by Dr. D. Dubrowsky and signed by M. Belkin, member of the Canadian Relief-Delegation to Russia.

*Krasnodar was formerly called Yekaterinodar.

Mr. Belkin cables:

"I categorically deny all rumors spread by the American Jewish press, of pogroms during March, in Kiev, Ekaterinoslav, Odessa and other Ukrainian cities, also the statements that the bands of Makhno have occupied Ekaterinoslav, and that the bands of Petlura have occupied Kiev and Odessa. I am just coming back from Ukraine. I have been in Kiev and Odessa during the period mentioned. No organized army or band is today operating in the Ukraine."

Bureau of the American Representative of the All-Russian Jewish Public Committee.

WORKERS' COOPERATIVES

Moscow, April 18.—The Presidium of the Moscow Provincial Trade Union Council, collaborating with the Moscow Commune Administration, has approved regulations for establishing workers' cooperatives. Each factory or Soviet establishment employing more than two hundred workers is entitled to form a cooperative. Establishments employing a lesser number may join with others to form a cooperative organization. Members of workers' families can also become cooperators. Entrance into and resignation from membership in these cooperatives are quite voluntary. Each worker and employee can join only one cooperative. The shares can be entered either in money or in kind, not to exceed ten thousand rubles, payable in instalments. The initiation fee is five hundred rubles. The Workers' Cooperative Bureau of the Moscow Consumers' Commune purchases articles of consumption both for money and barter and distributes the acquired goods among the members. They can also organize dairy and vegetable farms and other similar enterprises. The Workers' Cooperative Organizations are united through a bureau in the Moscow Commune.

THE WHITE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC

Moscow, April 23.—The third session of the White Russian Central Executive Committee was opened by the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Cherviakov, who emphasized in his inaugural address the emergence of Soviet White Russia from the struggle on the battle fronts to the struggle on the economic front. He spoke of the racial oppression which the country had suffered along with economic oppression and showed how quickly the Soviet regime had abolished racial strife. The Committee ratified the peace treaty with Poland and asked the Government of Soviet Russia to sign it. Reports on the agricultural and sowing campaigns were received and it was resolved to allow the peasants to engage in free trading with their agricultural produce after meeting the state obligations. The Committee appointed a commission on improving the living conditions of the workers and authorized the opening of a White Russian State University at Minsk, with faculties for labor, medicine, social science, physics, mathematics and agriculture and an institute for research in White Russian culture. Eight large buildings are being equipped for this University. Application has been made to the Federal Soviet

authorities for a grant for the purchase of scientific instruments and equipment from abroad.

WAR TIME RESTRICTIONS REMOVED

Moscow, April 24.—The Commissariat of Labor has removed the restrictions against the transfer of workers and employees from one government establishment to another. By the new regulations every worker in a government factory or institution can change his place of occupation by application to the factory committee or its equivalent at the institution, giving the reason for the desired transfer. The preamble to the new regulations, which are signed by the People's Commissar of Labor and by the Chairman of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions and Professional Organizations, says: "During the period of the armed struggle by the workers and peasants of Russia against the Tsarist generals, capitalists and landlords, the Soviet Government was temporarily compelled to restrict the right of the workers and employees to change their places of employment, in order to insure continuous and concentrated work at all factories and establishments engaged in supplying the front. The victory on all fronts and the termination of military activity and the resumption of peaceful economic construction now make it possible to simplify and facilitate the method of transferring workers from one establishment to another."—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

A PEASANT ON THE NEW TAX

Moscow, April 4.—The front page of *Pravda* displays an able article contributed by a peasant, Gussev, of the Tver province. In simple yet eloquent language it describes the tremendous psychological impression produced in the peasants' minds throughout Russia by the great agricultural tax reform which substitutes a moderate well-defined food contribution for the hitherto prevalent wartime food levy which had appeared to the simple peasant nothing short of confiscation. Peasant Gussev belongs to no political party and his observations consequently are typical of the average Russian peasant's way of thinking. In his opinion, the glad tidings of the great reform have produced a veritable moral revolution in the peasants' minds. The knowledge of his inalienable right to dispose freely of his harvest after paying the State its dues will encourage the peasant to exert his best efforts, while the State can always obtain from the peasant additional food supplies for the industrial urban population by supplying the peasants with needed manufactured goods. Speaking for his class, Gussev concludes: "We peasants see how the Soviet Government at the first possibility hastened to ease the burden of the peasantry and arranged precisely that system which we desired. We firmly hope our Government will continue in this way. We hail the indissoluble union of city and village, we hail the reasonable fixed tax. Long live the Workers' and Peasants' Government."—*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

FRAUDULENT ADVERTISING

On May 3 Mr. Charles Recht sent the following announcement to the Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA:

The following cable has been received by this office, and we would appreciate it if you would give it such publicity as it warrants:

"Stockholm, April 30, 4:45 P. M.

"Recht, New York.

"Please take measures to stop the printing of advertisements of (Name of agency and newspaper deleted—can be furnished upon request.) I am warning that without a passport and with only the documents furnished by the steamship company no one will be admitted to Soviet Russia. I wish to state that this advertisement is a brazen fraud meant for credulous citizens. The question of emigration from America into Soviet Russia will be regulated by a special agreement.

"Authorized Representative of the R. S. F. S. R.
in Sweden,

"KERZHENTSEV."

FOR TRAVELLERS TO RUSSIA

The following cablegram has been received from Maxim Litvinov, the Representative of the Russian Soviet Government at Reval:

Reval, May 17, 1921

SOVIET RUSSIA,
New York.

The steamer Baltinger with a number of Russians

from Canada arrived at Reval, but on account of our refusal to admit the passengers into Russia was compelled to take them back. Give this fact the widest publication, warning Russians against any attempt to reach Russia without passports vised by a Soviet representative.

(Signed)

MAXIM LITVINOV.

IN THE NEAR EAST

The Bokhara Soviet gave a rousing reception to the Russian Soviet Plenipotentiary Delegation, headed by Hopner, upon its arrival in the Bokharan capital.

The first Convention of Turkomans was held in Bokhara in April. The Turkoman tribes suffered acute oppression from the late Emir and his underlings, which caused much estrangement between them and the other tribes of Bokhara. The work of reconciliation began with the advent of the Soviet regime and the Convention will help to promote tribal peace in Bokhara.

The Turkestan Soviet has decreed a series of measures to raise the general status of women and to protect their rights.

Reports from Trebizond announce that the Russo-Turkish treaty was received by the great Turkish National Assembly with enthusiastic applause.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

ANNOUNCEMENT**To All Readers of Soviet Russia**

Hereafter SOVIET RUSSIA will be published as a monthly magazine. The reasons for this change are given in detail in the announcement on page 524. The editorial policy of SOVIET RUSSIA will not be changed; the magazine will be improved; more and better articles will be published. The best of the pictures and posters from Russia will be reproduced.

Subscriptions now on our list will be extended so that every subscriber will receive more material than would have been published on a weekly basis. The next number will be the first of the monthly issues; it will be dated July 1, 1921, and mailed to reach subscribers before the end of June. Single copies will be sold for 25 cents each at all newsstands.

New subscriptions, and renewals, will hereafter cost \$2.50 for one year or \$1.25 for six months. The ten weeks' trial subscription will be discontinued.

SOVIET RUSSIA looks forward to the continued loyalty and support of its readers.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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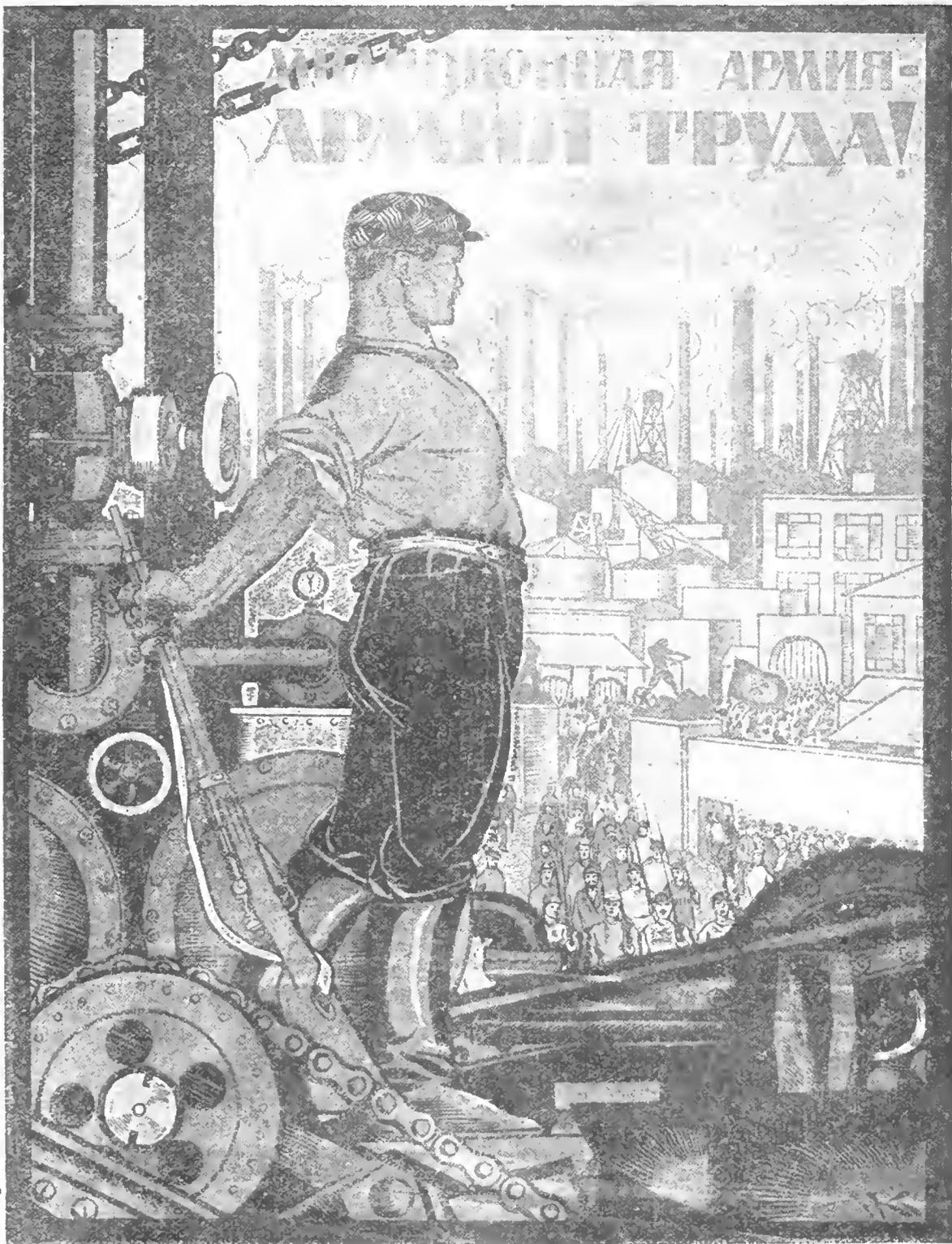
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The Significance of the Agricultural Tax

By N. LENIN

(In view of the great number of exaggerated reports that have appeared in the American press on the subject of the alleged change in Lenin's attitude implied in the new relations with the peasantry, the following article from his own pen will be welcomed by our readers as a correct statement of the case.)

Introduction

The question of the Agricultural Tax at the present moment is attracting considerable attention and is the subject of considerable discussion. This is quite understandable, for it is indeed one of the most important questions of policy under the present conditions.

It will be all the more useful, therefore, to attempt to approach this question, not from its "everyday aspect," but from the point of view of principle. In other words, to examine the background upon which we are sketching the plan of the definite, practical measures of policy of the present day.

In order to make this attempt, I permit myself to quote extracts from my pamphlets *Tasks of Our Times*, *On 'Left' Childishness*, and *Petty-Bourgeoisism*.

The polemic is now unnecessary and I leave it out, but I retain what relates to the discussion of "State Capitalism" and to the basic elements of the economics of the present period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

This is what I wrote:

The Present Economic Position of Russia

(From a pamphlet published in 1918)

... "State Capitalism would be a step in advance in the present state of affairs of our Soviet Republic. If, for example, State Capitalism could establish itself here, during the next six months, it would be an excellent thing and a sure guarantee that within a year Socialism will have established itself and become invincible."

I can imagine the noble indignation with which some will scorn these words. What! The transition to capitalism in a Soviet Socialist Republic a step

in advance? . . . Is this not a betrayal of Socialism?

It is precisely with this point that one must deal in detail.

In the first place, one must analyze the nature of the transition from capitalism into socialism, which gives us the right and the foundation for calling ourselves a Socialist Soviet Republic. Secondly, one must expose the error of those who do not see that the chief enemy of Socialism with us is the petty bourgeois economic conditions and the petty bourgeois ideas rampant in the country.

Thirdly, one must properly understand the distinction between a Soviet and a Bourgeois State.

Let us examine these three points.

There is not a single person, it seems to me, who, examining the economics of Russia, would deny their transitional character. There is not a Communist, it seems to me, who would deny that the expression "Socialist Soviet Republic" means the determination of the Soviet Power to realize the transition to Socialism, and does not by any means signify that the present economic order is regarded as socialistic. What is the meaning of the word—transition? Does it mean, when applied to economics, that in the present system there are elements "partly capitalism and partly socialism"? Everybody will recognize that this is so, but not everybody who recognizes this thinks of the numerous kinds of elements of the various socio-economic strata we have in Russia. And this is the very crux of the question.

Let us enumerate these elements:

1. Patriarchal, i. e. to a large degree primitive peasant production.

2. Small Commodity production. (This includes the majority of peasants who sell corn).

3. Private Capitalism.
4. State Capitalism.
5. Socialism.

Russia is so large and so varied that all these varying types of socio-economic strata are interlaid in it. The peculiarity of the position lies precisely in this.

The question is which is the predominating element. It is clear that in a petty peasant environment nothing else but petty bourgeois ideas can prevail. The majority, and the vast majority at that, of the peasants are small-commodity producers. Our outer shell of State Capitalism (corn monopoly, control of manufactures, merchants and bourgeois cooperative societies) is broken, first in one place and then in another, by *speculators*, and the chief article of speculation is *corn*.

The main struggle develops precisely in this sphere. Between whom is this struggle conducted? Is it between the fourth and the fifth elements, in the order in which I have enumerated them above? Certainly not. It is not a struggle between State Capitalism and Socialism, but a struggle between the petty bourgeoisie, plus private capitalism, fighting against State Capitalism and Socialism. The petty bourgeoisie resists every form of State interference and control, no matter whether it is State Capitalism or State Socialism. This is an absolutely indisputable fact, and the failure to understand it lies at the root of quite a number of economic errors.

Those who do not see this, reveal by their blindness their servitude to the petty bourgeois prejudices.

State Capitalism is incomparably higher *economically* than our present economic system. That is one point. And secondly, there is nothing in it that is terrible for the Soviet Government, for the Soviet State is a State which guarantees power to the workers and the poor.

State Capitalism in Germany

In order to make this question clear I will first of all quote a concrete example of State Capitalism. Everybody will know this example: Germany. Here we have "the last word" in modern, large, capitalist technique and systematic organization subordinated to *junker-bourgeois imperialism*. In place of the military, junker, bourgeois imperialist State put another State, but a State of another social type, a State with a different class content, a Soviet, i. e. a Proletarian State, and you will get the sum of conditions which gives Socialism.

Socialism is impossible without large capitalist technique constructed according to the last word of science, without systematic State organization, subjecting millions of people to the strict observance of a uniform standard of production and distribution of products. We Marxists have always said this, and it is hardly worth wasting even two seconds in arguing this point with people who do

not understand it, like the anarchists, and the greater part of the Social Revolutionaries.

Besides this, Socialism is impossible without the domination of the Proletariat in the State. This is also a pure *abc* matter. History (from whom nobody except first-class menshevik idiots expected that it would smoothly, peacefully, simply and easily produce "complete socialism") has proceeded in such a peculiar fashion that in 1918 it gave birth to two separate halves of socialism, like two chickens born within the same shell of international imperialism. Germany and Russia in 1918 embodied in themselves, on the one hand the most obviously materially realized economic, industrial and social conditions, and on the other hand the political conditions for socialism.

A victorious proletarian revolution in Germany would immediately, and with tremendous ease smash the whole shell of imperialism (unfortunately constructed of the finest steel and therefore unbreakable by any kind of "chicken"), and would for certain bring about a victory of world socialism, without, or with very little, difficulty, granting of course, that "difficult" is understood not in a narrow sense, but from a universal-historical point of view.

The German Revolution

If the revolution in Germany is delayed our task becomes clear, to learn State Capitalism from the Germans, and to exert all our efforts to acquire it. We must not spare any dictatorial methods in hastening the Westernization of barbarous Russia, and stick at no barbarous measures to combat barbarism.

At the present moment in Russia, it is precisely petty bourgeois capitalism that predominates, from which a *single road, through the same intervening stations, called national accounting and control of production and distribution*, leads both to State Capitalism and to Socialism. Those who do not understand this commit an unpardonable error and either do not see facts, cannot look them in the face, or limit themselves to the abstract contradictions between "capitalism and socialism" and do not enter into the concrete forms and stages of the period through which we are now passing.

It is precisely because it is impossible to advance from the present economic position of Russia without passing through *what is common* to both State Capitalism and Socialism—national accounting and control, that to frighten others and oneself by talking about "evolving towards State capitalism" is absolute theoretical stupidity. That means to allow one's mind to stray from the actual path of evolution. In practice this is equal to *dragging us back* to small private capitalism.

In order to convince the reader that my "high" valuation of State Capitalism is not made here for the first time, but was made by me previous to the Bolsheviks' taking power, I will quote the following from my pamphlet "A Threatening Catastrophe and How to Combat It"—which was written in September 1917:

"In place of a junker capitalist government, try and put a revolutionary democratic government, i. e., a government that will in a revolutionary manner destroy all privileges and not fear to employ revolutionary methods in order to realize the most complete democracy. You will then see that State monopolist capitalism, under a really revolutionary government, will inevitably mean a step towards socialism.

... "For Socialism is nothing else than an immediate step forward from State Capitalist monopoly.

... "State Monopolist Capitalism is the most complete material preparation for Socialism, it is the "porch" to it; it is one of the steps in the ladder of history between which and the step called Socialism there is no intervention step" (pp. 27-38).

The reader will observe that this was written in the period of Kerensky, that I speak here *not* of the dictatorship of the proletariat, *not* of a Socialist State, but of "revolutionary democracy." Surely it is clear therefore, that *the higher* we raise ourselves on this political step, *the nearer* do we approach to a Soviet Socialist State and to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and *the less* imperative is it for us to fear "State Socialism"? Surely it is clear that in the *material*, economic, industrial sense, we have not yet reached the "porch" of Socialism, and there is no other way of entering socialism except through this as yet unreachd "porch."

Agricultural Tax and Free Trade

In the above quoted arguments of 1918, there are a number of errors in connection with periods. Periods have proved to be much longer than was then assumed. This is not to be wondered at, but the basic elements of our economic life have remained as they were then. The peasant "poor" (proletarians and semi-proletarians) in large numbers have become converted into middle-class peasants. Out of this the small private ownership and petty bourgeois movements have increased, meanwhile the civil war of 1919-1920 extremely intensified the ruin of the country, and retarded the reestablishment of its productive forces. To this must be added the bad harvest of 1920, the lack of fodder, the death rate among cattle, which still further retarded the reestablishment of transport and industry in that the transport of our chief kind of fuel, wood, was carried on by the peasants' horses. As a result, conditions in the spring of 1921 were such that it was absolutely essential to adopt the most determined exceptional measures for the improvement of the conditions of the peasantry and raising their productivity.

Why improve the conditions of the peasantry and not those of the workers?

Because for the improvement of the position of the workers it is necessary to have bread and fuel. The "holdup" which exists at the present moment in national industry in the largest measure is due to this, and there is no other means of increasing productivity, of increasing the stocks of corn and

fuel except by improving the position of the peasantry and increasing its productivity. It is necessary to commence with the peasantry. He who does not understand this, he who is inclined to regard this as showing preference to the peasantry, and a "departure", or something similar to a departure, from the dictatorship of the proletariat, has simply failed to study the subject, and simply gives himself up to phrasemongering.

Thus, the first thing that is necessary is immediate and serious measures for raising the productive power of the peasantry. This is impossible, without seriously altering our food policy; and the substitution of the food requisitions by an agricultural tax connected with at least Free local Trade after the tax has been paid, is such an alteration.

What is the essence of the substitution of an agricultural tax for requisitions?

The Agricultural Tax is a form of transition from the peculiar "military communism" made necessary by extreme necessity, ruin and war, for the purpose of a proper socialistic exchange of products. Military Communism in its turn, is one of the forms of the transition from socialism with peculiarities created by the predominance of a small peasantry in the population, to Communism. The peculiarity of "military Communism" lay in that we actually took from the peasantry its surplus of produce and sometimes a part of that which was absolutely necessary for itself, for the purpose of maintaining the army and the workers. Mostly we took the produce on credit, for paper money. There was no other way by which we could defeat the landlord and capitalist in a ruined small-peasant country. The fact that we came out victorious (in spite of the support given to our exploiters by the most powerful states in the world) proves something more than the wonderful heroism which the workers and peasants are able to reveal for the sake of their emancipation. It proves also what lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionists, the Kautsky and Co. were, when they *blamed* us for this "military Communism". This indeed should be placed to our credit.

"Military Communism"

It is not less necessary however to know the real extent of the service which we rendered by establishing "military communism." Military Communism" was made necessary by the war and the state of ruin. It did not and could not meet the problems of proletarian policy. It was a temporary measure. The correct policy of the proletariat carrying out its dictatorship in a small-peasant-country is to exchange for corn the products of industry necessary to the peasantry. Only such a policy can satisfy the requirements of the proletariat, only such a policy can strengthen the foundation of communism and lead to its complete victory.

The Agricultural Tax is a transition to this policy. We are still in that state of ruin, still

crushed by the burden of war (which raged yesterday and which, owing to the greed and anger of the capitalist may break out again to-morrow) and we cannot give to the peasant sufficient products of industry in exchange for *all* the corn we need. Knowing this, we introduce the Agricultural Tax, that is, we take the minimum quantity of corn necessary for the arming of the workers, in the form of a tax, and the remainder we will exchange for the products of industry.

In this connection we must also bear in mind that our poverty and ruin is such that we cannot *immediately* establish large State Socialist Factory Production. For this purpose it is necessary to have large stocks of corn and fuel in the great industrial centres, and to replace the worn-out machinery with new machinery. Experience has convinced us that this cannot be done all at once, and we know that after the destruction caused by the imperialist war, even the richest and most advanced countries can solve this problem only during the course of a rather long period of time. This means that it is necessary to a certain extent to assist the reestablishment of *small industry*, which does not require machinery, which does not require large government stocks of raw material, fuel and food, and which can immediately give certain assistance to agriculture and raise its productivity.

What will come of all this? Fundamentally, we get a certain amount (if only local) of Free Trade, a revival of the petty bourgeoisie and capitalism. This is undoubted, and to close one's eyes to it would be ridiculous.

We are asked—*Is this necessary; can this be justified; is it not dangerous?*

These questions are asked by many, and in most cases they only reveal the naiveté (expressing oneself politely) of those who ask them.

Refer to the manner in which in May 1918, I defined the economic elements (component parts) of the various socio-economic strata. It is impossible to dispute the existence of these five rungs, or component parts of the five strata, from the patriarchal to the semi-primitive. It is most evident that in a small-peasant country the small-peasant strata, that is, the partly patriarchal and partly petty-bourgeois, will predominate. The development of small industry, since we have exchange, means the development of petty bourgeois, capitalist industry. This is an indisputable truth, an elementary truth of political economy, confirmed by the everyday experience and observation of even the ordinary man in the street.

What policy can the Socialist proletariat pursue in the face of such economic circumstances? The most desirable and most "correct" policy would be to give the small peasant *all* the industrial products of the large socialist factories which the peasant requires, in exchange for his corn and raw materials. This is what we have begun to do, but we are far from being able to give all the necessary products, and we shall not be able to do this for a long time, at least not until we have finished the work of electrifying the country.

What then is left for us to do? We can either completely prohibit and prevent the development of private non-State exchange, i. e., commerce, i. e., capitalism, which is inevitable with the existence of millions of small producers. Such a policy would be stupid and suicidal for the Party which attempted to carry it out. It would be stupid because it is economically impossible. It would be suicidal because the party that attempted to carry it out would inevitably collapse. It is useless to conceal the sin into which some Communists "in thought, in word, and in deed" have fallen with reference to this policy. We will attempt to rectify this error. It is essential that we rectify this error, or it will go hard with us.

Or (and this is the only *possible* and *sensible* policy) we may refrain from prohibiting and preventing the development of capitalism and strive to direct it in the path of *State Capitalism*. This is economically possible, for State Capitalism exists in one or another form and to one or another extent everywhere where there are elements of Free Trade and Capitalism in general.

The Shaping of Capitalist Evolution

Is it possible to combine and to have side by side a Soviet State, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and State Capitalism?

The whole question, theoretically and practically, lies in finding the correct means of properly guiding the inevitable (to a certain extent and for a certain time) development of capitalism along the path of State Capitalism, and what conditions to establish and how to secure in the near future the conversion of State Capitalism into Socialism.

In order to approach a solution of this question, it is necessary to have as clear an idea as possible as to what State Capitalism will represent in practice within our Soviet system, within the framework of our Soviet State.

One of the simplest cases or examples of how the Soviet Government guides the development of Capitalism along the path of State Capitalism, of how it "plants" State Capitalism, is concessions. Everybody now agrees that concessions are necessary, but not everybody fully appreciates the significance of concessions. What are concessions in a Soviet system from the point of view of socio-economic strata and their interrelations? They are a treaty, a block and alliance of the Soviet, i. e. the Proletarian, State with State Capitalism, against small private ownership (patriarchal and petty bourgeois). A concessionaire is a capitalist. He conducts capitalist business for the sake of profits. He agrees to make a treaty with a Proletarian Government in order to receive extra profits, or for the sake of securing such raw materials as he otherwise would not be able, or find it very difficult, to secure. The Soviet Government secures the advantage in the form of the development of productive forces, and an increase in the quantity of products immediately or within a short period. We have, say, hundreds of enterprises, mines, forests, etc.; we cannot develop them all, we have not en-

ough machinery, food, or transport. For the same reasons we will badly develop the remaining sections. As a consequence of the bad or insufficient development of large undertakings we get the strengthening of this small private ownership movement with all its consequences: the deterioration of suburban (and later the whole of) agriculture, frittering away of its productive forces, decline of confidence in the Soviet Government, speculation, and mass and petty (the most dangerous) speculation. In "planting" State Capitalism in the form of concessions, the Soviet Government strengthens large production against small production, the advanced against the backward, machine production against hand production, it increases the quantity of products of large industry in its hands and strengthens the State regulation of economic relations as a counter-balance to the petty bourgeois anarchic relations. The moderate and cautious introduction of a policy of concessions (to a certain and not very great extent) will rapidly improve the state of industry and the position of the workers and peasants, of course, at the price of a certain sacrifice, the surrender to the capitalists of tens of millions of poods of most valuable products. The definition of the extent and the conditions under which concessions are an advantage to us and not dangerous for us, depends upon the relation of forces, is determined by struggle, for concessions are also a form of struggle, a continuation of the class struggle in another form, and under no circumstances a substitution of the class war by class peace. Practice will show what the methods of this struggle are to be. State Capitalism in the form of concessions, in comparison with other forms of State Capitalism within a Soviet system, is the most simple, the clearest, and the most clear-cut. We have here a direct formal written treaty with the most cultured, most advanced West European countries. We know exactly our losses and our gains, our rights and obligations. We know exactly the date on which we give the concessions and know the conditions of buying out on the expiration of a concession, if there is such a buying out clause in the treaty. We pay a certain "tribute" to world capitalism, we as it were "buy out" certain relations and receive immediately a definite measure of consolidation of the position of the Soviet Government, and an improvement in the conditions of our industry. The difficulty in connection with concessions is to think out and weigh up things in concluding a concessions treaty and later to watch the carrying out of the treaty. No doubt there are many difficulties, and in all probability mistakes will at first be made, but difficulties are the smallest things in comparison with the other tasks of the social revolution and particularly in comparison with other forms of development, the introduction, the planting of State Capitalism.

The most important task of all party and Soviet workers in connection with the introduction of the agricultural tax is to adopt the principle, the basis

of "concessions," that is, a policy similar to the concession or State capitalist policy, to the remaining forms of capitalism—local Free Trade.

Take the cooperative societies. It was not for nothing that the decree on the agricultural tax immediately led to a revision of the laws on cooperatives and a certain extension of their "freedom" and their rights. Cooperation is also a form of State Capitalism, but less simple and clear cut, more complicated and therefore creating many practical difficulties for our government. The cooperation of small commodity producers (it is of these and of workers' cooperatives as the predominant and typical form in a small peasant country that we speak) will inevitably generate petty bourgeois capitalist relations, facilitate their development, and bring the greatest advantage to the capitalist. Things cannot be otherwise in the face of the predominance of small producers, and the possibility as well as the necessity for exchange. The freedom and right of cooperation under the present conditions in Russia means the freedom and rights of capitalism. To close one's eyes to this obvious truth will be stupid or criminal.

Cooperative Capitalism

But "cooperative" capitalism in distinction from private capitalism under a Soviet Government is another aspect of State Capitalism, and in that capacity it is useful and advantageous for us, of course, to a certain extent. In so far as the agricultural tax signifies the freedom to sell the remainder of produce (not taken as tax) it is necessary to exert all our efforts to direct this development of capitalism—for freedom of trade is the development of capitalism,—along the path of cooperative capitalism. Cooperative capitalism is like State Capitalism in that it renders easy a control, observation, and the maintenance of treaty relations between the State (the Soviet in this instance) and the capitalists. Cooperation as a form of trade is more advantageous and useful than private trade, not only for the reasons already indicated, but also because it facilitates the organization of millions of the population. This in its turn is a tremendous gain from the point of view of a further transition from State Capitalism to Socialism.

Let us compare concessions with cooperation as a form of State Capitalism. Concessions are based on large machine industry, whereas cooperation is based on small and partly even patriarchal industry; a concession is granted to a single capitalist or a single firm, a syndicate, a cartel or a trust. A cooperative society embraces many thousands, even millions, of small masters. A concession permits of and even presupposes a definite treaty for a definite term, whereas a cooperative society does not permit of definite agreements or definite terms. It is easier to repeal a law on cooperative societies than to break a concession agreement; for the breaking of a concession agreement immediately means the break-off of economic relations, alliance or economic "cohabitation" with capitalism, whereas the repeal of a law on cooperation or the repeal

of any law for that matter not only does not break off the actual "cohabitation" of the Soviet Government with the small capitalists but cannot affect economic relations in general. It is easy to "keep an eye on" the concessionaire, but it is difficult to do so on the cooperator. The transition from concessions to socialism is the transition from one form of large production to another. The transition from the cooperation of small masters to socialism is a transition from small production to large production, i. e. to a more complicated form of production. The latter has this compensating feature, however, that in the event of a successful transition, it is capable of tearing out a far deeper, and more vital, root of the old pre-socialist and even pre-capitalist relations, of that which puts up the most stubborn resistance to all kinds of "innovations". The policy of concessions in the event of success will give us a few exemplary—in comparison with our own—large undertakings, standing on a level with modern advanced capitalism; in a few decades these undertakings will come entirely into our possession, the policy of cooperation in the event of success will raise small industry and facilitate, in an indefinite period, its transition to large production on the basis of voluntary combination.

The Transition to Socialism

Let us take a third form of State Capitalism. The State invites the capitalist as a merchant and pays him a definite commission for selling State products and for buying the products of small industry. There is a fourth form: the State leases a factory or an industry or a section of forest or land to a capitalist; in this case, the lease agreement is more like a concession agreement. The question is whether we can recognize these types of capitalism? In order to answer the question we must remember the competent parts of all, without exception, of those various strata of society which I enumerated in my article of May 5, 1918. "We" the vanguard, the advanced detachment of the proletariat, are passing directly to socialism, but the forward detachments are only a small section of the proletariat, which in its turn, is only a small section of the whole mass of the population. In order that "we" may successfully solve the problem of our direct transition to socialism, we must understand what *indirect* paths and methods we must adopt for the transition from *pre-capitalist* relations to socialism. This is the crux of the question.

Is it possible to realize a direct transition from this state of pre-capitalist relations prevailing in Russia to socialism? Yes, it is possible to a certain degree, but only on one condition, which we know thanks to the completion of a tremendous scientific labor. That condition is: electrification. But we know very well that this "one" condition demands at least tens of years of work, and we can only reduce this period if there has been a victory of the proletarian revolution in such countries as England, Germany, and America.

For the years immediately ahead of us, we shall have to think of indirect links capable of facilitating the transition from patriarchy and small industry to socialism. "We" are still too fond of saying "capitalism is an evil, socialism is a blessing", but such an argument is incorrect because it leaves out of consideration all the existing social economic strata, and takes in only two of them.

Capitalism is an evil in comparison with socialism, but capitalism is a blessing in comparison with mediaevalism, with small industry, with fettered small producers thrown to the mercy of bureaucracy. To the extent that we are as yet unable to realize the direct transition from small production to socialism, to that extent is capitalism to a certain extent inevitable as an elemental product of small production and exchange, and to that extent must we make use of capitalism (particularly in directing it along the path of State Capitalism) as an indirect link between small production and socialism, as a means, a path, a method of raising the productive forces of the country.

One must be able fearlessly to recognize an evil in order the more firmly to combat it. The inevitability of the postponement of the establishment of large industry, and the impossibility of "prohibiting" the exchange of the products of industry and agriculture having revealed themselves, we must depend upon what is more accessible to us, the establishment of small industry. We must set to work from this side and prop up this part of our structure, almost ruined by the war and the blockade. We must adopt all measures, at all costs, to develop exchange, and not fear capitalism, for the limits for capitalism have been rendered sufficiently narrow, and sufficiently "moderate," by the expropriation of the landlords and the bourgeoisie economically, and the existence of a Labor Peasant Government. This is the fundamental idea of the Agricultural Tax, this is its economic significance.

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Technical Education in Soviet Russia

By DR. R. ARKADIN

Among the varied problems of the reconstruction and development of the economic life of Russia, disorganized by the consequences of the war, the question of replacing skilled labor, of increasing the army of engineers, technicians, and managers of industrial enterprises, which in Russia is so small, is recognized to be one of the most important problems. The matter of the state organization of technical education of all kinds came into the foreground in Soviet Russia at a moment when, after the liquidation of a number of military fronts, the prospects of peaceful labor in the field of economic reconstruction were opened, in other words, at about the beginning of 1920. While technical education had up to that time been considered chiefly as a portion of the general system of popular education, it now received also the importance of being considered as a specific portion of the national economic system.

In this treatment of the principles underlying the question of technical education, considering it is a question of the economic life, in the securing of a close contact between technical education and the needs of industry and agriculture, we must also seek the chief difference between the new system of technical education in Russia and the old cultural policy, detached from the economic life of the country.

Technical schools of all kinds had to furnish skilled labor for the industries, the technical knowledge, and an able supervising staff, and therefore had to be concerned chiefly with the needs of those who ran the industries, the agriculture, and the transportation of the country. In last year's plan of work of the Commissariat for Education, as far as technical instruction was concerned, attention was called to the fact that this education is as a matter of fact a portion of the general economic plan of the country, since it secures a restoration of skilled labor power; for this purpose the economic organs imparted precise data on their needs of skilled labor, distributed as to branches of production, as to geographical regions, as to nature of skill required, so that without limiting themselves to a mere agreement with the general plan of the Supreme Council of National Economy, the organs of technical education must always be in immediate contact with the productive organs, acting as the precise expression of their needs, and drawing them into the work of education. The organization of technical education in Soviet Russia on a new basis began with the formation of a special organ within the Commissariat for Education, namely, the Main Committee for technical education, in the conduct of which not only the educational but also the supreme economic organs were engaged: namely, the Supreme Council of National Economy, the Commissariat for Agriculture, as well as the trade unions, which

have played a very prominent part in the organization of technical education.

The Main Committee, which succeeded in employing the most prominent representatives of the scientific and pedagogical worlds as collaborators, considered as its tasks the following: 1) the organization of preparatory instruction for a great number of skilled workers, in the form of short time special courses; 2) the creation of a great number of technical schools for the training of specialists, technologists, instructors, masters, and finally, the reform of the higher technical schools.

Educational requirements

The minimum in Russia of general education required as a prerequisite for technical studies was considered to be the knowledge acquired in the first stage of the labor school. The simplest form of technical school is the course for technical subjects, the length of which, according to the subject and the degree of skill imparted (foremen, machine builders, mechanics, masters) is from four months to one year. In addition to these courses, there are also special schools and courses in factories and works for young people and grown ups, who are organized for the systematic acquisition of a specific trade, and who make use of the factory plant for practical training; this type of the elementary school is being organized. The third form of school, which imparts as much knowledge as is required by a skilled laborer, is that of the technical schools for young people, with a course lasting from four to five years, in which the student acquires in the first two years the subjects taught in the first two years of the labor school (but with a corresponding modification). The last two or three years are devoted to the study and to a perfecting of the application of the chosen technical specialty. The schools in this way train machinists, masters, managers of little shops or sections of shops, specialists on certain machines, etc. The training of managers of certain branches of production is taken care of by the Technical Institute. To the Technical Institute, whose course of instruction lasts four years, such persons are admitted as have acquired the subjects taught in the first two years of the labor school of the second class; in the first school year of the Technical Institute this general instruction is expanded, while the last three years are filled with special studies.

The evening technical school is provided for persons who are engaged in industry. This technical school has four sections, the first of which (lasting one year) presupposes such knowledge as is equivalent to the first stage of the labor school, and gives to the workers an elementary knowledge of technology; the second section (also a year

in length) trains skilled workers, foremen, machinists, etc. The third section (to last about two years) presupposes a knowledge equivalent to that imparted in the second section and prepares technologists. The fourth section finally (two years) receives persons whose knowledge is equal to that attained in the third section, and is intended for the training of engineers with special qualifications.

The technical high school is open to all persons who have successfully completed the technical school or the second grade of the labor school; the period of instruction in the technical high school is three years.

The graduates of a technical school may supplement their instruction by taking the higher technical courses (about one year) in the higher technical school, and acquire a special training equivalent to that of the graduates of the higher technical schools. The degree of engineer with university diploma is granted to the graduates of a higher technical school after they have had a certain amount of practice.

Finally, there are special investigating institutions for the purpose of training skilled scientific engineers, connected with the higher technical schools, with courses of instruction of from two to four years.

Anniversary of Trade with Sweden

(The following recent message from the Stockholm "Rosta" Office shows how friendly is the feeling between the peoples of Soviet Russia and Sweden, and how strongly both peoples feel the need of commercial exchanges between the two countries.)

THE 19th of May is the anniversary of the signing of the Russian-Swedish trade agreement and of the actual resumption of trade relations between Soviet Russia and Western Europe, inasmuch as Sweden was the first foreign country to conclude an official trade agreement with Soviet Russia. The first year following the signing of this agreement was marked with lively trade relations between Sweden and Soviet Russia, the latter having placed in Sweden large orders for agricultural machinery, locomobiles, railroad material, and so on. In addition to this, 1000 locomotives are being built in Sweden for Russia. In the course of the past year, liners bound for Reval weekly, and of late even semi-weekly, export quantities of wares, very large indeed for so small a country as Sweden. Trade relations with Russia would have undoubtedly reached much larger proportions, were it not for the interference of the Swedish government, which for a very long time placed all sorts of obstacles in the way of the normal activities of the Russian Trade Delegation. In any event, the enormous Russian market is the chief salvation of the Swedish industries at this time of acute economic crisis which the entire capitalist world is now going through and which invariably carries with it unemployment on an alarming scale.

On the 19th of May, a day so momentous for both countries, the Trade Delegation of the R. S. F. S. R., through its representative, Mr. P. M. Kerzhentsev, gave a splendid banquet in Hasselbacken, one of the best suburban restaurants. This banquet, without exaggeration, proved an event in the life of Stockholm. It was undoubtedly one of the largest banquets ever given in this city. It drew about 300 people of all social strata and of all shades of political opinion, beginning with the Communists and ending with the most conservative Rights. This fact was very brilliantly pointed out by the leader of the Communist Party of Sweden, Z. Höglund, who stated in his speech that this unusual banquet embraced a most heterogeneous

assembly, including on the one hand directors of the largest industrial enterprises, and on the other hand, various Russian Soviet institutions at Stockholm. And truly, at the Hasselbacken banquet table there were gathered not only a most variegated but an exceedingly brilliant crowd, the cream of Stockholm's society, the flower of Swedish industry, science, literature, and art. Here, at long tables decorated exclusively with red flowers, in a luxurious hall, one of its walls graced with the emblem of the R. S. F. S. R., beautifully painted on glass, among those present were the Estonian Ambassador to Sweden, Mr. Virgo, the most important representatives of Swedish trade and industry, such as the director of the "Svenska Handelsbanken", the former advisor to the Embassy. Von Heidenstam, directors of other large foreign banks, the director of the General Swedish Export Co., Nylander, the directors of the world famous firms "Baltic", "Separator", the "L. M. Erikson Telephone Works", and many other members of the "Export Concern" and the Swedish "Consortium", specifically formed for the purpose of trading with Russia; also a number of prominent professors — the celebrated Slavist—Lundell, the surgeon Ockekrman, the political economist Cassel, Fagerholm—the astronomer, Prof. Holmgren and others; artists were represented by Koge, Starkenberg, and others, writers—by T. Nerman, Bolander, Miss Kleen; then many deputies of both houses of the Swedish parliament—the mayor (burgomaster) of Stockholm, Lindhagen, Frederick Ström, F. Munson and others; members of the municipal administration of Stockholm, famous actors of the theatres of Stockholm, leaders of the right faction of the Social-Democratic party, of the trade unions, of the Swedish Communists—Z. Höglund, K. Kilbom, Kata Dalström, Hinke Bergegren and others, the Secretary of the Embassy, Count Bonde, and numerous other celebrities of Sweden. In spite of this "motley" crowd, the best of spirits pervaded the entire banquet.

The very composition of the guests, as well as the many speeches, eloquently bear witness to the fact that the most varied circles of Sweden have become conscious of the truth that the welfare of Sweden requires the closest economic and spiritual rapprochement with her great neighbor to the East. The opening speech was delivered by the Representative of the R. S. F. S. R., Mr. P. M. Kerzhentsev, in English. Then the gathering was addressed by Comrade Heller, who spoke in German on behalf of the Russian Trade Delegation. He pointed out the significance to both parties concerned, of economic as well as cultural relations. We will state briefly the contents of his interesting and significant speech.

Comrade Heller's Speech

"It is a year ago today," he said, "that Sweden entered with us into definite trade relations. At that time an armed fight was still raging on the Polish front, the Entente powers were blockading us, and of the border states only Esthonia had made peace with us. It seemed that European industries were going through a period of splendid development. Sweden was already then far-sighted enough to appreciate the advantages of trade relations with Russia. And she made no mistake about it. If under the conditions of the present economic depression, which is felt by the entire capitalist world, the economic position of Sweden is better than that of her Scandinavian neighbors, this is in no small measure due to her trade relations with Soviet Russia.

"The orders for agricultural machinery, locomobiles, railroad material, electro-technical equipment, which have already been filled, together with orders for locomotives, which have been distributed over a number of years, the biggest financial operations on the Russian market—all this kept up the industries of Sweden on a certain level and lessened unemployment.

"This economic co-operation can and should be widened and deepened. Russia is a vast agrarian land. Her enormous woods are waiting to be developed. Electrification is the motto and program of our economic development. And it is just the manufacture of agricultural machinery, the wood-working industry, and electro-technical work, that constitute the strongest points of the highly developed industries of Sweden.

"Russia is a country of unlimited possibilities, a country of immeasurable stores of raw material, but in order to utilize those boundless possibilities a vast development of credit and other measures is required, including a direct steamship communication between Russian and Swedish ports.

"It is with great satisfaction that we see in our midst representatives of the trade unions. We differ on many things, we look differently at many problems, but we are representatives of a workers' country, and the men at the lathes will always be our allies; they are of that class that is building a new life.

"We are glad to greet the representatives of science and art.

"The government of the workers and peasants values nothing so highly as the power of science, art and technical progress. No government has made as great an effort to raise the cultural level of the vast masses of toilers, as has Soviet Russia in spite of the fact that she was laboring under unheard of difficulties. But even formerly there was a cultural union between Russia and Sweden. Strindberg, Selma Lagerlöf, Geyerstam, and other Swedish writers, were highly popular in Russia, while Russian literature, Russian painting, Russian music, the Russian theatre and the Russian ballet enjoyed great and fully merited renown in Sweden. Sparring no effort to deepen and strengthen these connections, Soviet Russia, having done away with the war on several fronts, having repelled all attacks, longs for nothing so much as for peace, and a cultural life of honest endeavor."

Comrade Heller concluded his speech with three cheers for the further development of Russo-Swedish relations.

The director of the General Swedish Export Society, Nylander, addressed the assembly in the name of the Swedish industrial circles. He drew a picture of the economic conditions in Sweden and Russia and pointed out the common ground between the two. He took advantage of the occasion to express his gratitude to Soviet Russia and his feeling of satisfaction over the Russo-Swedish trade treaty concluded a year ago. In the name of the above mentioned interests he expressed the hope that those of the hindrances which still remain in the way of trade with Russia will gradually disappear. In conclusion, having thanked the Russian Trade Delegation for its cooperation during the past year, he gave a toast to the development of trade relations between the two countries.

Swedish Professor Speaks in Russian

A strong impression was made by the speech of the old professor of Slavic languages, Mr. Lundell, who spoke in the native tongue of the Soviet Delegation. Having been engaged for forty years in research in the domain of the Russian language and literature, he was full of hope for a bright future of the Russian people, who are now building a new social system that may in time replace the Western-European culture which has outlived itself. The speaker stated that he did not consider himself an admirer of that culture that had led to the world war. His address, which was marked throughout with genuine feeling, was concluded by Prof. Lundell with a toast in honor of the Russian people, whom he truly loves.

The representative of Esthonia in Sweden, Mr. Virgo, in a speech on the significance of relations with Soviet Russia, emphasized that Russia, with her immense natural resources, is needed by Sweden as well as by all other civilized countries. Every one is in duty bound not only to sympathize with the cause of closer friendly relations between these two countries, but to aid it in every way possible.

A warm tribute to the Russian women was contained in the speech by the veteran leader of revolutionary socialism in Sweden, Hinke Bergegren, who spoke of the tremendous part played by the women of Russia in the Russian revolutionary movement.

In the name of the guests, the mayor of Stockholm, Mr. Lindhagen, thanked the Russian hosts in a speech full of wit.

Of the numerous speeches delivered at the banquet we will also mention the address of the representative of the Russian Union of Metal Workers, Comrade Stünkel, a member of the section of engineers of the above union.

The Representative of Soviet Russia, P. M. Kerzhentsev, concluded by expressing his appreciation to the guests in the name of the Russian Delegation. He emphasized that Soviet Russia was the most peaceful country in the world. Her chief task is a peaceful economic revival. For peace Russia is ready to pay a high price. Only the enemies of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic can spread absurd tales of her alleged aggressive plans, and about her preparations for attacking neighboring countries. In conclusion he thanked heartily all those who had worked and aided in the work of cultivating friendly relations between the two countries, whether they were present at the banquet or absent.

The celebration, which turned out a great success in every respect, ended with an improvised concert, with the participation of the famous Stockholm opera singers who happened to be among the guests, and of the Russian violinist Sverdlov.

REPATRIATION OF PRISONERS

Moscow, April 25.—A report from the Russian Red Cross Mission in Czecho-Slovakia puts the number of Russian military and civil prisoners in that country, subject to repatriation, at about 10,000, of whom six echelons have already been repatriated via Germany since the commencement of repatriation last October. The greater number of the prisoners live by their own small earnings, working as laborers, and only ten to twelve per cent are maintained at the expense of the Czecho-Slovak Government in the Jusefov camp. The mission has also established contact with the Russian prisoners in Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia and Hungary, both for the purpose of ascertaining their condition and to afford them means to come to Czecho-Slovakia for final repatriation. The attitude of the prisoners towards Soviet Russia is exhibited by such facts as the publication by the prisoners, long before the arrival of the Mission, of their own *Pravda*, and the refusal of the entire Jusefov camp to accept any aid from the White-Guardist Red Cross. Many officers of former White Guard armies have applied to the Mission for permission to return to Russia. Similar petitions have been received from Wrangel refugees at Constantinople.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

FORGED DOCUMENTS

Mr. Leonid Krassin, head of the Russian Trade Delegation in London, has issued the following statement:

Certain English newspapers have published during the course of the week a document purporting to consist of instructions issued to the Russian Trade Delegations abroad, and containing orders to carry on, under the cover of trade relations, active propaganda and revolutionary organization among the workers of the countries to which they are accredited.

The Russian Trade Delegation wishes to state categorically that this alleged document is a malicious forgery, obviously intended to create prejudice against the Russian Government and to hinder the re-establishment of trade relations.

No instructions of any kind have been issued by the Third International to the Soviet trade representatives, and no instructions of the character contained in this forged document have ever been issued by any one to Russian trade representatives.

The document is, indeed, in itself a palpable forgery, and the "instructions" which it contains are in themselves grotesque and ludicrous. It purports to be signed by N. Bukharin and Y. "Berezin", on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Third International. Berezin (whose name "Berezin" is obviously a careless mistake) is not a member of the Executive Committee of the Third International, and since the early Spring of last year, has been engaged, first, in the peace negotiations with Finland, and, since the establishment of peace, as Russian representative at Helsingfors. The third signature, "Pavlov-Veltman," is presumably intended for Pavlovich-Veltman. He is described as "Responsible Director of the Council of Action and Propaganda in the East." In point of fact, Pavlovich holds no official position whatsoever in the Soviet Government.

In the body of the document a certain "Pogoryelov" is mentioned as being in charge of the scheme outlined. No such person is known even by name to the members of the Russian Trade Delegation; and certainly no such person holds any official position under the Soviet Government.

It may also be noted that, whereas *The Daily Telegraph* publishes this document as being instructions to the Russian Trade Delegation in Constantinople, *The Times* publishes it as an instruction "to the Trade Delegations abroad," with the obvious implication that it was an instruction to the Trade Delegation in London.

One paragraph of the "instructions" lays down that the Russian trade delegates are to "spare no expense" in creating an impression; that they are "always to stay at the best hotels, give large dinner parties," and so on.

The actual mode of life of the delegates in London, which is well-known to many British officials and members of Parliament, is the best comment on this preposterous invention.

(Pavlovich-Veltman will discuss this subject in next month's SOVIET RUSSIA.)

Trade Agreement with Germany

FULL TEXT

[From "Pour la Russie," a non-Bolshevik weekly, appearing at Paris, we translate the text of the treaty signed on May 6, 1921 between representatives of the Governments of Soviet Russia and Germany. Recent reports, appearing in the "New York Times," June 29, and other papers, indicate that active trade relations are already in progress between Soviet Russia and Germany.]

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and the Government of Germany, moved by the desire to further the cause of peace between Russia and Germany, and to aid, by their mutual amity, the welfare of their two peoples, have concluded the following provisional agreement between them.

Article I.

The activities of the already existing delegations for the protection of prisoners of war are to be extended on both sides to enable them to be charged with the defense of the interests of all the nationals of the respective countries. To these delegations there are to be added commercial missions, in order to develop the economic relations between the two countries. Until the complete resumption of normal relations shall have been brought about, these delegations shall be designated, respectively, by the following names: "Representation of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in Germany," and "Representation of Germany in Russia". Their seats shall be at Berlin and Moscow.

The Representation of the R. S. F. S. R. in Germany shall be considered as the sole representative of the Russian state in Germany.

Article II.

The heads of the representations shall enjoy the rights and privileges of the heads of accredited missions. Until the conclusion of a special agreement, the rights and privileges of accredited missions are granted to seven members of each representation, insofar as they may not be subjects of the state in which the respective mission is stationed.

As for the assistants of the representations who are not subjects of the state in which the representative mission is stationed, the two governments undertake to adopt the necessary administrative measures:

1. In order that searches may not be undertaken in their premises before notice has been given to the central Foreign Office of the country in which the mission is stationed, even in cases where delay involves danger, and in the presence of a delegate of the said central Foreign Office and a delegate of the Representation;

2. In order that all cases of arrest may be immediately brought to the attention of the central Foreign Office in which the mission is stationed, which Foreign Office shall in turn advise the Head of the mission within 24 hours after the arrest;

3. In order that the above-mentioned persons, as well as the members of their families, may be freed from all kinds of obligatory public work and duty, as well as all kinds of military service and obligation.

Article III.

Each of the two governments shall take the necessary measures to enable the representation of the other government to obtain premises appropriate for its offices, as well as lodgings for the Head and the members of the mission. They shall further undertake to give the mission all aid necessary for the obtaining of material needed in the carrying out of its functions.

Article IV.

The German Representation in Russia has the right to import, without payment of taxes or other imposts, materials that may be necessary for the carrying out of its functions and the maintaining of its office, as well as products and articles of current consumption that are indispensable for the subsistence of its German personnel, to the amount of 40 kilograms per month for each person.

The authorization to import shall be furnished by the Russian mission in the country from which such objects are being sent, on the presentation of a list indicating

the contents of the packages, countersigned in Germany by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and in other countries by the German representatives in those countries.

Article V.

The Heads of the Representations are considered as accredited to the central Foreign Office of the country in which the respective administration resides. The representations shall enter into direct relations with this central Foreign Office, and, for commercial matters, with the other central administrations.

Article VI.

The Representations shall have the following consular duties:

1. Defense of the interests of their nationals on the basis of the norms provided by international law;
2. Issue of passports, identifications, and visas;
3. Receiving, certifying and witnessing of documents.

The two contracting parties engage to begin immediate conversations with the object of securing the signing of an agreement on the subject of the certification of documents relating to civil status and marriage.

Article VII.

Each Representation shall have the right to make use freely of the radio-telegraph stations and the regular postal services in its official relations with its Government and the Representations of its Government in foreign countries, either openly or in code, as well as to send couriers, who shall be provided for in a special agreement.

Article VIII.

Until the conclusion of a treaty that may definitely decide the question of the rights of citizens of the two states, the following provisions shall remain in force:

1. Russian prisoners and interned civilians now in Germany shall be governed by the provisions of the Agreement of April 19, 1920, the Supplementary Agreement of July 7, 1920, and the Supplementary Agreement of this date. In general, the provisions of international law, and of the German laws, shall be applied to Russian citizens now in Germany, both as to their persons and their property.

2. German citizens who may be, at the moment of the conclusion of the present Agreement, on the territory of the R. S. F. S. R., shall retain the rights arising from the Supplementary Agreement of this day's date, in accordance with their quality as former prisoners or interned civilians.

3. German citizens who may arrive in the territory of the other contracting party, the R. S. F. S. R., for business reasons and by virtue of the present Agreement, and who shall observe passport regulations, are granted free use, by the latter party, of all property that they may have brought with them, or acquired in Russia, in so far as the acquisition and use of such property may be in accordance with the special provision issued by the organs of the R. S. F. S. R. having jurisdiction in such matters. Such immunity shall be guaranteed by mandates specially issued by the R. S. F. S. R. unless the bearer should become the object of reclamations resulting from legal transactions passing between him and the R. S. F. S. R. after the conclusion of the present agreement.

Article IX.

The Russian Government shall permit persons formerly of German nationality, who may have lost such nationality, as well as their wives and children, to leave Russia on presentation of proofs that their departure has Germany for its destination.

Article X.

The Russian Government guarantees to German ships, and the German Government guarantees to Russian ships,

free access to their territorial waters and ports, in accordance with the general rules of international law. In case Russian ships, navigating for commercial purposes, shall obtain special advantages in the payment of ship charges, the Russian Government shall grant the same advantages to German ships.

In all cases a ship of either of the contracting parties may be seized by virtue of a legal action directed specifically at the ship in question, for example, for the collection of port charges, expenses of repairs, damages to be paid as a result of collision.

Article XI.

The two Governments shall immediately take all measures to make possible the reopening of postal, telegraph, and wireless communications, and shall safeguard these relations by means of special agreements.

Article XII.

The Russian Commercial Mission in Germany, being a national commercial institution for realizing transactions provided for by civil law, on German territory, shall be considered as a legal representative of the Russian Government. The latter shall recognize as binding upon it all the legal acts concluded either by the Head of the Representation, or by the Head of the Commercial Mission, or by any person empowered by either of these two representatives.

The German Representation in Russia, through its Commercial Mission, shall defend the economic interests of the German State and of German citizens.

Article XIII.

The Russian Government engages to conclude with German nationals, firms, and legal persons, transactions of a legal nature on the territory of Russia or on that of the states federated with Russia, in a common plan of export and import, drawn up by the State, exclusively with a provision for arbitration of disputes.

As for legal transactions concluded in Germany, as well as their economic consequences, the Russian Government shall recognize the German laws; in questions of private obligations, it shall recognize German jurisdiction as well as German procedure in the application of the verdict, but only in so far as this may concern transactions with German subjects, firms, and juristic persons, concluded after the signing of the present convention. The Russian Government retains the right to introduce into legal instruments made in Germany provisions for arbitration of disputes.

In general, the holdings of the Russian Government shall enjoy the protection commonly admitted by international law. In particular, and insofar as they do not fall under the first clause of the present article, they are not subject to German jurisdiction nor to the German laws governing the application of the verdict.

Article XIV.

The Representations of the two parties have the right to summon, for the requirements of their economic duties, competent persons that may be indispensable to them.

The request for authorization of the admission of such competent persons shall include detailed reasons, and shall be addressed by the Central Foreign Office to the Representation of the other country. Such requests shall be entitled to immediate examination.

Article XV.

The Representations of the two parties and the persons employed in these Representations shall rigorously limit their actions to the tasks provided for in the present Agreement; specifically, they shall abstain from all propaganda directed against the Government or the institutions of the country in which they are stationed.

Article XVI.

Until the conclusion of the future treaty of peace, the present Agreement shall serve as a base for the economic relations of the two parties; it shall be understood as an expression of mutual amity and as a consolidation of economic bonds.

Article XVII.

The present Agreement shall go into force from the date of its signature.

Each of the contracting parties shall have the right to renounce his Agreement, after having given due notice to the other party three months in advance.

If one of the two parties denounces this Agreement, and if the Agreement is not replaced by another, each of the two contracting parties shall have the right, after the expiration of the above-mentioned period, to appoint a commission of five members, for the liquidation of commercial transactions that may already have begun. The members of this commission shall be considered as agents with no diplomatic status, and shall conclude the liquidation within six months at the latest after the denouncing of the present treaty.

Signed (for Germany) BERENDT, MALZAN, HAUS.
(for the R. S. F. S. R.) SCHEINMANN.
Berlin, May 6, 1921.

Leonid Krassin's Stockholm Interview

(The Stockholm "Rosta" Office recently communicated the following interview with Mr. Krassin, which we translate from the Russian, on several interesting points since touched on by him in later interviews, but here expressed with greater clarity.)

ON May 22 L. B. Krassin arrived in Stockholm from Finland, on his way to London, and left for Berlin the next day. He had an opportunity to give a very interesting interview to the correspondent of "Rosta", which was printed in the Stockholm newspapers: a full report appeared in *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* (Communist), and *Dagens Tidning* (Non-partisan), and a partial report appeared in the liberal newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*.

L. B. Krassin made the following statement with reference to the rumors circulated in the Swedish press about "victorious" revolts in Siberia, Petrograd, etc.:

"I left Moscow May 16th, and of course I cannot be fully aware of the situation in Omsk and Kiakhta at the present moment. But neither when

I left Moscow, nor during my stay at Helsingfors, had any reports been received similar to those spread by Helsingfors telegrams, stating that 40,000 peasants had revolted and were going from Omsk to Tomsk. I have no doubt that all these Siberian revolts are inventions of idle white guard correspondents and reporters, who take advantage of Finland's hospitality. The latest rumors about a revolt in Petrograd are also without any foundation.

"It has long been known that the Soviet Government is on the verge of a downfall, and usually the time for this downfall is set for two or three weeks hence. This situation is now entering its fourth year, and so far no change can be foreseen, i. e., even in the future the correspondents of the bourgeois press and the Russian white new-

papers will invariably announce the approaching wreck of the Soviet regime; the Soviet Government, however, having survived many cabinets in capitalist countries, will remain, as heretofore, the most stable and lasting government.

"The latest changes in the Soviet policy were conditioned by the ending of the war and the necessity of greater adjustments to the needs and interests of the peasants; once again this proves the elasticity of the Soviet system and its ability to adjust itself instantly to the needs of the laboring masses. Not even the enemies of the Soviet regime can deny the fact that the recent measures fully meet the interests of the peasantry. They merely predict as a result of these measures the downfall of the soviets. As we live on, we shall see. We believe that the ability of the Government to consider in its policy the interests of the peasants and to try to meet them, tends to strengthen the entire system, insures a friendly cooperation of the peasantry with the leading proletariat, and solves many economic difficulties, which are natural for a country which emerged from war only three years after all the other countries.

No Disturbances in Russia

"You inquire of me what the real situation of the Soviet power is, what are its plans and immediate prospects. In order to reply briefly I shall say that when, upon my arrival in Moscow from London, in the latter part of April, I came to Lenn's office, one of his first words was the question whether rain was falling in the territory through which I had been passing. As a good peasant, Vladimir Ilyich observed the sky and informed me that he had just received a telephone call from Kharkov, informing him that rain was falling all over Ukraine, and that the prospects of a good harvest were improving. Similar news arrived later from northern and central Russia, and only in the east, in the Saratov section, was there an area of drought. The entire Soviet apparatus is now feverishly at work in attempting to adjust itself to the new arrangement of relations with the village. The recent conference of representatives of the cooperatives worked out a number of practical measures for forming a method of exchange with the village, gathering raw materials, the distribution of city products and commodities, etc. In spite of the exhaustion in the country, and considerable disorganization, especially in those junctions and provinces where there were peasant uprisings, organized by emissaries from abroad, the shortage will probably be considerably lower than last year, and even in the case of a medium harvest the supply of the army and the cities will be assured.

"The workers and peasants of Russia bravely combat poverty and disorganization, they build and perfect the apparatus of the government in the center as well as in the country at large, an apparatus, which, though far from being perfect, is yet one that has proved to be sufficiently powerful to repulse, with the aid of the Red army, all

those who have attempted to reestablish monarchy and again to return the capitalists and landowners to their secure positions. The three years' war of defense, and the struggle with the blockade, undoubtedly cost the Russian people a great deal; the country is still in a grave condition, but those gentlemen, i. e., the black hundreds, cadets and mensheviks, who stay abroad and anticipate complete starvation in Russia, which will result in the downfall of the Soviet regime, will undoubtedly be disappointed."

3. Referring to the telegram from Reval, crediting Mr. Vanderlip with a prophecy that the Soviet power would last, at most, nine months, Krassin said:

"The diagnosis of Mr. Vanderlip, predicting the downfall of the Soviet order within nine months, is unknown to me, and I am not inclined to attach any importance to this information. Mr. Vanderlip concluded certain preliminary agreements with the Soviet government, but their future fate will depend upon the condition whether the group of capitalists who support him will deposit a certain amount of money, and whether it will insure the carrying out of his obligations, as stipulated in the agreement. If the deposits are made, the contracts will go into effect without further delay. If not, the Soviet government will resume freedom of action."

The Agreement with England

"The Russo-English agreement is above all significant in that for once the Soviet government is considered the most powerful government, the sole government of Russia. Whatever the faults of this agreement, the essential fact cannot be doubted, and its significance is observed in both the relation of Soviet Russia with other countries, as well as in the development of trade and other relations with England. Immediately upon signing the agreement, the British Government lifted all bans on exports to Russia, and now we can purchase from England not only coal, food products, machinery, etc., but also military supplies, unless there is a ban placed on these exports such as is also enforced in other countries. The text of the agreement left some doubt as to the freedom of our imports into England, inasmuch as there was danger of a ban on our products being placed by third persons, various owners and capitalists who have objections to Russia. However, the decision arrived at by the court of appeals several days ago eliminates this difficulty also. The court of appeals unanimously acknowledged that after signing the Russo-English agreement claims made to the Russian Government are not under the jurisdiction of English courts. Therefore, all formal obstacles in the way of trade and navigation are virtually at an end.

"The signing of the trade agreement with Germany again strengthens the position of Soviet Russia, and we may, with more or less ease, look forward to the day when the French government too will at last understand that in its own interests

it would be advantageous to reject that state of isolation which France has inflicted upon herself. Those of the Scandinavian countries and the smaller continental countries which have not yet concluded trade agreements with Soviet Russia, should hasten to do so, because further delays will place them in a less favorable situation.

"The question of concessions is at present entering the phase of practical application. It is necessary to note that this decision on principle was only brought about at the Congress of the Soviets in December, 1920. Even previous to the revolution, negotiations on various financial or trade syndicates and cooperative enterprises lasted months and sometimes years. To be sure, concessions in Soviet Russia could not arise and be formulated as by a miracle in the course of weeks or months; let alone the difficulties which occur under modern conditions of transport and communication, etc., also mutual, yet quite natural, distrust; one must also bear in mind that such government organizations and enterprises are being created as are unknown to the trade history of Europe. At this time simultaneous negotiations are being conducted with capitalists of various countries. Considerations are under way to grant concessions on large forest areas, paper and celluloid factories, match factories, and the exploitation of naphtha regions.

The Truth About Concessions

"I left Moscow in February and, having returned in April, practically found an absence of any disagreements on the question of the ruling party, between the various factions of the ruling party, and also among the supervising groups of the trade unions. The Soviet government will decisively and fearlessly utilize all possible investments of western-European and American capital, and those fundamental conditions for concessions, which have been worked out in various branches of industry, are in most cases accepted by the capitalist governments. The difficulty of concessions no longer lies in their underlying principle, but in the many problems of the place, the term, the extension of share deductions, etc. There is ground for belief that in the course of this year several large concessional agreements will have been concluded. It is of interest to note that the French government also is manifesting a desire to receive concessions in the Donetz region and in the Caucasus, specifically in Baku, in order to obtain electrical energy for the naphtha trade. Undoubtedly, the practical realization of the concessions will meet with many difficulties, but not of such nature as not to be overcome."

In conclusion L. Krassin stated: "The latest rumors about a cholera plague in Moscow, and about Lenin's visit to London, are absolutely unfounded."

"Social-Demokraten" on L. Krassin

It is curious to note that Branting's *Social-Demokraten*, which directs all aggressive attacks

upon Soviet Russia, has this time made an interesting exception in the case of Krassin.

On May 24 this newspaper published a supposed interview with Krassin, not in reality the present interview, but a characterization of himself and his activity. The characterization, it can be said without exaggeration, resembles a eulogy. The *Social-Demokraten*, which usually slanders all Soviet workers, this time praises Comrade Krassin as the only one in Soviet Russia who devotes all his energy to sensible work and to the restoration to life of productivity.

The author of the note admits Krassin to be an exceptionally energetic and courageous person, who clearly realizes the aim of his work.

ITEMS OF BARBARISM

Moscow, April 23.—A new veterinary college and museum was opened at Moscow on April 21. In his opening address, Chairman Bobrovsky outlined the history and aims of this new educational institution, created by the efforts of the Russian veterinarians subsidized by the Soviet Government. In addition to the pursuit of scientific research, the college will become a center for the spread of useful veterinary knowledge among the masses. The museum contains large collections of great scientific value.

The first proletarian theatre has been opened at the Moscow Central Arena. The artists will be selected entirely from the workers and students at the theatrical studios maintained by the All-Russian Union of Proletarian Culture.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

MONORAIL TRAINS

The former private branch railway line of the Tsars, Petrograd - Dyetskoye Selo - Alexandrovka, now in disuse, will be utilized by the Supreme Council of Public Economy for experiments with a monorail system. All the parts for this experimental monorail train are being manufactured at the Putilov Works.

BULGARIA AND SOVIET RUSSIA

May 20, Moscow.—The Bulgarian Government has sent Captain Kryuchin to Moscow, to negotiate with the Soviet Government on the exchange of prisoners.

FINNISH REPRESENTATIVE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Helsingfors, May 19.—The Finnish Secretary of Legation, Hugo Walwanne, has been appointed Finnish representative in Soviet Russia, according to the *Helsingfors Post*.

Russia Revisited: Fifteen Years After

By B. ROUSTAM BEK

(Roustam Bek is familiar to our readers through his military articles which have been such a popular feature of SOVIET RUSSIA during the past two years. Col. Bek was born in Petrograd in 1871; graduated from the Petrograd Naval School in 1891, and served with the Sixth Orenburg Cossacks during the Pamir Military Expedition of 1891-1895. He was military correspondent at Turkish headquarters during the Greco-Turkish War in 1897 and Editor-in-Chief of the Russian "Army and Navy Almanac" in 1898-1900. During the Russo-Japanese War he served in Manchuria at Port Arthur. In 1914 he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the British Volunteer Army and later was military critic on the staff of the London "Daily Express." He was appointed military expert to the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York on January 1, 1920, and accompanied Mr. Martens on his return to Russia January 22, 1921. An account of the return journey of the staff of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau was printed in our issue of March 12.)

Petrograd, May 6, 1921.

ABOUT three months have elapsed since I sent my letter to SOVIET RUSSIA from Gothenburg, describing the journey home of the members of the staff of the former Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York. I have remained silent this long because I determined first to study the situation in my country, which has undergone such tremendous changes during my absence of more than fifteen years. I felt it impossible to write about Soviet Russia under the impact of first impressions. I was afraid of being called an optimist because these impressions were so good and my American readers would perhaps have mistrusted my judgment if I had written after having been only a few weeks in Russia. But now, after considerable study of the political, social and military organization of my country and after active participation in the work of the reconstruction, I believe I have the right to tell Americans the truth about our great Republic.

Early on the morning of February 7, 1921, our little Swedish ship, the "South Sweden," after a tiresome crossing of the rough Baltic sea, reached the former Russian port of Libau, now belonging to the Republic of Latvia. A miserable picture was presented to us here. The population was hungry, poorly dressed and badly shod. There was a general appearance of desperation. The military units which I saw in the streets of Libau made me smile bitterly. They marched slackly, mostly under the command of former Russian officers carrying Russian rifles. Their uniforms were a queer mixture of American, English and Russian types and their shoes were in a shocking state. Many of the men wore *lapti* (coarse foot-wrapping). The pallid faces of these unfortunate creatures—enchained slaves of a "democratic" regime—their dead expressionless eyes told the story of the morale of the Latvian Army. I saw among the soldiers a great number of boys about fifteen or sixteen years old.

The greatest part of the population of Libau is engaged either in speculating or begging. There is a constant hunt for American dollars, the exchange value of which changes every day and even several times during the day. I observed that the Letts in general are not hostile to the

Bolshevik. In almost every shop I was asked when the United States would recognize the Soviet Government and establish trade relations with Russia. This is a vital point for every Lett, because they understand very well that America can never trade with Latvia separately from Soviet Russia. There is no money in Latvia with which to meet the needs of the country, and there is no prospect of getting the necessary capital for this purpose, nor any hope of economic development in Latvia until normal commercial relations are established between Russia and the rest of the world. For this reason the Lettish population is anxiously awaiting the recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States. I was told that lately the economic situation of Latvia had considerably improved, but this improvement affects only the condition of the bourgeoisie. The workers and the poor peasants still suffer and will continue to suffer under their capitalistic oppressors; and these poor classes are the majority of the Lettish population. Sympathy towards Communism grows rapidly among the masses and will eventually burst into social revolution.

From Libau we went on to Riga, arriving there on February 10, in the midst of a real Russian winter. It was a glorious morning. Such sunshine I had not enjoyed in England and America. The station porters dragged our luggage off in small sledges because of the lack of horses. I observed that there were few motor cars in Riga and those belonged mostly to the representatives of foreign countries. The Russian Soviet Mission has a beautiful red "Reo" bearing the insignia of the R. S. F. S. R.

Impressions of Riga

Riga is a splendid city and has grown immensely since I was there in 1898. Today it is rather dirty. The hotels are beyond description; except for two or three, all are in a horrible condition. The shops are open, but with monstrous prices on everything. Speculation in foreign money is universal. The population is better dressed than in Libau, but upon their faces is much the same expression of desperate apathy. There are many Russians wandering about in Riga, mostly members of the Russian bourgeoisie, who

fled from their own country. Among these I noticed also many of the former military elements who had served under Yudenich, as well as those who had been interned by the Letts during the adventure of Avalov-Bermond.

White Guard agents are very active and watch closely all the Russians who arrive in Latvia on their way to the Soviet Republic. They earn their pay from the enemies of the Soviets by endeavoring to persuade Russian citizens to stay in Latvia instead of going on to Soviet Russia about which they tell much nonsense. All Russians coming from America should beware of this and in traveling through Latvia should be most careful in accepting any services from unknown Russians. The White Guard agents always offer their "help" to the newcomers.

The most impressive sight in Riga is the Bellevue Hotel, just opposite the railroad station, from the top of which waves proudly the red flag with the golden letters of the R. S. F. S. R., where are the headquarters of the Russian Soviet Diplomatic Mission, and here every worker, from whatever country he comes, may expect support, which he cannot receive from any other diplomatic institution in the world.

The Trip to Petrograd

In Riga I was informed that I should have to go to Petrograd first; and thence to Moscow. Petrograd is my birthplace, where I was educated, and from which I set out for the East on my way to Manchuria fifteen years ago, little thinking I should return to it from the West after I had encircled the globe. We left Riga early on the morning of February 15. The shortage of railway cars caused us some inconvenience and only a portion of our party could be accommodated in the car placed at the disposal of Comrade Martens. The rest of us had to travel in *teplushki* (freight cars). I found this personally an amusing experience, but I cannot say that our girls shared my feelings, especially since they were only warned of it at the last minute before the train started. For this, however, we could only blame the Lettish Government, which had refused to allow the special train sent for us by the Soviet Government to cross the Lettish frontier. In any case, traveling in the *teplushki* was not so bad. They were clean and well heated, and in the end even some of the girls who had been transferred to Comrade Martens' car returned to the *teplushka*, which they found more comfortable.

We crossed the frontier of Soviet Russia between the stations of Rezanov and Sebezh, where we arrived late in the evening. Here I was greatly impressed by the good order which prevailed. The office of the commandant as well as that of the station master were filled with passengers, but every one patiently awaited his turn. Finally everyone was seated. The commandant was a young fellow and an experienced Communist. Calmly and with self-possession he issued his orders, and one felt that they were orders which were to be

obeyed. He replied politely to all the questions of the travelers, and I reacted on the contrast presented by this young Soviet official to his colleagues of the past.

A meeting was arranged in the station hall. Comrades Martens and Weinstein were asked to address the people and were allowed a chair. Four young *Kursantsy* (Soviet military cadets), who had been sent from Moscow to meet Comrade Martens as his guard of honor, introduced themselves to me and I presented them to our chief. They were invited into Comrade Martens' car, where they enjoyed our American food. I had a long and interesting talk with these boys, the sons of real workers and peasants, now ready to become commanders in the Red Army. I learned from them of the high level which military education has attained in Soviet Russia. The course in the Cadet School in Russia is three years, but this did not exempt the students from garrison service in the Kremlin, and at critical moments they even had to be sent to the battle front. So, for instance, my four young comrades had already fought Denikin and expressed their regret that their corps had reached the Crimean front only after Wrangel was already completely beaten. They all looked physically fit and their spirit was extraordinarily high. They had had excellent political instruction and undoubtedly will make perfect officers. In one of my next letters I will have much to say about military education in Russia. And I am glad to report that what I wrote in SOVIET RUSSIA in the past, when I tried to estimate how this education was proceeding, was accurate. Since then I have had the privilege of studying it on the spot.

Description of the Train

A Soviet ambulance train arrived just after we reached Sebezh. I parted with warm friendliness from Comrade Martens, whom, according to his orders, I am to join later in Moscow. Our train is a model of Soviet organization, composed of clean Pullman cars, much larger than the standard American type. This train has seen great service on several fronts and is still going strong. The administration of the train, the commandant, the doctor, the nurses, and all the staff, received us with real hospitality, and it was a pleasure to travel in such an atmosphere. Thus we passed the station of Dno, an insignificant place, which has become famous because it was here that Czar Nicholas II signed his abdication. It was the depth of winter in Russia. Heavy snow covered all the ground, and in the vast expanse of white along both sides of the railway line could be seen the passing villages, like little black islands. The weather was frosty and sunny. The thermometer indicated 15° R, but even at that in the sun it was so warm that during our stops at stations we could walk without overcoats. Through the windows of our car we watched the beautiful Russian sunset, which so delighted those members of our party who had never seen one before. The sky

burned like molten iron and gradually changed to a burnished mother of pearl. During the night I saw the passing places of Pavlovsk and Dyetskoye Selo, formerly Tsarskoye Selo, the residence of Tsar Nicholas. Magnificent parks lay in complete quiet under their white winter mantle, which seemed as though it were painted with silver pigment in the intense Russian moonlight.

How Petrograd Looks

It was about eight o'clock in the morning on February 20 when I stepped for the first time on the pavement of Red Petrograd. A strange feeling seized my heart as I glanced left and right on the great Zabalkansky Prospekt, as we reached the Dyetkoselsky Station. I was struck by the complete absence of vehicles. Instead of the lively traffic to which I had been accustomed in that part of the city, I observed a strange sight. Men, women and children, civilians and military, were hurrying by in different directions. Almost all of them carried haversacks or simple canvas bags on their backs. Many of them drew behind them small sledges loaded with parcels, wood, etc. I was surprised to find them all dressed suitably for the season, though far from luxuriously. Only a very few were badly shod. I observed that many women wore men's boots or the large felt boots called *valenki*. The streets covered with frozen snow looked clean, and had there been more traffic than the occasional passing motor car or sleigh of a Soviet official it would scarcely have been possible to distinguish at the first place the Petrograd of today from that of the past. Except for the closed shops I did not find a great change in the buildings. Only the former police stations of the Tsar are destroyed. Their ruins gape upon the streets like the dead bodies of hanged men whose eyes have been plucked out by crows. The palaces, the theatres, the museums and the private houses, though many of them need a general overhauling, are still in good state and look solid. I watched with great interest the members of the old aristocracy and bourgeoisie as they passed along the streets, easily recognizable. The former officials, generals and elegant ladies, carried their haversacks or trailed their little sledges along the streets of that same Petrograd where only so recently they were accustomed to drive their fine horses and motors. Some still wore their old uniforms, although without epaulets or badges. Others were dressed in once fashionable fur coats, now worn and less elegant. They walked slowly and bore a common expression on their faces of infinite bewilderment and apathy. They have to go to the shops of the Soviet Government in order to get their food and their fuel.

Local Soviet authorities received us most hospitably and we were lodged in the former Hotel d'Angleterre, now the International Hotel, which, with due regard to the circumstances in which Russia exists, thanks to the ruthless capitalist blockade, must be considered magnificent. It is situated on the square of St. Isaac, just opposite the beau-

tiful St. Isaac Cathedral, the glory of Russian architecture. The hotel is clean and skillfully run by a woman. The rooms are large and well furnished. Such a room as was placed at my disposal could scarcely be found in New York even for a very high price. The food is simple but fresh and healthy. All of us have noticed, since we came into Soviet Russia and started our new rations, that we have not suffered from any indigestion. I have heard many Russian doctors comment upon the fact that in Russia there is no longer any indigestion, nor is there any gout, and very little rheumatism. The International Hotel as well as the nearby Hotel Spartacus, formerly the Grand Hotel, are allotted to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Only persons connected with that department have the right to use them. Here I met Dd. Mislig, well-known to our American comrades. He is in good health and is working very hard, as all Communists do.

No Disorganization in Petrograd

The destruction of Petrograd has been so often described in the capitalist press that I suppose I shall find it difficult to convince my American readers that it has never occurred. But here I am on the spot and I can say that I find no destruction. Even the historical monuments of the former rulers of Russia remain untouched, except the monument of the Tsar Nicholas III, which has been covered with wood in order to conceal its very great ugliness. The statues of Peter the Great, of Catherine II, of Nicholas I, and many others, stand unmolested on their pedestals. I visited the Hermitage and other museums, and the churches, and found them in the same condition as when I left Petrograd. Naturally, they need repair, as does every building after a certain time, but so long as the blockade is continued this can scarcely be attended to. The Russian People's Library, which contained before the Revolution 3,000,000 volumes, now has on its shelves 4,000,000, thus placing it among the foremost libraries in the world. The private palaces and houses of former aristocrats are under the care of the State, and the best of them are in use as children's homes, schools, universities, scientific institutions and government offices. The rich palace of Yusupov, where the monk Rasputin met his end, is untouched and is open for visitors by special permission only.

The theatres! Had Americans only the slightest idea of what the Russian opera and the Russian ballet mean today, they could never again believe the lies which their press repeats to them about the destructive policy of the Soviet Government. During all my travel in Europe and America in the past fifteen years, when I had opportunities to study the theatrical art of many countries, I have seen nothing like the stage of Soviet Russia today. I have been able to study the theatrical organization of Petrograd, and I am amazed that it has been developed to such a high level in the midst of the blockade. They were compelled to

manufacture everything needed for their production at home, and they succeeded in doing it. But a description of the Russian stage requires special attention, and at the first opportunity I shall write a letter on this subject.

In spite of all difficulties, internal and external, in spite of the sabotage of the so-called *Intelligentsia*, Soviet Russia is gradually being reconstructed, and I must confess that I found my country in much better condition than I had dared picture it to myself when I was in America. I arrived here just at the moment of the Kronstadt

uprising, and I saw with what cool resolution that affair was met and put down by the Government.

But the capitalistic states understand at last that brute force cannot kill an idea and that this idea is very strong in Proletarian Russia and grows stronger every day. I have been here more than two months, and my faith in the Russian proletariat, guided by unselfish and skillful leaders, is complete. Once more I can say firmly that the future is with the Soviets. Their victory will be the victory of the working class of the whole world.

Numerical Statistics of Metal Workers

[A recent issue of "*Makhovik*" (*The Fly-Wheel*), the organ of the Metal Workers' Union, prints the following authoritative figures on the distribution of workers in the metal industry.]

In October 1920 the industrial enterprises of Petrograd were asked by the Administration of Labor Power to submit a report on the number of workers required to carry out the program of production. All communications which came in during October and November have been taken up by the Representatives of the Council of Public Economy and of the Administration of Labor Power; thus, the needs of every establishment have been ascertained.

The requirements of the metal industry and the extent to which they have been met during the last three months, are expressed in the following figures contained in the report of the Administration of Labor Power:

Occupation	Number of workers required	Number of workers assigned to factories	Percentage of vacancies filled
Actual metal workers	6223	1652	28
Carpenters	1559	284	18
Wood workers	224	120	54
Skilled workers in other occupations and unskilled laborers	1572	2495	159
Office workers	210	235	110
Others	129	301	210
Total	9917	5077	51

The excess of workers over the number required in the categories of clerical workers and unskilled laborers is accounted for by the fact that a certain number of workers are held in readiness to replace others who are leaving their positions.

The shortage of labor experienced by the metal industry is seen to be greatest among actual metal workers. Only 28 per cent of the number required were furnished to the metal industry, notwithstanding the fact that the greatest portion of these work-

ers at the disposal of the Administration of Labor Power had been assigned to the metal industry. The total number of actual metal workers placed in all the industries of Petrograd during the past three months was 3573, of which number 46 per cent, i. e., 1652 workers, were assigned to the metal industry.

The remaining 54 per cent, i. e. 1921 persons, were distributed among the other industries, which was only 15 per cent of their requirements—12,998 actual metal workers.

Where did the Administration of Labor Power secure the 3573 actual metal workers? 2050 of them offered their services of their own accord. This category consisted mainly of people who did not wait to be compelled to do socially useful work or to leave the occupation which was not their specialty. The remaining 1523 persons, i. e. 43 per cent, were obtained in the mobilization of skilled workers carried through in the various districts (*uyezdy*) of the province of Petrograd and other provinces by order of the Central Office in charge of labor power (military classes 86-88), and in the conscription of persons not occupied with socially useful labor.

A comparison of the work accomplished by the Administration of Labor Power with respect to meeting the requirements of metal workers during the last three months with the results achieved during the first three quarters of last year, will bring out the intensity of the work done in this direction during the past few months. In the course of this period the authorities furnished 47 per cent of the metal workers placed during the entire year.

In this connection one must bear in mind that the migration of workers from one place to another practically never ceased during the first three quarters of the year till the issuance of labor books began, and that a certain number of workers who were assigned jobs in the various metal working enterprises belong to the category of these migratory workers.

"*Makhovik*", February 13, 1921.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

IN its issue of April 17, the *New York Times* reprinted from the *London Morning Post* what was supposed to be "an account of Lenin's latest speech, made at the Moscow Railwaymen's conference." This account, while containing sentences which might have been pronounced by the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in any of his numerous speeches in the course of the month of March, at the same time quoted passages that either were in direct contradiction to all his previous utterances, or sounded as if they were prepared by a member of the editorial staff of the *Morning Post* or the *Times*—London or New York type. Of this latter kind for instance was his alleged utterance about the demobilized soldiers: "The demobilized soliders are our greatest enemies. They have been accustomed to rob and pillage and murder. They have been accustomed to satisfy only their own needs and desires. . . ."

In view of the source, we did not deem it necessary to call attention to this obvious forgery. The *New York Globe*, referring to this "information" furnished by the London Tory organ, remarked that the *Morning Post* was "not very good evidence on this subject." But even the *Globe* seems to have been deceived in this case, and this version of Lenin's speech appears to that paper as "plausible". This credulity on the part of a paper which in its editorial department usually takes a more critical attitude than its capitalistic confreres seems to have preserved the fabrication from an ephemeral existence. It became good copy and about four weeks later the *New York Times*, on May 12, reprinted the same "account of Lenin's speech" labeling the report this time from "Washington", thus creating the impression that it was official news coming directly from the State Department.

We were just wondering what would be the further development of this story, whether for the slight thrown on the Red Soldiers Trotsky would not soon once more arrest Lenin and with the help of Turkish, Magyar, Chinese, Bashkir and Lettish mercenaries, officered by German Generals, start a new drive against Western civilization and democracy—when a happy wind blew on our desk a copy of the Petrograd *Pravda* of March 30 containing a report of Lenin's speech at the railway men's conference. In the three columns of the speech there

is not the slightest reference to the Red soldiers, although he touches the question of the defence of the Soviet Republic and examines the reasons why in a three years' struggle the imperialist powers of all the world, despite the superiority of their military forces, were unable to crush the rule of the workers in Russia. The reason for this he finds in the fact that "the proletariat in all capitalist countries—even in those countries where it knowingly sided with the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries (in European countries they have other names) could not support the struggle against us. . . . The workers of the advanced countries were blocking this war by their passive and half-passive resistance." The report of the *Morning Post* twice reproduced by the *Times* puts it this way: "It is time to confess frankly and openly that the international proletariat has practically not supported us at all."

* * *

THOSE who are untiring in their endeavors to prove that the present Government in Russia represents nothing but a ruthless minority tyranny which cynically disregards the will of the majority, may find ample material for their contention in the article of Karl Radek appearing in our last issue, as well as in the article "A New Period of Soviet History" on page 523. In both it is stated unblushingly that under the given circumstances the "dictatorship of the proletariat" can be understood only as the dictatorship of the proletarian advance guard organized in the Communist Party—to which the "democratic" objectors no doubt will say that the Party constitutes itself thereby as a new aristocracy that is a law unto itself, and spurns the will of the majority.

When Doctor Stockman in Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People", in the name of higher interests at stake, spurns the will of the "compact majority", he meets from his opponents the reproach that he is an "aristocrat" who despises the people. And he answers that he is neither Aristocrat nor Democrat but a Revolutionist.

The Dr. Stockmans of the Russian Revolution claim that there never was such a thing as real "Democracy". Since humanity became divided into two races—that of possessing and mostly educated masters, and that of propertyless and uneducated servants, the democratically expressed will of the majority has been nothing but a camouflage for the parasitic interests of the ruling titled or moneyed aristocracy. For, as a well known bourgeois statistician has said, "we (the capitalists) own the churches, the schools, the newspapers, the theatres, and therefore we also own the voters, and the government."

The Russian Revolution gave the power into the hands of a minority which, completely freed from the mental fetters that still bind the minds of the majority of the oppressed, was going to help the masses on the road of material and intellectual emancipation. The terrible strain occasioned by

the merciless war waged against the rebels by the whole capitalist world, proved too much for a great part of the workers concerned. Exhausted, many of them were ready to submit, to come back to the old yoke, if only they got some bread and were left alone. They did not realize that from capitalist Europe they would not get bread anyhow—as the Austrian, German and Hungarian workers did not get it, and that submission meant only the most savage White Terror and extermination of all revolutionary elements. They grumbled and occasionally lent a willing ear to the propaganda of Anarchists and Syndicalists who resented the occasionally all too military manner in which leading Communists—under the strain of the interminable civil war—sometimes were conducting civilian matters. The Syndicalists and the Anarchists raised the cry for “All power to the Soviets” or “All power to the Trade Unions” as against Communist Party dictatorship—and strangely enough, this cry of the extremists who were “more radical” than the Communists, was joyously echoed by the whole counter-revolutionary crowd from Milyukov down to Savinkov. Why? Because, more clever than the well-meaning but not very sharp-seeing extremists, they knew that if “all power” went now really to the “Soviets” or to the “Unions”, that power would not be in the hands of the Anarchists or the Syndicalists, but in the hands of a hungry, exhausted non-partisan majority which—losing sight of the further aspects of the Revolution—would at the first forthcoming food or fuel crisis, give up the struggle and deliver itself to the tender mercies of Western and Russian capitalism. This danger has not yet passed, and as long as it subsists, the Communist Party will defend the future of the Revolution and the larger aspects of the proletarian interests—even against the “will of the majority”.

* * *

THE resumption of postal communication with Russia has at last brought to our editorial desk the Russian original of the Code of Labor Laws of Soviet Russia. As we explained in the prefatory note to our English edition, we were obliged to make use of an imperfect English translation published at Petrograd. On comparing the edition published by us with the Russian original, we find a very substantial error in section 27. The last clause should read: “Provided that those who support others with their earnings must not be detailed [to work outside of their residences] before all single persons have been so detailed.”

In the original translation which reached us this provision read: “Provided that those who have dependents ought not be given preference before single persons.” The meaning of that provision seemed unintelligible to us, yet, as we said in our prefatory note, “we did not feel at liberty to make any editorial changes affecting the subject-matter of the laws where the language appeared to us ambiguous.”

AGAIN the friends of Soviet Russia will be glad to learn of the vast prospects of trade and intercourse with foreign countries that are opening up for the people of that country. An agreement has been signed with Germany (the full text of the agreement is printed elsewhere in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA), and is immediately followed by a circumstantial report, in *The New York Times* of June 20, of the formation of a great Russo-German corporation, “The German-Russian Transportation Company,” as “is stated on the authority of Director Huldermann of the line, who consummated the deal with the Soviet’s commercial representative in Berlin.”

Whether the details, as printed in the *Times*, are correct, whether it is true that “two representatives of the Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Trade will sit on the board and participate in the management along with Director Huldermann and Dr. Karl Melchior, Max Warburg’s banking partner in Hamburg,”—we are not in a position to say. We have been taught by much experience to doubt almost all that we read in the great American dailies, but assume that at least so much of the present report is true as stated that “Germany is leaping for the trade with Soviet Russia that is considered possible under the new Russo-German Trade Agreement,” and that “one of the first to get in on the ground floor is the Hamburg-American Line.” It is not impossible, when the ability of the Soviet Government to adapt itself to new situations is borne in mind, that, as the Hamburg dispatch to the *Vossische Zeitung* is said to have said, the Soviet Government and the Hamburg-American Line are to participate “equally in capital and profits,” the “German-Russian Transportation Company” being thus a subsidiary, by implication, not only of the Hamburg-American Line, but of the Soviet Government itself.

The account given by the *Times* is herewith reprinted in part, for the information of our readers:

“The Soviet Government has given the new German-Russian Transportation Company a monopoly for freight traffic to Soviet Russia. The company is to act as the Soviet’s exclusive agent, securing bids and placing contracts for the transportation of goods bought by that Government.

“The new corporation’s activities are not to be confined to ocean traffic. Where the Soviet Government buys from a factory in Germany, the corporation will exclusively control the placing of the traffic to the port of shipment for Russia.

“According to the same authority, the corporation will immediately take up traffic with Petrograd, opening a branch there, as the Soviet Government is anxious to revive Petrograd as a commercial port. The initial bulk of the traffic is expected to be foodstuffs for the Petrograd populace. Food for the Petrograd dock workers is to be sent at once by every steamer.

“It is said that the Soviet representatives have given assurances that there will be a mine-free channel to Petrograd properly marked and with pilots available; further, that there will be available in Petrograd docks which will permit eight to ten ships of 3,000 to 4,000 tons to discharge simultaneously. Lastly, the Soviet Government guarantees the safety of the German crews, though sternly forbidding smuggling.”

In part at least the above information corresponds with other data in our possession. For instance, the references to the present accessibility of the port of Petrograd are confirmed by a letter we have just received from the London Office of the All-Russian Cooperative Society, reproduced herewith:

ALL-RUSSIAN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY, LIMITED
68 Lincoln's Inn Fields
London, W. C. 2, England

June 1, 1921.

We are in receipt of the following cablegram from the Director of the Transport Department at Riga:
"Delsovpra, Krassin, London.

"The ports of Petrograd and Kronstadt have opened for the reception of foreign vessels. The course has been cleared of mines, and steamers are conducted by pilots. Docking regulations are being made public and radiographed for the information of all navigators. Docking of vessels going to Petrograd is possible in that place without previous stop at Kronstadt, for ships not exceeding 24 feet draught. Port facilities are provided by the Republic for the unloading of ships immediately after entering the harbor.

"Anchorage and pilotage will be collected according to terms which have not yet been fixed.

"(Signed) Director, Transport Department (Riga)."

Furthermore, on June 4 the Editorial Office of SOVIET RUSSIA received from the Russian Telegraph Agency at Moscow a cablegram containing among other items of news the statement (dated June 3) that the harbor workers of Petrograd were busy unloading the numerous steamers that had arrived from foreign countries, bringing cargoes consigned to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. Furthermore, we read in the June 3 cable of a consignment of 500 Russian war prisoners who were returned to the port of Petrograd on the steamer *Adler*, of Stettin. In other words, the ports of Petrograd and Kronstadt are ready for business, freight business and passenger business, and German steamship lines that are ready for serious work are welcome, as are also the steamship lines, and commercial institutions generally, of all the countries of the world.

ANOTHER ship recently arriving in Petrograd is the *Alexander Polden*, which is reported in a Riga message to the *New York Globe*, dated June 20 (same date of the *Globe*), to have reached that city with a cargo of herring. This, the *Globe* dispatch says, is "the first large cargo of food that has entered the harbor for about three years, and as she passed Kronstadt, she was saluted by the battleship *Marat*, while Russian sailors lined the decks and cheered. The Dutch captain dipped his colors, while the ship's band played, and the vessel steamed direct to the dock and began to unload her cargo of herring."

Meanwhile, the newspaper *Economic Life* is stated in the same dispatch (which, by the way, was reprinted in New York morning newspapers of the following day, June 21) as having printed the following curious item, presumably dealing with conditions at Petrograd:

"The fate of the city is so tragic that no comparison can be found in the world's history. The immense mortality of Russia during the past few years may be regarded as far more tragic than the fall of Pompeii."

We have no statistics covering the matter of mortality all over Russia, but the following cable of June 19, from Moscow, reached us a few days ago, and may not be without interest in this connection, although its statistics deal only with Moscow:

MOSCOW, June 19.—A statistical report to the Moscow Soviet shows that according to the last census the city's population was 1,250,000. The death rate in Moscow of twenty-eight per thousand as against the pre-war rate of twenty-three per thousand is explainable by the presence of Spanish influenza and typhus, accounting for the slight increase. The marriage rate in Moscow is twenty per thousand, or four times the pre-war ratio. The bread consumption now surpasses the pre-war ratio. The workers last year were better nourished than any other class of the population, although the general standard has also increased from 3,100 calories per person per day in 1914 to 3,340 in 1920. Agricultural forecasts for the Moscow province indicate that the harvest will be above the average.

A New Karelian Newspaper

Финская газета „Карьялан Коммуни“

Hinta 5 rpl.

Kalkkien*malden raastajarahvus, vtttkER

KARJALAN KOMMUNINI

JOIMITUS ja KORTTORI Petrograd, Puutarhasen № 2. Taitetia se raakaa klo 7—2. Korttori avoinna klo 9—4. Tilaajia vastaanotetaan ainoastaan ja „Linnalehti“n kautta. TILAUSHINTA 30 rpl. ku Lehti ilmestyy tiistaina, torstaina ja lauantaina.	РЕДАКЦИЯ в КОНТОРА: Петроград, Пушкарское № 2. Прием по делам редакции 7—2. Которая открыта 9—4. Подписки принимаются только в от- делении „Линналеhti“. ПОДПИСНАЯ ЦЕНА за 1 м. 30 руб. Газета выходит по вторникам, чет- вергам и субботам.
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KARJALAN TYÖKANSAN KOMMUNIN AÄNENKANNATTAJA

№ 3 (29)

Tiistaina 11 pnd Toumakuuta

1921

The attention of the reader is called to the article of Mr. George Halonen, beginning on the next page following, and to the official documents with which it is accompanied. To most readers the new Republic is a stranger, but we may point out that its inhabitants are closely related to the people of Finland by race and language. Those who know Finnish will have no difficulty in reading the words of the headline of *The Karelian Commune*, published at Petrozavodsk, the capital of the new state. The above issue of the paper was dated January 11, 1921.

The Karelian Workers' Commune

By GEORGE HALONEN

(No one is better fitted than the author of the following lines, who is well known as a journalist to Finnish circles in America, to give a thorough and reliable account of this new state of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, which is situated to the East of Finland and North of Petrograd.)

THE much spoken of self-determination of small nations has been realized only by one country—Soviet Russia. The “self-determination” assurances of the “democratic” great nations have been only phrases to cover the oppression and exploitation practiced by these nations against the small nations.

One of the many small nationalities, previously oppressed by Tsaristic Russia, and now receiving its own self-governing organs at the hands of Soviet Russia, is the Karelian Workers' Commune.

This little sister republic in the family of the Soviet Republics of Russia is now free. For many years the people were oppressed and exploited by Russia and were a prey in the hands of Finnish and international capitalists. This part of the world remained obscure, its people in every respect being outdistanced by other peoples, and remained unknown to the world at large. The Russian workers' revolution turned the tables and the Karelian people entered into a new phase of their history.

As SOVIET RUSSIA already has published many lengthy articles about this new-formed Karelia, especially by John S. Clarke and H. Langseth, we shall now give only a general discussion of it.

On June 7, 1920, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee decided as follows:

“In order to aid the campaign of the laboring masses of Karelia for their social enfranchisement, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has decided: First, to establish in the localities inhabited by Karelians in the province of Olonets and Archangel, in accordance with article eleven of the Constitution, a distinct regional unity, the Karelian Commune. Second, to charge the Karelian Committee, composed of Comrades Gylling, Mäki and Kudshijeff, to prepare without delay the assembly of the Soviet Congresses of the Karelian Commune, which assembly will determine the organization of power in this Commune.”

This resolution was the starting point. The road to freedom and a better future was opened to the Karelian people. Later the borders were designated, a proclamation issued to the Karelian people, etc. The most important documents referring to the formation of the Karelian Workers' Commune are published in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, so that the reader will be able to get a detailed view of the development of this question.

The Karelian Revolutionary Committee, referred to in these documents, was only a temporary administrative organ preceding the Congress of Karelian Soviets. This congress was held on February 10-18, 1921, and its proceedings reported in Comrade Langseth's article in SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. IV, No. 17, April 23, 1921. At this Congress the Karelian Executive Committee of Soviets was elected. The chairman of the Presidium of the Executive Committee is Edvard Gylling.

The Karelian Workers' Commune is now organized for the tremendous task which lies before the workers, in the reconstruction of the country, terribly shaken up by a long war, white guard attacks, robbery and exploitation. The reconstruction work is greatly hindered by a lack of all kinds of machinery and tools. Even before the war, the Karelian people did not possess modern tools or machinery — not even modern agricultural machines. And what was left of the old, was mostly destroyed by the war. Therefore the reconstruction work is being done under the most difficult conditions — the lack of food, tools, machinery, etc., being felt everywhere.

But the workers have taken the future into their own hands and are straining all their energy and so are able to go forward, slowly but surely.

And the future? It is bright! Karelia is rich in natural resources, which in time will benefit their owners—the workers.

Agriculture in Karelia

The soil and climate in Karelia are relatively good for agricultural purposes. The soil, however, is but little cultivated. The people lived under reactionary conditions, their cultural and technical needs were never taken into consideration, transportation facilities were lacking. Therefore the crops did not cover even the needs of the people themselves.

Accurate statistics are of course lacking in a country in such a backward state. Statistics available may, however, give a general view. The statistics are mostly from the year 1902.

The total area (water not included) of the Olonets, Petrozavodsk, and Poventsa Districts is 6,586,560 hectares. The Russian crown owned of this area 4,548,163 hectares or 69.05 per cent. Private owners had 1.07 per cent, and peasants' farm loan associations 29.88 per cent.

The area of Kem District consisted of 4,994,314 hectares, of which the crown owned 4,901,783 hectares or 98 per cent.*

As these figures show, there is plenty of land available for cultivation, although naturally only a part of this vast area is suitable for such work.

The crop statistics of 1902 show that agriculture is as yet in a very backward state. The crop was as follows:

Rye: 213,777 hectoliters.
Barley: 70,754 hectoliters.
Oats: 328,347 hectoliters.
Potatoes: 196,245 hectoliters.

*It is to be remembered that these districts are not as a whole combined with the Karelian Workers' Commune.

Wheat: 20.5 hectoliters.

Hay: 150,000,000 kilograms.

The crop per capita:

Rye: 95.4 kg.; Oats: 80.2 kg.; Barley: 15.2 kg.;
Wheat: 0.009 kg.; Potatoes: 68.9 kg.; Hay: 833.8 kg.

As a result of war and the revolutionary period, the crop was even smaller last year. When even the "peace years" required food imports, it may easily be understood in what situation the workers are now, when the transportation conditions are in their present bad shape.

Cattle-raising shows the same unfavorable figures. In 1902 there were approximately:

Cattle: 112,288 head.

Horses: 34,014.

Sheep: 84,065.

Hogs: 4,913.

During the "white years," the allied and Finnish white guards robbed and killed most of the cattle of the peasants and therefore the present situation in this respect also is very dark.

Lumber Industry

In the lumber industry lies the future of Karelia. Statistics gathered by the Finnish capitalists, who were eager to "free" Karelia for the international lumber capitalists, show that in this respect Karelia is rich.

In the Olonets, Petrozavodsk, and Poventsa Districts alone, the crown-owned forests consisted of 4,081,696 hectares, of which 2,557,464 hectares, or 62.7 per cent, were "usable". About 50 per cent is pine trees, 30 per cent spruce-fir and 20 per cent deciduous trees. Of the total 22 per cent is sawlogs. The peasant-owned area consisted of 1,069,382 hectares of "usable" forest.

The total forest area in these districts was 6,472,146 hectares, of which there are "usable" 4,076,395 hectares. In cubic meters, the figures are as follows:

Pine: 117,700,000 cu. m.

Deciduous trees: 10,700,000 cu. m.

Total: 124,400,000 cu. m.

Sawlogs: 21,400,000 cu. m.

Only an insignificant amount of lumber has been exported. In 1908, 639,400 pieces of sawlogs and 642,600 cu. m. of pile-wood were exported from the crown-owned forests. That makes an average of 0.24 cu. m. per hectare, which is a very low figure. From the peasant-owned forests 178,100 pieces of sawlogs and 143,115 cu. m. of pile wood were exported in 1908.

The gross receipts of the lumber exported from the crown-owned forests in Karelia from 1905 to 1908 was 1.5-1.7 million roubles yearly. The gross receipts of the peasant-owned forests in 1907-1908 was 693,135 roubles per year.

From the Kem and Alexandrovsk Districts the average yearly export was 108,150,000 pieces of sawlogs.

The great forests have been almost untouched for thousands of years. The Finnish lumber capitalists have estimated the Karelian lumber to be

worth about one billion dollars. A good reason for the Finnish capitalists to speak about the "self-determination" of Karelia and about their "kinship with the Karelians."

When the Karelian workers are able to reconstruct their country and to get modern machinery tools, etc., the future, indeed, will be bright. Their sacrifices will then not have been made in vain.

Fishing Industry

Karelia is also rich in fish. The White Sea is rich in Sea salmon (*Salmo Salar*) and Sea-trout (*Salmo Trutta*). But fishing tackle is badly needed. The average yearly salmon catch from the White Sea before the war was 480,000 kilograms. The catch of other fish was 9,872,208 kilograms, worth 3,134,342 Reichmarks, in 1910.

But in order to get this industry going, all kinds of fishing materials, nets, boats, etc., will be needed.

Taking into consideration the great natural riches of Karelia, it is only a question of a few years when the Karelian workers, with the powerful help of their Russian brethren, will be able to show to the world what a soviet power, the workers' own control, means. The yellow socialists, the mensheviks of the world, may at present laugh and point their finger towards the sufferings and needs, in which Soviet Russia as well as the new member of its family, Karelia, at present are very rich, and say that these are the result of the "untimely" revolution. The workers, however, understand that the fault does not lie in their revolution, but in the capitalist system which had been in power there and is elsewhere still in power. They understand that the transition period is difficult, creating unbelievable sufferings, but it must, however, be traveled through. And the Karelians, like the Russians, are doing it, fighting, suffering, but energetically building the structure of a new society for the benefit of the workers of the world.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS ON KARELIA

(The following documents are kindly furnished by Mr. Halonen to accompany the above article. Four of the documents are of Soviet Russian origin; the remaining three are signed by officials of the Karelian Workers' Commune, and call upon the people of Karelia to aid in the reconstruction work so necessary for the welfare, not only of Karelia, but of the entire federation as well.)

I

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee Welcomes the Cooperation of the Karelian Commune

In accordance with the 11th paragraph of the Constitution of R. S. F. S. R., on the self-determination of peoples, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has, by a Decree of June 7, 1920, decided to form a territorial unit, The Karelian Workers' Commune, in order to strengthen the struggle for freedom of the Karelian workers. By a Decree of August 4, 1920, the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee outlined the boundaries of the Karelian Workers' Commune.

Being in close touch with the workers of all nationalities residing in Soviet Russia, the working people of Karelia are now entering on a new phase of their history. The future of the Karelian toilers rests in their own hands. On the basis of the self-determination of nations, there lie before them unlimited possibilities of national development. The powerful union of the working peoples,

federated in Soviet Russia, will defend the rights of the Karelian toilers, their national self-determination and their freedom from the yoke of all exploiters and oppressors. After fighting many hundreds of years against a barren nature for their existence, the Karelian toilers are now passing from oppression and exploitation onto the road of the family of all the nationalities now freed from all oppression and exploitation. Having succeeded under difficult conditions in preserving their own language and the remnants of their old national traditions, the Karelian toiling people are now in a position to create for themselves, through peaceful work and cultural activity, a new future as a self-determining, free people. Their tirelessly toiling forefathers handed down to them a memory of their hard life in their national songs and traditions, which connect the present generation with the uncounted generations which toiled in the past under the same ineluctable skies. For many centuries the toiling masses of Karelia have lived a deathlike life, under the heavy burden of the Tsar's tyranny, suffering from the brutal arbitrariness of the Tsaristic officials and all the tools and hirelings of Tsarism. The heroic revolutionary struggle of the Russian proletariat has freed also the Karelian working people from the oppressive yoke of Tsaristic tyranny. But History imposed upon the Karelian people a new trial, and the white guards, supported or even created by local or foreign robbers and bloodsuckers, exploiters of all kinds, threw the Karelian people into the bloody horrors of the white guard attacks. During the white guard regime, the whole weight of bloody punitive measures fell upon the wide toiling masses of the Karelian people, whose boys took part in the heroic fight against the perpetrators of the outrages and died as victims of their brutal acts of vengeance, preparing through their deaths a better future for their toiling brothers.

Aided by the toiling forces of the Soviet Republic, helping its heroic Red Army, and by the splendid sons of kindred Finland, the Finnish red communist forces, the toiling people of Karelia are freed from the violence of the white armies and from the yoke of robbers and exploiters. The toilers of Karelia, as well as the other peoples of the Soviet Republic, have, in the form of the soviets of workers and peasants, at last received the means of social freedom and a peaceful cultural and national development. The supreme authority in Karelia will hereafter reside in the hands of the Congress of Karelian Soviets, but temporarily affairs will be directed by the Karelian Revolutionary Committee. The Karelian Workers' Commune, in accordance with the decision of the first All-Karelian Conference, will be in close touch with the Russian toiling people, and will operate as a unit with the Soviet Republic of Russia. Although a part of the Republic, differing from its other parts through national and economical conditions, it will have its own able self-governing organs with a wide liberty of action. The limits of its scope of activity will be defined later in co-operation with the respective organs of the Soviet Republic, on the basis of the principle of a close association and union of the working peoples of different nationalities and their right of self-determination. The Soviet government of Russia greets with deep joy the newborn Karelian Workers' Commune, which joins the family of Workers' Soviet Republics, and it has full confidence that the Karelian Commune will grow and flourish as the advance guard of the working class in the far away Northwestern part of the Federative Soviet Republic. The Russian Soviet Government gives to the Karelian Commune the promise that it will give all help and defend it in its work, seeing in this an important step in the great construction work of the World Soviet System.

(Signed)

September 22, 1920.

DZHENUKIDSE, Secretary
of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

KALININ, Chairman

of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

(Published October 5, 1920, in "Karjalan Kommuuni", the official organ of the Karelian Workers' Commune).



EDWARD GYLLING

Chairman of the Karelian Workers' Commune

II

DECREE

Concerning the Council of National Economy of the Karelian Workers' Commune

1. The direction of the economic life of the Karelian Workers' Commune, and also of the economic organs of the districts and counties, belongs to the Council of National Economy of the Karelian Workers' Commune.

2. All economic establishments and organs now functioning in the territory of the Karelian Workers' Commune are made subject to the Council of National Economy of the Karelian Workers' Commune, which has the right to their reorganization.

Note. The Murmansk railroad and the Onega factory are under the direct control of the People's Commissariat of Transportation and of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

3. To the Council of National Economy of the Karelian Workers' Council belong: Two members of the Karelian Executive Committee (of the Soviets), and two representatives of the District Council of Trade Unions, as well as all responsible directors of the departments of the Council of National Economy.

Note. The Executive Committee appoints the directors of the departments, agreeing upon them with the District Council of Trade Unions.

4. The Presidium of the Karelian Workers' Commune's Council of National Economy is composed of five members, of which the Executive Committee names two, and the Council of National Economy in its full session three, confirmed by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee names the chairman and vice-chairman of the Council of National Economy from the Presidium. The



The Delegates to the First Karelian Soviet Congress (February, 1921) Outside the Congress Hall.

Presidium concerns itself with the development of the Commune's economic life and the care of its administration.

5. For the present, the Council of National Economy of the Karelian Workers' Commune is divided into the following departments:

1. Lumber Industry Department.
2. Metal Department.
3. Various Productions Department.
4. Road and construction Department.
5. Transportation Department.
6. Agricultural Department.
7. Necessities of Life Department.
8. Foreign Trade Department.

Besides which there are being organized in connection with the Presidium:

1. A Technical Bureau.
2. A Statistical and Control Bureau.

6. The Council of National Economy drafts the basic plans of production for the development of the various departments of Karelian economic life and presents them for confirmation by the Karelian Executive Committee. When they have been found to be in harmony with the general economic plans of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, these plans shall form the basis for the proceedings of the Council of National Economy.

The Council of National Economy shall provide stringently that such plans are developed and renewed in accordance with the requirements of the times.

7. The Council of National Economy shall annually draft plans of production and acquisition for the Karelian economic life for the ensuing year, in such time that the Executive Committee may be enabled to consider them with the Supreme Council of National Economy, and to

confirm them for observance. As necessary, additional plans are drafted to apply in such cases as have not been ascertained beforehand

More detailed regulations are given for the drafting of general and annual plans.

8. In their respective spheres, the departments direct the national economy and workers, in accordance with the general provisions of the laws of national economy of the Republic, and also in accordance with the divisions of the Karelian Executive Committee and of the Council of National Economy drafting new plans for the consideration of the latter.

9. The Council of National Economy of the Karelian Workers' Commune is in direct contact with the Council of National Economy and other central economic organs of the Republic, through its own representatives.

10. The Council of National Economy of the Karelian Workers' Commune has the right of expropriation and confiscation in the territory of the Karelian Workers' Commune, and in the field of the national economy it is authorized to engage in such proceedings the purpose of which is to strengthen the attainments of the social revolution of the working class.

11. This Decree goes into effect in such manner that the Karelian Revolutionary Committee shall immediately name the Presidium provided in Section 4, which (Presidium) is to see to it that the Departments referred to in the Decree are brought to their final form within the present year, and that this Decree shall go into effect from the first day of January, 1921.

Petrozavodsk, September 30, 1920.

KARELIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE
EDVARD GYLING, *Chairman.*
J. O. ARJANNE, *Secretary.*

III
D E C R E E

of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissars, on the Administrative Areas of Karelia

1. With the Karelian Workers' Commune the following portions of the province of Olonets (Aunus) shall be combined:

From the Olonets (Aunus) district: the counties of 1. Tulemajärvi, 2. Widele, 3. Vieljärvi, 4. Kotkajärvi, 5. Piipuskala, 6. Njekkula, 7. the village of Kaschanskaja of Vaashun county.

From the district of Petrozavodsk: 1. City of Petrozavodsk, and the following counties, 2. Muujärvi, 3. Kentjärvi, 4. Saamajärvi, 5. Suoju, 6. Jalguba, 7. Pyhajärvi, 8. Derevskaja, 9. Sunu, 10. Kontupohja, 11. Tivdia.

From the district of Poventsä: 1. Paadane, 2. Mäntyselkä, 3. Porajärvi, 4. Repola, 5. Rukajärvi, 6. the village of Käppaselkä of Sunku county, and the village of Unitsa. From the province of Archangel:

The following counties of the Kem district: 1. Kannanlahti, 2. Kouta, 3. Kierretti, 4. Oulanka, 5. Kiestinki, 6. Vitsäläipale, 7. Pistojärvi, 8. Vuokkiniemi, 9. Uhtua, 10. Paanajärvi, 11. Ponkama, 12. Usmana, 13. Kontokki, 14. Jyskyjärvi, 15. Tungut, 16. Voijärvi, 17. Suiku, 18. Suikujärvi, 19. Sorokka, 20. the City of Kem.

2 The Revolutionary Committee of the Karelian Workers' Commune is temporarily the highest administrative organ, and to it are given the powers of the executive committee of a province (*Gubernia*). All the executive committees of the districts, counties and villages, preserving their machinery, continue their functions in accordance with the general principles established by the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

3. To the People's Commissariat of Internal affairs are given the tasks of specifying in what order the transference of affairs from the Executive Committee of the province of Olonets (Aunus) to the Karelian Revolutionary Committee shall occur, and of settling the question of uniting those districts of the province of Olonets (Aunus) to the border provinces, which districts were not now combined with the Karelian Workers' Commune.

V. ULIANOV (Lenin)

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries

M. KALININ

Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee

A. DZHENUKIDSE

Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

August 4, 1920.

IV
R E S O L U T I O N

of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissars, on the Jurisdiction of Karelian Authorities

With the purpose of securing the economic independence of the Karelian Workers' Commune, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, in accordance with the principle of its proclamation of September 22, 1920, resolves as follows:

1. The immediate direction of the economic life of the Karelian Workers' Commune belongs to the Council of National Economy of the Karelian Workers' Commune.

2. For bringing its activity in harmony with the general economic plans of the Republic, the Karelian Council of National Economy shall take as a guide the production plans presented to it by the Supreme Council of National Economy.



The First All-Karelian Soviet Congress in Session (February, 1921)

3. Keeping in view the principles of economic unity, the subsidizing of the Karelian Workers' Commune industry, both by money grants as well as otherwise, shall occur in accordance with the estimates of expenditures and plans of the Council of National Economy, which estimates and plans have gained the approval of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

4. Productive establishments belonging to the commonwealth's industrial system are under the immediate control of the Central Organization of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

5. The Executive Committee of the Commune establishes as a guiding organ the Presidium of the Council of National Economy of the Karelian Workers' Commune, agreeing upon this matter with the District committee of the unions.

Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee:

M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries:

V. ULIANOV (Lenin).

Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee:

A. DZHENUKIDSE.

V

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR IN KARELIA

A Decree of the People's Commissariat of the Interior
(August 7, 1920)

In accordance with Article 3 of the decree, in effect and of date August 4, 1920, by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, the Commissariat of the Interior, in engaging to organize the machinery of the Revolutionary Committee of the Karelian Workers' Commune, has decreed:

1. With the consent of the Executive Committees of the Provinces of Archangel and Olonets (Aunus), to place at the disposal of the Karelian Workers' Commune, for the purpose of work, all such workers of the soviet and social organizations of the province of Archangel and the districts and counties of the province of Olonets (Aunus), as speak the Karelian tongue; upon the condition, however, that extreme hindrances to their work do not result from this provision.

2. To preserve fully in the form in which they have been up to the last moment, the machinery of the districts and counties in the districts of Olonets (Aunus), Petrozavodsk, Kem, and Alexandrowsk.

3. To preserve the machinery of the Karelian counties in the province of Povenetsa.

4. Unconditionally to forbid teachers, male army attendants, physicians, veterinarians, and other workers in those districts, who transfer into the charge of the Karelian Workers' Commune, from absenting themselves from their occupation.

5. To give those functionaries of provincial offices, who desire to work under the guidance of the Karelian Workers' Commune, the privilege to secure employment according to their own wishes.

6. Concerning the distribution of other functionaries, the question is left to the Commune's Revolutionary Committee and the Executive Committees of Archangel and Olonets (Aunus) Provinces for decision in common; questions regarding which there are differences of opinion shall be settled in the proper Commissariat.

7. The Executive Committee of Olonets Province shall distribute the workers in their departments in such manner that the Karelian Workers' Commune may become capable of functioning.

Regarding the Division of Property

8. Property of local character is relinquished to the Workers' Commune if the district (the needs of which the property has heretofore satisfied) belongs under the

jurisdiction of the Workers' Commune; and eventual disputed questions will be settled in the proper Commissariat.

9. Necessities of life and essential materials are apportioned among the Karelian Workers' Commune and the Provinces of Olonets and Archangel according to the provisions given in regard to the subsidizing of cities, rural sections and factories.

Note. The apportionment will be preserved in this form until the subsidy plans of the Karelian Workers' Commune are separated from the subsidy plans of the provinces of Olonets and Archangel.

10. Office supplies, paper and property of the soviet organizations are apportioned in such manner that, beginning from its first day of work, the needs of the Karelian Workers' Commune are satisfied.

11. In all such circumstances as are not referred to in the preceding, the matter shall be decided in common or in the proper Commissariat.

12. Commencing from the date of designation of the boundaries between the Karelian Workers' Commune and the provinces of Olonets and Archangel, one month is assigned for the performance of the changes herein provided for.

For the People's Commissariat of the Interior:
Member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of the Interior: A. GALKIN.

Director of the Administrative Department: TSHISTJAKONI

VI

MILITARY MOBILIZATION CHANGED TO LABOR MOBILIZATION

(A Decree of the Karelian Revolutionary Committee)

(From "Karjalan Kommuni", November 6, 1920)

To the Karelian people:

The Karelian Revolutionary Committee hereby promulgates for the information of the inhabitants within the territory of the Karelian Workers' Commune the following order of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic:

"The Revolutionary War Council of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic hereby promulgates for the information of the citizens of the Karelian Workers' Commune the news that, for the purpose of aiding the people of the Commune in their internal construction of the country, destroyed through war activities, the Soviet Government desires to give to the Commune recently formed within the territory of the Republic the possibility of concentrating all their energy and working ability upon internal construction and the enhancement of the country's industrial life. To bring this about, the military mobilization begun in the territory of the Karelian Workers' Commune is discontinued for the present and transformed to labor mobilization. In informing the public of the Commune of the above, the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic expects that, if the population itself as well as the local governmental organs exert all their energy and strength, labor will be freed from military duty and will bear abundant fruit in the field of internal construction."

The Revolutionary Committee of the Karelian Workers' Commune is convinced of the fact that the population of Karelia will closely comply with the above order of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic, and that liberation from military mobilization will make it possible for the Revolutionary Committee and its local organs to enhance the country's economic well being to the extent required.

Karelian Revolutionary Committee:
Chairman: EDVARD GYLLINC.
Secretary: J. O. ARJANNE.



Students of the Karelian Teachers' Seminary (Petrozavodsk, February, 1921.)

VII

THE PEOPLE OF THE KARELIAN WORKERS' COMMUNE ARE CALLED UPON TO COOPERATE

A Proclamation of the Karelian Workers' Commune Citizens:

By the decree of June 7th (1920) of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, a territorial unit, the Karelian Workers' Commune, has been formed, and the temporary highest administrative organ named, the Karelian Revolutionary Committee. The territorial boundaries of the Commune are determined by decree of the Council of the People's Commissars of Soviet Russia, and of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The economic relations of the Commune and Soviet Russia are regulated by the Decrees of September 2 and 16 of the Council of People's Commissars, and of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Thus an agreement has been made upon the principal questions, which are conditions for the possibility of economic and cultural progress of the Karelian Workers' Commune, and, fully aware of the importance of the work presented, its chosen organs can direct all their strength, skill, and will upon the organization of the territory's internal life, which the generally straitened circumstances of the Socialist Republic and the attacks of the Millers and the Whites of Finland have shaken.

The inhabitants of the Commune receive a new source of strength and courage from the All-Russian Central Executive Committee's "Proclamation to the People of Karelia", in which the highest organ of the toiling masses of Russia gives the Commune a promise to help it in every way in its work.

To work, citizens! The Karelian Revolutionary Committee has already begun the organization of the Commune's economic and administrative institutions.

In the near future you will be governed and taken care of by the organs of the Commune. The Kem District Government is already taken care of by the Revolutionary Committee of the Kem district.

The Revolutionary Committee performs the preparatory work of the Congress of the Soviets of the Commune, which congress elects the Executive Committee of the Commune's soviets. The Revolutionary Committee is preparing several

economic plans for the improvement of the life of the Commune's population.

The Revolutionary Committee does everything in its power for the arrangement of the Commune's life. But the prosperity of the Commune does not depend upon the Revolutionary Committee, but upon you, citizens. Upon your labor, your discipline, and your execution of the orders of the Soviets of the Commune. Until the Executive Committee of Olonets district and its departments have formally transferred affairs to the Revolutionary Committee, you are to fulfill without insubordination the orders of those departments which now serve the Commune. You are to obey the orders of the Soviets of the Districts and Counties as before.

The Revolutionary Committee turns especially to the citizens of Kem District, saying: Do not lend your ear to the provocational incentives of Finland's white guards, nor to lying rumors, which incite you against the Soviet power. Eject summarily the pseudo-government which is organizing in your territory under the leadership of the White-Finnish magnates. Only the toilers' power, your own power, the Soviet power, gives you true well-being, and not the promises and guarantees of the enemies of the toiling people.

To work with a single will, citizens and comrades!

The Karelian Workers' Commune:

Chairman: Edward Gylling; Members: Jaakko Maki, Vasili Kudshijeff, Vasili Gurjeff, Ivan Daniloff, Feodor Pottotjeff, Ivan Nikitin; Secretary: J. O. Arjanne.

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Non-Conformists of the Russian Revolution

By MAX STRYPYANSKY

A Chapter from Russian Revolutionary History

THE history of modern revolutions shows a great diversity of main and side-currents, of heated discussions, wasted energies, forgotten sacrifices. This applies especially to the first decade of this century, the epochs immediately preceding and following the First Revolution, that of 1905.

The revolutionary movement had then just begun to emerge from the stagnation into which it had been plunged after the destruction of the "Narodnaya Volya", the bold terrorist organization whose chief accomplishment—the execution of the Tsar Alexander II in 1881—was also the beginning of its decline. Practically all of its members were arrested before the middle of the eighties. What followed then was not so much a struggle against the ruling power, as theoretical discussions within the ranks of those who had either escaped abroad or completely withdrawn from any illegal activity. Until that time the Russian revolutionary movement—while still calling itself Socialistic presented a Socialism of a specifically autochthonous type. It was a struggle of the progressive layers of the bourgeoisie—notably the intellectuals—whose aim was the Europeanization of the country, the introduction of Western democratic institutions. But while in Western Europe the fight for democracy was carried through with the help of the industrial proletariat, there was in Russia no industrial working class to speak of. Quite naturally the Russian malcontents turned to another dissatisfied element—the peasantry. The then prevailing romantic illusion that the Russian peasant was a genuine Communist (because of his association with the *mir*, the quasi-communistic landholding system) gave rise to a belief that Russia need not pass through the capitalist stage of Western Europe, but might proceed directly from feudalism to socialism. The bitter experience of whole generations of youthful propagandists who "went among the people" but usually succeeded only in getting arrested and handed over to the Tsar's police by those same "communistic" peasants, turned the erstwhile propagandists and "goers to the people" into terrorists. With the killing of high officials and finally of the Tsar himself, they hoped to force the government to grant political freedom and western democratic institutions that would enable them to prepare the great masses of the ignorant peasantry for their socialist ideal. At present we know that all their Socialist phraseology was self-deception, was only an idealistic embellishment of their heroic struggle for bourgeois democracy.

They did not succeed. The government, shattered for a moment, had almost been induced to start negotiations with the "Narodnaya Volya"—but after convincing itself that the strength of its opponents in reality reposed only on the heroism

of a number of individuals, carried the struggle to an end and destroyed the organization.

This defeat stirred a number of revolutionists to look for another way to defeat Tsarism. They found this way in the Marxian Socialism of Western Europe. The spokesman of this group was none other than George Plekhanov, who, together with Leo Deutsch, Paul Axelrod and the former active terrorist Vera Zasulich formed the group "The Emancipation of Labor," which marks the beginning of the Social-Democratic movement in Russia. The industrial proletariat, which at that time had just begun to develop in the great Empire, was to become the main force for the overthrow of the Asiatic despotism. Even the adherents of the old genuine Russian socialism began to acknowledge the importance of the working class in the forthcoming task. In a discussion between Plekhanov and Tikhomirov, the then most important literary spokesman of the "Narodnaya Volya" abroad (he later recanted and became editor of a reactionary daily in Moscow) there were coined the notable sentences which almost in a nutshell show the stand taken by the old and the new ideology. Tikhomirov said: "I admit that the proletariat is very important for the Revolution." To which Plekhanov retorted: "No, the Revolution is very important for the proletariat." The whole stand taken by Plekhanov later on, especially during the war and the Revolution of 1917, shows that while the terminology was different, at bottom they were in agreement. Only Tikhomirov was more cynical in his readiness to use the workers frankly as a tool for his, the Bourgeois Revolution—while Plekhanov, more circumspect—meant that the Bourgeois Revolution was of paramount necessity for the workers themselves. The workers might make their choice. . . .

Social Revolutionists and Social Democrats

Out of the remnants and admirers of the "Narodnaya Volya", based on the ideology of Lavrov and Mikhailovsky, developed in the beginning of the twentieth century the Party of the Socialist-Revolutionists (usually called after their initials, the S. R. or "Eser's"). Although "in principle" they recognized the class-struggle, they considered as the main forces of the revolution the intellectuals and the peasants. Their favorite means of combat was terrorism, and they have to their credit some of the most admirable types of heroes and idealistic martyrs, such as Balmashov, Yegor Sazonov, Kalayev, Gershuni. But with all due respect to the heroism of their fighters—the aims of the party were purely bourgeois; its goal was bourgeois democracy of the French or English type; after this was reached, they were to stand on the extreme right of the Socialist movement, together with Bernstein, Henderson, and all

the reformists for whom sometimes even the Second International is too revolutionary. And it is a grim joke that the two leading spirits of their terrorist fighting organization, especially after the arrest of Gershuni, were the two supermen of spycraft and white-guardism—Azev and Savinkov. This is the party that brought forth Kerensky, Chernov, Avksentyev, Chaykovsky and so many other heroes of Russian and European counter-revolution.

Parallel with this party there developed, after the beginning of this century, its great rival on the revolutionary field, the Marxian Social Democracy. In its aims it did not differ very much from the Social-Revolutionists. Both were fighting for the same "ideal", the democratic Republic. They differed only in their means and in some purely theoretical conceptions. Not sharing the S. R.'s view as to the important role of the individual, they rejected terrorism as unnecessary and even harmful, for individual heroism, detached from the masses, might, according to them, create in the masses the illusion that they need not themselves fight. And they concentrated all their efforts on organizing the industrial workers for the struggle for political liberty.

When speaking of the coming revolution—both revolutionary parties had exclusively in mind the bourgeois democratic revolution. If the Social-Democrats sometimes spoke of the "revolution of the proletariat," or the "proletarian revolution," they meant it in a somewhat Pickwickian sense: the fighters in the revolution were to be proletarians, but the goal was to be democratic, which sounded better than "bourgeois". Nothing was more remote from their minds than the Social Revolution; for, first, most of them were bourgeois intellectuals or intellectual declassés, for whom bourgeois democracy really meant a great step forward. And what is good for ourselves we usually consider as good for others too. It is the old mechanics of unconscious deception and self-deception that may be observed in every revolution. And second, even in the industrially highly developed Western Europe the proletarian revolution was a distant dream—was it then worth while to speak about it at all in a backward country like Russia?

Dissenters

But nevertheless there appeared some individuals and groups who in that period, shortly before and after the first revolution (1905) began to speak of a Social or Workers' Revolution as against the bourgeois revolution heralded by the two great parties. They usually were, so to speak, the illegitimate offspring of the two parties, as well as of orthodox Anarchism, the Anarchism of Kropotkin, which, while theoretically preaching Social Revolution in Europe, practically did not differ at all from the S. R. and the S. D. in its conceptions as to the purely political character of the coming Russian revolution.

Machajski and the "Makhayevtsy"

One of the first "dissenters" of this epoch was the Polish-Russian revolutionary Marxist, W. Machajski (A. Wolski), who in 1902 published in his Siberian exile an interesting pamphlet under the title "The Evolution of Social Democracy" (the first part of his large work "The Intellectual Worker") in which, proceeding still from the Marxian point of view, he criticizes the bourgeois character of the Socialist parties, the prevalence of the class interest of the intellectuals in their policy, and advocates the immediate seizure of power and dictatorship of the proletariat for the immediate abolition of the bourgeois exploitation. The insight with which he exposes and almost predicts the future anti-proletarian and anti-revolutionary role of the Socialist parties is most amazing, and his criticism of bourgeois democracy, which at that time was quite unusual and was considered an exaggeration even by most of the Anarchists, has since 1917 become almost a commonplace for Communists. He later somewhat modified his views, and his theoretical system, which brought forth a rather voluminous literature, was often called a combination of Marxian, Blanquist, Bakunist and Syndicalist elements. He and his adherents founded a number of groups ("Makhayevtsy") in Petrograd, Odessa, Warsaw (and Cracow, on Austrian Polish territory), concentrating their activity mostly among the unskilled workers and the unemployed, whom they urged to come out with immediate concrete demands addressed either to their employers (higher wages) or to the Government (to provide immediately for work for all unemployed). According to them the workingmen were always ready to fight, if only the object was obviously in their interest, such as higher wages or providing of work for the unemployed. The further development of this struggle, assisted and organized by a secret organization, was to bring about a decisive clash between the whole working class, using the weapon of the general strike, followed by insurrection, and the forces of the Government. The outcome was to be the dictatorship of the working class which, however, in Machajski's view, was somewhat different from the conception commonly prevailing since 1917.

This group was not very successful in its activities. Most of its members were soon arrested and dispersed. Some of them are at present active in the Communist movement. Machajski himself after the November Revolution (the latest news of him reached us in 1918), admitted that part of his predictions had not come true—viz. the Bolsheviks had turned out to be better than he expected. And he was not sorry.

"Beznachalye" and "Chornoye Znamya"

On the opposite pole, although likewise appealing to the unskilled and unemployed, was the Anarchist group "Beznachalye" (Without Authority). Founded by two picturesque young men, an Armenian student with the strange name of Nicholas Romanov who, quite different from his

illustrious double, was famous for his wit and cleverness, and a former theological student with (then) Tolstoyan leanings (hence his nickname "Tolstoy"), the group claimed to be the direct continuator of the gospel of Bakunin and Nechayev. Like Machajski, they argued that the masses are always ready to revolt; but while Machajski, being a cold realist, wanted to employ this rebellious spirit for the struggle for immediate concrete demands, and was absolutely opposed to any idealist slogans such as "Socialism", "Anarchy", etc., which according to him could not bring about the workers' revolution, the "Beznachaltsy" urged the masses (or rather the few hundred readers whom their papers and leaflets reached) to kill, to rob the rich, to take revenge upon the bourgeois class, until after a long series of individual reprisals the whole mass of the people would rise in revolt for the beautiful ideal of Anarchy. The group met with a sad fate. Nicholas Romanov was arrested in Russia, with bombs in his possession, and got fifteen years of hard labor. "Tolstoy" tried to rob a bank in Switzerland, killed two clerks and citizens who pursued him, and finally committed suicide in prison by burning himself with a kerosene lamp. A number of other members found their death on the scaffold. In general, the group disappeared. In a way, Makhno might be called their epigone.

Very near to this group was another Anarchist circle called after its organ "Chornoye Znamya" (The Black Flag). Its founder, Judah Grossman ("Roshchyn"), was a very brilliant speaker, who could enthral his listeners with clever paradoxes. He borrowed much of his thunder from Machajski, and consequently did not like him very much. His two new contributions to Anarchist terminology were the "commune" and the "unmotivated terror". His idea of the "commune" consisted in "seizing a city" if only for a couple of days, abolishing all authority there—and thus giving a shining example to the workers of the country. This plan remained forever dead theory. He had more success with his "unmotivated terror." It consisted in throwing bombs into fashionable hotels, cafés, theatres or even in killing the first bourgeois one met on the street. It was called "unmotivated," as opposed to the regular terrorism which was practised by other Anarchists on capitalists who for some reason had become obnoxious to the workers; his terrorism was to be practised without any special motive. Of course, he was quickly contradicted by some still more consistent rivals, who declared that killing bourgeois could not be called "unmotivated" in any case, for the very fact of being a bourgeois was to the Anarchist already a criminal offense. There were such "unmotivated" bombs in Odessa, Yekaterinoslav and Warsaw. A number of his personal friends and followers were executed. Grossman himself somehow survived and is now cooperating in Moscow with the Soviet Government as leader of the "Sovietsky," i. e., pro-Bolshevik, Anarchists, bitterly attacked of course by many of his former admirers.

"Marxian" Anarchists

In this connection we must also mention the group of Marxian or "Syndicalist-Anarchist-Communists," formed around the paper "Novy Mir" (1905), which was founded by a former Social-Democrat (of the Bolshevik faction, if we are not mistaken) who assumed the name of "Novomirsky." He was strongly opposed to the "expropriations" (i. e., armed robberies), which had become a kind of favorite sport of a great number of Anarchists, and opposed to their heroic suicide-mania, something that was very much akin to French Syndicalism. However, Communist-Anarchism for him soon became only the "program minimum," and he was about to withdraw to a purely philosophical Anarchism, when he was arrested and condemned to eight years of hard labor. After escaping from Siberia, he came to New York, determined to withdraw from politics for good, when the Russian Revolution of 1917 induced him to return again to his country. He is now a frequent contributor to Russian Communist reviews, and it is most likely that the old-time rivalry of the two Anarchist hierarchs, Grossman-Roschyn and Novoyirsky, has come to a close, now that they are both working for the Soviet Government.

The "Maximalists"

The Social-Revolutionists also gave birth to a current that already in 1905-1906 was advocating the Social Revolution. It was at first only an opposition within the party, the main controversy being, if we are not mistaken, the question of the agrarian terrorism (terrorism against the big landholders) and the armed attacks for expropriating government money for party purposes. The official party, bent upon its respectability, was against these two forms of terrorism, and recognized only the killing of obnoxious government officials. Finally, that opposition founded a separate party calling itself "Socialists-Revolutionists-Maximalists," meaning that their revolutionary activity was bent upon immediate conquest of the maximum program, i. e., Socialism itself. One of their first theoreticians was Eugene Lozinsky, a writer of great learning and ability, who later embraced the gospel of Machajski. This party stands out among all other terrorist groups that ever existed in Russia, through the almost incredible daring with which they, in large groups, organized their terroristic attacks against the leading officials or the property of the Government. Most of them perished in the unequal struggle. It was their name (Maximalists) that was attached ten years later, after the March Revolution of 1917, by the bourgeois press to the Bolsheviks.

Among the present champions of Social Revolution in Russia it was strangely enough the then Menshevik Leon Trotsky who at that time, after the downfall of the Revolution of 1905, was the first to propagate the idea of the Social Revolution, not as something that was far distant, but as the task of the actual moment. This stand, of course, separated him from his former associates; he

formed among the Russian Social Democrats a class by himself. No wonder that he joined the Bolsheviks, who had always formed the left wing of the Russian Social Democracy, when during the war they took the stand that in the course of time made them *the* party of the Social Revolution.

THE SLAVE WOMEN OF YESTERDAY

(Our readers will be interested, after reading the following account of the Congress of Azerbaijan Women, in the picture on the next page, which reproduces a propaganda poster, for use among Turkish-speaking women, the central figure of which has cast aside her veil and is calling her sisters to revolt.)

The First Congress of the Azerbaijan Women came to a close in the city of Baku on the 11th of February. Over 1,200 delegates were present, of whom 450 arrived from most distant *auls** and settlements. In spite of the numerous obstacles put in their way by husbands, brothers and fathers, all these Moslem, Armenian, and Georgian Women and Mountain Jewesses arrived at the Congress convened by the Section.

February 8 — the opening day of the Congress — was proclaimed a public holiday for the working women of Azerbaijan. Thousands of old and young Moslem, Armenian, Georgian, Jewish and Russian women paraded the streets of Baku carrying banners amidst the strains of the "International."

The Congress lasted for four days. Women who

*Villages of the Caucasian mountain tribes.

had never before opened their mouths in the presence of strangers mounted the tribune and spoke of the slavery under which they lived and of the prospects which the Soviet Government opened up to them.

It is an interesting fact that some of the delegates had to divorce their husbands in order to come to the Congress. The divorced wives laughingly related these facts and their speeches met with lively applause on the part of the Assembly because such facts more than anything else illustrate the immorality and rottenness of the foundation upon which the family as it exists today is built.

All the resolutions passed really amounted to one and the same thing—that the Soviet Government is the only Government which protects the interests of the oppressed and is the only Government to be supported by the Congress.

The Congress of the Women of the East elected 150 delegates, the greater number of whom are Moslem women. Instructions were given to present the Women's Section of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party with a banner inscribed as follows: "Working and Peasant Women of Red Russia, we have taken the road pointed out by you, and there is no power on earth to compel us to withdraw. To the Women's Section of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, from the Women of Azerbaijan."

The Congress issued an appeal to the Women of the entire East to follow the example of the working women of Azerbaijan.

—*Russian Press Review.*

The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia

Guarantee equal rights to men and women, regulate inheritance, the property rights and obligations of children and parents, guardianship, marriage, divorce, descent, adoption, etc. The full official text of these laws, printed in a booklet of 85 pages, sent postpaid for 25 cents.

Labor Laws of Soviet Russia

This booklet (80 pages) contains the laws adopted by the Workers' and Peasants' Republic to fix the terms and conditions for labor in Soviet Russia. Important matters, such as the Right to Work, Labor Distribution, Unemployment, Working Hours, etc., are discussed. There is also a supplement by S. Kaplun, of the Commissariat of Labor, on THE PROTECTION OF LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA. This booklet gives the complete official text of the Soviet labor laws. Sent postpaid for 25 cents.

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"HAIL TO THEM THAT SHALL BE FREE!"
A Poster (Original in Colors) Illustrative of Educational Work Among Oriental Women in Soviet Russia. (See preceding page.)

Books Reviewed

THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION. By EDW. ALSWORTH ROSS. New York: The Century Company.
MAYFAIR TO MOSCOW. CLARE SHERIDAN'S DIARY. New York: Boni and Liveright.

Professor Ross undertakes to tell the story of the period of revolutionary storm and stress which began with the overthrow of the Tsar and ended with the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the definite establishment of the Soviet power. The very form of the work imposes upon it certain inevitable limitations. It is quite impossible to give an adequate description of the tremendous changes in Russian political, social and economic life which took place between March, 1917 and January, 1918, in a book of three hundred pages. A mere recapitulation of important documentary material would require far more space.

Conceding a certain measure of superficiality which is conditioned by its extreme condensation, Professor Ross' work is, generally speaking, excellent. It will undoubtedly attract many readers who would be frightened away from a more bulky and scientific history. It has the high merit of clarity. The style is vigorous and vivid, with occasional rhetorical touches. The author enjoys access to a certain amount of material which has not yet been published in English. In this connection the stories of the November Revolution told by three Bolshevik leaders and active participants in the movement are noteworthy. By comparing these three firsthand accounts it is possible to gain an extremely clearcut conception of what actually happened in Petrograd during those momentous November days.

The book is also very fair, as books about Russia go. Of course, Professor Ross has a definite viewpoint about the Revolution; but it is a viewpoint that makes for neutrality, as between the Bolsheviks and the propertied classes. It is the viewpoint of an advanced liberal who looks upon moderate brands of Socialism with a certain amount of tolerance and sympathy.

The author's bias makes him overtly lenient with Kerensky, whose character he idealizes and whose mistakes he glosses over. A man in Kerensky's position had two logical alternatives. He could have honestly accepted the Revolution, thrown over his compromising associations with the propertied classes, and put himself at the head of the Russian masses in their struggle for their three cherished objectives: peace on the front, land for the peasants, factories for the workers. Or he could have fought the Revolution in wholehearted co-operation with the elements of reaction. Either of these policies would have been consistent and would have offered some prospect of success. But Kerensky was unable to make up his mind either way. He wavered and shuffed until he had completely lost the confidence of all factions. Professor Ross often gives Kerensky credit for magnanimity where weakness and vacillation would furnish a better explanation for his conduct.

The concluding chapter, on the Constituent Assembly, is violently anti-Bolshevik; and it has already given at least two reactionary reviewers an eagerly awaited opportunity to distort and misrepresent the general nature of the book. It is interesting to examine Professor Ross' philippic against the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in the light of the following sentences, which appear at the end of his preface:

"If the train bearing Lenin and eighteen other Bolsheviks across Germany to Russia had fallen through a bridge on its way and all had perished, events in Russia would have taken much the same course. The peasants would have seized the estates and the soldiers would have quit fighting. The robbed and oppressed masses—a hundred millions of men and women—moved toward the goal of their long unfulfilled desires like a flow of molten lava that no human force can dam or turn aside."

Now the Constituent Assembly attempted to dam this

flow of lava. Numerically dominated by representatives of peasant districts which had not yet appreciated the menace of counterrevolution and the impossibility of placing any further confidence in the Kerensky government, the Assembly attempted to turn back the revolutionary tide by refusing to legalize what the city workers and soldiers had already accomplished. After risking their lives in overthrowing the Kerensky regime it would have been a grotesque anachronism for the Bolsheviks to have recognized as the supreme authority a body dominated by Kerensky's party, the Social Revolutionists.

In every great revolution a time comes when it is necessary to sacrifice the formal principles of democracy in order to give the revolution scope to develop to its farthest limits. So in France the definite and unconditional abolition of the feudal imposts only followed the expulsion of the Girondist deputies from the Convention. And in Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat, expressed through Soviets, was necessary in order that the full social gains of the Revolution might be achieved.

If one excepts the last chapter, the book may be called quite favorable to the Bolsheviks. The author sketches rapidly and vividly the almost incredible sufferings of the soldier, the worker and the peasant under Tsarism. This background of misery and oppression is a most powerful factor in the loyalty of the Russian people to the Revolution, in their readiness to endure terrible hardships and submit to rigid self-discipline rather than return to anything that savors of the old regime. Professor Ross absolves the Bolsheviks of responsibility for the abortive uprising in Petrograd in July, 1917. This movement was a spontaneous outburst of popular discontent, which the Bolsheviks entered in its later stages only for the purpose of giving it order and cohesion and averting useless bloodshed. They had no desire to precipitate an insurrection at this time, for they realized the danger that the revolutionary capital might be deserted by the provinces and the armies.

The author also emphatically repudiates the insinuations that the Bolsheviks were German agents, or that they ever accepted German money. These charges, by the way, have chiefly been given currency by renegade Socialists like Bourtzev, Bernstein and Spargo, who, with far more plausibility, might be accused of being Allied agents. The overwhelming popularity of the Soviets and the corresponding indifference or hostility of the Russian masses toward the Provisional Government are also brought out. Among the interesting new material which is included in the book is a speech delivered by Milyukov to an audience of soldiers, sailors and workmen in the Tauride Palace on March 15, 1917, immediately after the successful consummation of the March Revolution. Possibly for the sake of sparing his learned colleague's feelings, Professor Ross, in his transcription of the speech, leaves out the passage in which Milyukov announced that the old dynasty would be retained, that Alexis, the son of Nicholas, would be Tsar, and that the Grand Duke Michael would be Regent.

Professor Milyukov himself, however, is evidently not at all inclined to repudiate his monarchist sentiments. He is now employing his leisure in writing a history of the Russian Revolution. And, in the first volume of his work, which has just been published, M. Milyukov actually selects for quotation from his speech at the Tauride Palace the one passage which Professor Ross omitted. When the plan for a continuation of Romanov rule was dropped, as a result of the insistent protests of the workers' and soldiers' representatives, Milyukov sets down the following gloomy comment in his history:

"Thus took place the first capitulation of the Russian Revolution."

It is the triumph of the common people over the rich and powerful that gives the Russian Revolution its peculiar historical significance. The bourgeois politicians of the Duma found more than their match in the working class

leaders of the Soviets. The common soldiers in the trenches refused to be bullied or cajoled into going on with the useless slaughter either by the threats of their officers or by the empty rhetoric of Kerensky. It was the workers and soldiers who forced Milyukov to withdraw his lying declaration that Russia was willing to fight on for the sake of getting Constantinople. It was the same workers and soldiers who rallied around the Soviets and caused Kornilov's counterrevolutionist plot to end in a miserable fiasco. Again, it was the Petrograd trade unionists, and the soldiers of the garrison, and the Kronstadt sailors who finally stormed the Winter Palace and swept away Kerensky and all his compromises and evasions with him. The Bolshevik leadership was brilliant and devoted; but the Soviet Republic primarily owed its origin to the mighty impulse of the Russian masses to make themselves free. The story of how they won their freedom is told by Professor Ross, not always with entire sympathy, but with a very creditable measure of fairness and accuracy and understanding.

Mrs. Sheridan's trip to Moscow to make busts of the Soviet leaders,—an adventure that must have sadly shocked her cousin, The Honorable Winston Churchill—has already been widely chronicled. Mrs. Sheridan's diary is an adequate reflection of her personality. It is brilliant, witty, audacious and colorful.

The author is frankly interested in individuals, rather than in principles. Her word sketches of some of the Bolshevik officials are admirable. Krassin, whom she met in London, impressed her as "calm, sincere, dignified, proud, with self-consciousness and without vanity. Scientific in his analysis of things and people. Eyes that are unflinching and bewilderingly direct, nostrils that dilate with sensitiveness, a mouth that looks hard until it smiles, and a chin full of determination."

Here is the impression she gained while engaged in sculping Lenin:

"Never did I see anyone make so many faces. Lenin laughed and frowned, and looked thoughtful, sad and humorous, all in turn. His eyebrows twitched, sometimes they went right up, and then again they puckered together maliciously.

"I watched these expressions, waited, hesitated, and then made my selection with frantic rush—it was his screwed up look. Wonderful! No one else has such a look; it is his alone."

But Mrs. Sheridan carried away from Russia more than the recollection of a few striking and brilliant personalities. She was profoundly moved by the creative energy of the Soviet Republic, by the dignity of its sufferings and sacrifices, by the tremendous moral force which, as she felt, was at work building up a new civilization in the midst of every imaginable obstacle. So she writes:

"I love the bedrock of things here, and the vital energy. If I had no children I would remain and work. There may be no food for the body, but there is food for the soul, and I would rather live in discomfort in an atmosphere of gigantic effort, than in luxury among the purposeless."

A. C. F.

Report (Political and Economic) of the Committee to Collect Information on Russia. Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty. London, 1921. Quarto, 167 pages.

The complete report of the British "Committee to Collect Information on Russia" has not been generally available to American readers, and the excerpts published in the American capitalist press have been carefully selected to bolster up the prevailing sentiments of the enemies of Soviet Russia. The complete report is indeed hostile in spirit and adverse in its conclusions. A sympathetic hearing was not to be expected from a committee composed of Lord Emmott, Sir William Ryland Adkins, Sir Ellis Hume-Williams, and the Right Hon. William Brace, subsequently succeeded by Major Watts Morgan. But the interest of this document consists not in its strictures on

the Communists and the Soviet Government, so widely exploited in the American press, but rather in certain statements and admissions to which these investigators were driven.

The report begins with a sketch of pre-Revolutionary Russia, in which the government and institutions of the Russian monarchy are characterized in a manner which would scarcely have been permitted even in a private publication in Great Britain during the war, much less breathed of in an official British White Paper. "Except for short intervals," says the report, "the policy of the Russian autocracy was reactionary and obscurantist. As a result of this policy, the progressive intellectual forces of the nation were divorced from all practical political participation in the government of the State, and most of the avenues of public service were closed to them." Social conditions in capitalist Russia are described as follows:

"The class of industrial workers rapidly increased in number. They lived for the most part in towns and crowded together in narrow areas, developing, as they grew, new needs and formulating new demands and powerfully contributing by their labor to the prosperity of the State. Side by side with the workers, there grew up a class of industrial magnates, controlling and directing their labor, and leaning for support from the early days of Russian industry upon the privileged classes. A study of industrial conditions discloses a disregard on the part of employers for the dignity of human life and for the social dangers proceeding from the physical and psychological results of a degraded labor often performed amid surroundings of a degrading and dehumanizing character." At which point the Committee thinks it well to remark that "similar abuses have prevailed in other countries, but it is necessary to emphasize that an enhanced danger attaches to them in a State where liberal minds are impelled more and more by the policy of the government to give revolutionary expression to their aspirations."

The field in which revolutionary propaganda found fertile soil is described in a few striking sentences. "The speculative activities of the Seventies was followed by a period of industrial depression and many factories were compelled to dismiss large numbers of their employees. Strikes broke out in Moscow, and the Government replied by the Factory Act of 1886, which made strikes illegal, while endeavoring to remove abuses which had grown up in the workshops during the early industrial period. A further industrial depression in the early Nineties and the frustrated hopes of a more liberal regime aroused by the accession of Nicholas II in 1894 increased the discontent among the workers."

With this instructive historical sketch the report proceeds to outline the "factors which contributed collectively to demoralize the Russian Army, to undermine the economic structure of the State, to discredit the autocracy and thus create that atmosphere of despondency, despair and apprehension which prevailed throughout Russia in the month of February, 1917." Strange to say, among these factors we find no mention in this report of speeches by Trotsky in the Bronx or train rides by Lenin through Germany. On the contrary, the Committee finds "that Russian industry, still in a relatively primitive stage of development, could not supply technical equipment" necessary for modern war, that "the administration was corrupt and inefficient and ill-suited to concentrate, adapt and develop the resources of the country for the successful prosecution of the war;" that "great numbers of men were mobilized indiscriminately, without regard to the maintenance of enterprises essential to the State both at home and at the front;" and that, "in a special degree, the railway services suffered a serious depletion both of their administrative experienced staff and skilled mechanics." The decline in the efficiency of the railways "ultimately became progressive." In 1916 "the transport system was no longer able adequately to maintain, at one and the same time, the supplies of the armies at the front and of the population at home." Thus the report describes Russia in 1916, before the Revolution, before the civil war, before

intervention, before the blockade. And out of this same report the American press has pretended to find evidence that the Soviet Government is wholly responsible for the present economic condition of Russia.

The report describes the food crisis in February, 1917. "During this month, blizzards interrupted railway traffic and the delivery of flour to Petrograd. The bread supply failed. Long queues were to be seen throughout the city and in the working-class quarters bread was scarcely to be obtained at all. A series of mass demonstrations began. The bridges across the Neva were drawn up, but thousands of hungry men and women poured across the frozen river and made their way to Nevsky Prospect on the other side. (Page 14.)

"The Revolution was sudden, spontaneous and all-embracing. All classes of the population gave to it their active support or tacitly acquiesced in it. The soldiers of the Petrograd garrison, ignoring or opposing the orders of their officers, flowed out on to the streets of Petrograd and joined the hungry crowds of the workmen. The liberal members of the Duma who had created the atmosphere in which the Revolution broke out found themselves taken unawares and were utterly powerless. The Provisional Committee of the Duma which was formed during the political crisis preceding the Revolution was unable to restrain the forces which the Revolution had released. The city was in the power of a mass movement, irresponsible, uncontrolled and uncontrollable."

The British investigators find it important that the character of the Soviet should be clearly understood—"in the first place because the Soviet was regarded as the leader of the Revolution by the workers and soldiers in Petrograd and by the rank and file of the army and the popular masses throughout Russia; second, because it was in the Soviet that the Bolsheviks were represented and in it that they came to play a more and more influential and ultimately dominant role." As for those other institutions which survived only in the fond memory of the American State Department, the report says: "The Provisional Committee of the Duma loomed vaguely in the minds of the masses as a reactionary remnant of the old order which had passed away. The tide of revolutionary events swept over and it was soon forgotten. The Provisional Government, to which it had given birth, inherited the popular suspicion with which it was regarded . . . Whatever prestige the Provisional Government had had among the people melted away after the declaration of Milinkov, as Foreign Minister, supporting the acquisition of the Dardanelles by Russia on the successful conclusion of the war." Meanwhile the prestige of the Bolsheviks among the masses "grew uninterruptedly" as the summer wore on. "The Provisional Government became a helpless figurehead. The misunderstanding between Kornilov and Kerensky finally discredited both the Government and those who saw the only hope of successfully opposing the Bolsheviks in the establishment of a military dictatorship. Amidst the divided Councils and mutual recriminations of those whose united action was essential to the stemming of the advancing tide, the Provisional Government became a melancholy spectre of governmental impotence. Alone among this babel of dissentient voices the cries of the Bolsheviks 'Down with the War,' 'Peace and Land,' and 'The Victory of the Exploited over the Exploiters,' sounded a clear and certain note which went straight to the heart of the people." The Soviet power occupied the Government buildings. "The Provisional Government simply melted away."

The Committee briefly recapitulates this excellent history of the Russian Revolution as follows:

"After the Revolution of February, 1917, the Bolsheviks gradually obtained widespread popular support. Their program offered peace to the Army, land to the peasants, and a control of industry to the industrial workers. Their success was made possible and assisted by (a) the political chaos and economic disorganization existing in Russia; (b) the war-weariness prevailing in the Army and among the population as a whole; (c) the inability of the Provisional Government successfully to meet the great burden

of responsibility imposed upon them—a responsibility increased by having to encourage the continuance of military operations by a country where unsuccessful war had largely contributed to bring about a revolution; (d) the successful subversive propaganda carried on by the Bolsheviks themselves."

From this point forward the Committee confesses that the "absence of detailed and authoritative information has prevented us from making a chronological survey of the history of Russia during the last three years." From some of their observations on the later events, however, it is interesting to quote. They find that the Communist Party, "although numerically insignificant in comparison with the population of Russia, is undoubtedly the most highly organized political group existing in Russia today." Its members "are mostly picked men" who are "bound together by strict Party discipline and taught to believe that a high responsibility attaches to them as Communists for the defense and expansion of the Revolution, whether by arms against internal or external enemies, or against the present economic disorganization of Russia, and they are often punished if guilty of delinquency or failure more severely than others who are not members of the Party."

The Committee finds that the Communists were aided by "the political, administrative and moral bankruptcy of the White Russians," which gained for the Reds "the active or tacit support of the majority of the Russian people in the civil war." This must be interesting reading for Mr. Churchill and other friends of the White Guards. There is small comfort for the interventionists in this report.

"With regard to the effects of intervention, the abundant and almost unanimous testimony of our witnesses shows that the military intervention of the Allies in Russia assisted to give strength and cohesion to the Soviet Government, and, by so doing, achieved subsequently the opposite of what it was intended to effect . . . When the intervention of the Allies in Northern Russia was continued, after the German danger, which evoked it, had disappeared, and Allied military assistance was given to the armies of Denikin and Kolchak in the civil war, the Soviet Government began to look upon itself as the defender of the world revolution against the attacks of capitalist countries, which attacks they regarded as unprovoked . . . When, following the military success of the anti-Bolshevik forces, the White leaders showed themselves unable to organize a democratic administration, their rule was undermined and finally overthrown by the very population which had welcomed them as deliverers from the Bolsheviks. Owing to these events the Soviet Government rallied to itself large numbers of other classes . . . There is evidence to show that up to the time of military intervention the majority of the Russian intellectuals were well disposed towards the Allies and more especially to Great Britain, but that later the attitude of the Russian people towards the Allies became characterized by indifference, distrust and anti-pathy."

With respect to the nature of the Soviet Government the Committee admits its information is incomplete. They concede that "young children are treated with the utmost humanity and the best provision possible in existing circumstances is made for their comfort." They admit "the enthusiasm and sincerity" shown by the Soviet Government in the cause of education, although they fear that this enthusiasm is directed "not to promote intellectual progress," but to develop the human mind for the reception of Communism. Nevertheless, they report, "the evidence shows that with regard to adult education great efforts have been made to teach illiterates to read and write, and with some success, especially in the case of soldiers serving the Red Army."

The most interesting part of the report is that in which the Committee places the responsibility for the present economic condition of Russia. "It is clear," they state, "that the war of 1914-1917 disorganized the economic life of Russia; that the Revolution in February, 1917, was the result of a gradual undermining of the political and the economic fabric of the State in the course of the war, and

that the Revolution itself and the disruptive forces which it released still further extended and hastened the process of economic disorganization. We are prepared to agree that the effects of the war were calamitous." The Committee, of course, cannot refrain from a passing word upon the "indiscriminate policy of nationalization," to which, they feel, to some extent must be attributed the further decline of Russian industry. They note, however, that "in the Summer of 1918 the outbreak of civil war, accompanied by foreign intervention, caused the Soviet Government to divert to military purposes all its energy and the residue of Russia's industrial capacity. In these circumstances the collapse of all other than war industry became complete . . . The strength and energy of the Bolshevik leaders were concentrated on the successful campaign against Yudenich, Denikin and Kolchak, and the needs of the civil population were of necessity sacrificed to those of the Army. The successes of the campaign are to be attributed to the fact that unity of aim and method and the enthusiasm of a new idea were to be found on the side of the Bolsheviks, while on the other side there was every kind of disorganization and lack of unity, with a growing disinclination for strenuous fighting." There was also the blockade to contribute to the difficulties of the Soviet Government. "The blockade reacted principally upon the exchange of commodities between town and country. Agricultural machinery, and implements, and manufactured articles in universal use, had chiefly been imported into Russia from abroad. The peasant was no longer able to obtain these articles in exchange for the paper currency he received for agricultural produce . . . We agree, therefore, that the blockade accentuated the difficulties of the Soviet Government in relation to the peasantry, and we are prepared fully to take into account the effect of these difficulties upon the life of the towns, which are entirely dependent upon the villages for corn and other agricultural produce."

The American newspapers, which found so much material for their purposes in this report, for the most part neglected to quote the following observation:

"It is maintained by the Bolsheviks that the Soviet Government has existed too short a time for considered judgment to be passed upon its success or failure, and that during the greater part of this period they have been prevented from laying the foundations of economic reconstruction owing to the civil war and the foreign intervention which accompanied it. We are prepared to agree that their time has been short and their opportunities restricted."

K. D.

СПУТНИК КРАСНОАРМЕНИЦА. — Литературно-издательский отдел политического Управления Революционного Военного Совета Республики. — The Red Army Man's Guide.—Published by the Literary and Publishing Section of the Political Direction of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. Moscow, First Government Printing Office (formerly Sytin's), 1920. 367 pp.

This handbook for Red Army soldiers was issued in an edition of 250,000 copies and presumably distributed to all the soldiers who were on military duty at the time the book came out. The comparatively small size of the edition is explained by the fact that the numerical strength of the Red Army has been considerably decreased since the various military fronts have no longer required that entire armies be held in constant readiness to meet the danger of new invasions, which has been growing less and less serious.

First comes a calendar (two closely printed pages for each month), marking the anniversaries falling within each month. Most of the dates thus celebrated are recent, falling in the 1905 and 1917-1921 periods, but some go back to more remote social upheavals, thus: "May 5, 1789: Opening of the States-General in France;" "May 27, 1797: Execution of Gracchus Babeuf;" "May 17, 1789: The States General in France declare themselves by ballot to be a Constituent (National) Assembly;" "August 1,

1881: Jewish Pogrom at Nezhine;" "August 7, 1869: The Eisenach Congress of the German Social-Democracy; Founding of the Social-Democratic Party;" "August 8, 1891: Second Congress of the Second International at Brussels."

Section II, which follows the Calendar, contains a "History of the Russian Communist Party" (pp. 35-55), by V. Nevsky, together with questions and answers on political life generally, biographies of important socialist leaders (Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Ferdinand Lassalle, August Bebel, Jean Jaurès, Lenin, Trotsky), articles on the destructive effects of the world war, the origin of the October Revolution, etc.

Section III, "Administrative," contains the full text of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Section IV, "Red Army Men's Section," discusses the spiritual and physical obligations of the Red Army Soldier, gives the texts of soldiers' songs, etc.

Section V, "War Section" (with illustrations), is one of the most extensive parts of the book (100 pages). It provides technical military information, on tank warfare, on digging trenches, small arms manual, and many other details of importance in actual military operations.

Section VI, "On Instruction," gives full details of the organization of instruction in reading and writing, for soldiers, as well as of instruction in military schools.

Section VII, "Cultural-Educational Section," discusses clubs, soldiers' libraries, and other institutions for the spread of education, and adds a very long bibliography, with titles of books on Agriculture, Socialism, Revolutionary History, and Warfare.

Section VIII, "Information Section," presents a mass of useful knowledge that would be of very general interest, such as tables of weights and measures, first aid to the injured, lists of military sectors, etc.

It is a book that Red Army men no doubt find of great interest and utility. We have discovered so much valuable material in it that we expect to make use of a number of its chapters in later issues of SOVIET RUSSIA.

J. W. H.

COMBUSTIBLE SLATE

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn reports:

In the first three months of the year 1921, the production of combustible slate amounted to 566,000 poods as compared with the 552,000 that had been estimated. In January, the yield was less than that provided for by schedule (91,000 poods instead of 117,000); in February and March, however, the schedule was already being exceeded; in February, 228,000 poods were obtained instead of 195,000; and in March, 247,000 instead of 240,000.

LABOR IN THE URALS

Moscow, May 19.—Work is progressing in the mines of the Urals. In February the workers were unable to carry out their program, in consequence of the poor situation in foodstuffs and fuel. But in March the amount of metal that had been estimated was exceeded by 250,000 poods.

FREE CARRYING OF PROVISIONS

Moscow, May 18.—A supplement to the Decree on Free Trade, issued by the Commissariats for Labor and Defence, provides that every passenger on the railroads or by ship has the right to free transportation of four poods of goods in large packages and one pood in hand baggage.

THE ACTIVITY OF THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL DIVISION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ECONOMY

A recent issue of *Novy Mir* (Berlin) contains the following information on this subject:

Attention should be called, among the various commissions of the Scientific-Technical Section of the Supreme Council of National Economy, to the Commission for the Investigation of the Russian North and the Industrial Northern Expedition. After the liberation of the Government of Archangel and the Murman region from the control of the American-English armies, the scientific-technical section equipped an expedition for the purpose of studying the rational exploitation of the fisheries and other industrial activities of the Nar region, and dispatched it to the North. This expedition has its own ships and fishing utensils, and is led by experienced specialists and students of the Russian North.

The Scientific-Technical Section also has a publishing department, which has been showing considerable activity. For instance, it issues periodically a collection called "Communications on the Scientific-Technical Labors in the Republic," which has as its task the issuing of information on the scientific labors of various scholars. The work is edited by Professors Dolgov, Reformatsky, Eichenwald, and Louirov-Skoblo. The "Communications" have also contained the latest results of the recent labors of Professor Wulf on Roentgen rays, of Professor Zhukovsky on the theory of stream-line resistances, of the Academician Ignatiev, Professor Khlopin, and a great number of other scholars. In addition, there is published a monthly, "The Scientific-Technical Messenger", which has the task of illuminating the various scientific-technical questions connected with organization and production, the investigation of natural resources of the country, and the development of all the productive forces of the Republic. Besides these, a series of books, the "Library of the Workers", is issued, which includes a number of interesting popular reference books.

With the opening of the boundary, the scientific technical section transferred a portion of its activity to Berlin, where it issues a periodical "Successes of Industrial Technology", and a series of books, "Recent Achievements of Science and Technology". In addition, together with a great number of recognized German scholars and engineers, a series of reference works for engineers, workers and technicians, is being printed.

The Scientific-Technical Section of the Supreme Council of National Economy is more closely associated in its work with similar organizations in foreign countries, than is any other Russian institution, as all instruments of precision for apparatus and laboratories are obtained from foreign countries. The center of this activity in foreign countries is in Berlin, in the so-called "Bureau for Science and Technology," which was organized on the basis of a Decree of the Council of People's

Labors, under the leadership of Professors Federovsky and Eichenwald. Many scholars and engineers of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Sweden have declared their readiness to take up relations with Russia, and have already been in correspondence with the Bureau. The Russian scholars and engineers are particularly interested in the successes of western science and technology in the period from 1914 to 1920, in other words, during the years when Russia was cut off from other countries.

Of particular importance is the activity of the Patent Section, in the matter of importing foreign industrial improvements.

The Bureau is organizing at Moscow an exhibition of scientific-technical improvements, of new implements, apparatus, and mechanical aids. A great portion of the electro-technical articles were already transported to Russia in December, 1920. Altogether the Bureau has purchased in Germany various articles valued at 6,000,000 marks, and invested about 3,000,000 marks in its publishing work.

THE WHITE SLAVES OF FRANCE

Pravda for April 22 contains an article by Radek with the above title, discussing the decision of the French Government as to Wrangel's army, and containing, among others, the following paragraphs:

"If there were persons among those connected with the Wrangel army, who participated in the filthy manoeuvres of the Paris Bourse and imagined that they were thus aiding in the reconstruction of Russia, and if these people today are shocked or astonished by the cynicism of the French Government, the latter may say to them with a clear conscience that it is not the fault of the Government if people are so simple as to imagine that capitalist governments are capable of any other feelings."

The French Government has altered its plan and is now pursuing a new course. It wishes to bring about a Russian Revolution from within and is staking everything on peasant uprisings. It is clear that "in order to attain this object, the Tsarist generals and landed proprietors in their train must be tucked away in some place where they are not visible, in order that the Russian small peasant may not be frightened by them."

At the end of his article Radek says the following: "From the very first day the Russian counter-revolution has been nothing more nor less than cannon fodder for the Entente. As long as the counter-revolution had hopes of victory, the Entente was more or less well disposed to the counter-revolution. But today the Entente has no further reason for being polite and treats the Wrangel soldiers as fertilizer for Brazilian farmers, or as beggars who may infest Southern Europe on their quest for alms. The Entente is unflinching in the lessons it teaches. It has taught the revolutionary workers and peasants to abhor its imperialism;

it is now already imbuing the counter-revolutionary soldiers with the same feeling, and this will be the soil out of which the revolutionary will blossom. The adherents of Wrangel and the *shlachtzis* will not become revolutionists, but their army consisted of peasants and intellectuals, and these classes, in their present unspeakable misery, are today wearing out not only their last pairs of trousers, but also their last illusions."

NOTE TO RUMANIA

Moscow, April 21.—The Commissars of Foreign Affairs of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, in a joint radio reply to the Rumanian radio of April 13, reiterate their protest against the hostile and arbitrary acts of Rumanian warships on Russian and Ukrainian shipping in the Dniester liman. The two Governments state that they can in no case consent to the principle of dividing the Dniester liman into two equal parts, with the simultaneous presence therein of warships of all three countries. They repeat that Russian and Ukrainian ships usually become the target for Rumanian fire as soon as they appear in the liman and they declare that they will consider themselves constrained to resort to all available measures of defence against the hostile actions of Rumanian ships and batteries. To remove the menace to the cause of peace, engendered by the existing situation in the liman, the Russian and Ukrainian Governments find the only possible solution in the immediate convening of a mixed commission, not however for the purpose of any division of the liman waters into two halves, but, on the contrary, to establish a uniform regime throughout the entire liman, which would remove all causes for conflict between Rumania on the one hand and Russia and the Ukraine on the other. The Allied Russian and Ukrainian Governments express the hope that the Rumanian Government will not insist on its negative attitude to their proposal, which aims to promote the cause of peace between the interested nations. —*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

EXPEDITION TO NORTHERN SIBERIA

Moscow, April 20.—The Russian Geographical Society is completing the equipment of an important expedition to the Pyasina to investigate this river and the surrounding regions. The river flows into the Northern Arctic Ocean to the east of the Yenisey. Its length is about 730 kilometres, and its entire basin has hitherto remained unexplored. The Expedition is to consist of 25 men, including botanists, hydrographers, geologists, zoologists, etc. They will leave Petrograd in April and are to be provided with steamboats at Krasnoyarsk, whence the Expedition is to proceed down the Yenisey to the Arctic Ocean up to the mouth of the Pyasina, and then up that river to its source. The work of the Expedition will require about two years.

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EDUCATION FOR ILLITERATES

"*Clarté*," a paper published by a group of advanced thinkers in France, publishes in a recent issue the following letter from Moscow:

Moscow, April 11.—The Soviet Government has considered it from the very beginning of its existence to be one of its most important duties to give instruction to the illiterates who constituted a sad distinction of the Russian Tsarism. For this purpose a special extraordinary commission was appointed in the Commissariat of Public Instruction, whose first task it has been to function as the "liquidators of the illiterates," who often ran as high as two million for each province of the country.

The difficulties have been enormous. Chief among them was the almost total lack of teachers. To train new teachers, it was necessary to make the schools accessible to the great masses of more or less schooled workers. Already we are in possession of statistics that will give an idea of the work accomplished.

By the 1st of October last, in 124 districts out of 600, nearly 16,000 teachers had been trained, who are called "liquidators of the illiterate." In the same districts, 350,000 illiterates had been taught to read and write: in the Province of Tambov, 40,000 persons; in Cherepovets, 58,000; in Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, 50,000; — all these have received their first initiation in the mysteries of the alphabet.

The entire country has been covered with a thick net of extraordinary provincial, county, and district commissions, which are carrying on the most active propaganda in favor of education. They issue primers, in accordance with the latest and most practical methods, and with the political principles of the Soviet Government. In 1920, a million of these primers were distributed, as well as 70,000 copies of political catechisms and 20,000 posters and placards.

The Commissariat for Foreign Commerce has ordered abroad and received enormous quantities of pens and pencils intended for the courses of the illiterates; six and one-half million pens have been manufactured. In 1920, 2,700,000 illiterates received instruction. In view of this result, it seems certain that the future of this work is full of promise. The district of Buzuluk alone, for example, has 324 schools, with 10,106 pupils.

The eastern peoples of Russia, long the most backward in the country, now have regular courses in their native languages. The Buzuluk district, for example, has 10 Tartar schools and 17 Chuvash schools. Numerous telegrams appearing daily in the press show that this is not an isolated case, but a symptom of a movement that is spread throughout Russia. If we mention also the fact that there are now certain armies in which not a single illiterate remains, there would seem to be no doubt that in this field Russia will soon have excelled those nations that have thus far been the most advanced.

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SOVIET RUSSIA



THE ARMED PEASANT

The original of the above poster, which was issued by the Ukrainian Soviet Government, bears at the top the words: *Орач я, з рушницю над сторожу—бороню свободу і землю!* ("A Sower I, on guard with my gun, I defend liberty and my land!") The three words at the bottom, which we have retained, are the Ukrainian equivalent for "A Sure Victory is the Best!" Other Ukrainian Soviet Government posters will be found on pp. 54, 74, and 77.

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The 'Fight Against Prostitution

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY

(The following article, translated from the Russian, especially for Soviet Russia, was delivered in the form of a speech to the Third Congress of the Women's Sections of the Communist Party of the various provinces. The speech was printed in an edition of 40,000 copies, from one of which it is taken by us. The author, long the head of the Russian women's movement, has written a large and important volume on the "Protection of Motherhood", a number of sketches of travel entitled "Through the Workers' Europe", and numerous pamphlets and articles, few of which, unfortunately, have been translated into English. A contribution from her pen, almost rivaling in brilliancy the article of which the first instalment follows, appeared in SOVIET RUSSIA, Volume I, No. 28.)

The Question Neglected Hitherto

COMRADES: The question of prostitution is a delicate and difficult one, to which but insufficient attention has been paid in the past, in the Soviet Russia of the workers. And yet this dark heritage of the bourgeois capitalist past continues to vitiate the atmosphere of the Workers' Republic, and to influence for the worse the physical and moral health of the working population of Soviet Russia. It is true that under the influence of the changing economic and social conditions during these three years of revolution, prostitution has somewhat altered its earlier form and character. But we are still far from having outlived this evil. It continues to weigh down upon us, inflicting the greatest harm to that feeling of solidarity, of comradeship between the members of the Workers' Republic—the toiling women and men—who constitute the basis, the foundation of the new Communist society which we are aiming to build, to consolidate, and to put into actual practice. It is time that we should devote some attention to this question. It is time seriously to study its causes. It is time to find ways and means for a complete eradication of this evil, which should find no place in a Workers' Republic.

In our Workers' Republic there has hitherto been a lack not only of laws aimed at an eradication of this evil, but also of a clear expression of our attitude toward prostitution, as an evil harmful to the general good. We know that prostitution is an evil; we even understand that now, in this

extremely difficult transition period, prostitution is assuming large and intolerably extensive proportions, but we simply wave it aside, we are silent on this phenomenon, partly through a remnant of hypocrisy that is still with us as the heritage of the bourgeois view of life, partly through inability to properly grasp and become conscious of the damage which a widely developed prostitution is inflicting upon the working society. To this is to be ascribed the neglect of the question of prostitution, and of the ways of combating it, which has been manifest hitherto in our legislation.

Up to the present time the collection of our laws has been lacking in any kind of legislation touching upon prostitution as a dangerous social phenomenon. When the old Tsarist laws were annulled by the Council of People's Commissars, all the legislation on prostitution was abolished together with them. But there were not introduced, as a substitute for the abolished measures, any new laws in the interest of the workers' society. This is because of the unnaturally motley nature of our measures, of the contradiction that characterizes the policy of the Soviet power in various places, on the subject of prostitution and the prostitutes themselves. In certain places there have been carried out regular hunts for prostitutes, conducted "in the old style," with the aid of militia. In other places, the disorderly houses exist openly (in the Inter-Departmental Commission for Combating Prostitution actual data on this subject are available). In other places still, the prostitutes were declared to have the same status as criminals,

and were interned in hard labor camps. All this shows that the absence of a clearly formulated legislation creates an extremely confused relation between the local powers and this complicated social phenomenon, producing a number of varied and harmful deviations from our own principles of legislation and morality.

It is necessary therefore not only to approach the question of prostitution directly, but also to seek a solution of it that would be in accordance with the fundamental principles and postulates of the social and national-economic program of the Communist Party.

Definition of Prostitution

It is first of all necessary precisely to define *what is prostitution*.—Prostitution is a phenomenon closely bound up with an income not earned by labor and it therefore flourished in the epoch of the rule of capitalism and private property. Prostitutes from our standpoint are all women who sell their caresses, their bodies, for temporary or extended periods, for the advantage of men, in return for material compensation, for fine food, clothes, trinkets or adornments, and for the right, obtained by selling themselves to men, not to undertake any labor, not to subject themselves to work of any kind.

Prostitution in our Soviet Republic of Workers is an outright inheritance of the bourgeois capitalist past, in which only an insignificant number of women were occupied with productive labor in the national economy, while an enormous number, more than half of the entire female population, lived from the labor of their husbands or their fathers, their "meal tickets".

Prostitution in Ancient Times

Prostitution arose in remote times under the earliest forms of government, as an inevitable shadow cast by a fixed formulated marriage system, preserving the right of private property, and securing the passing down of possessions along the line of legal heirs. By this means it was possible to save the accumulated or frankly stolen riches from the division that would inevitably result from too great a number of heirs in succeeding generations. But between prostitution as it was in the times of the Greek dikterions and the Roman lupanars, and the prostitution of our day, there is a great difference. The prostitution of ancient times was in the first place numerically very insignificant. In the second place, there was no such tinge of hypocrisy connected with the prostitution of pagan antiquity as would enable the people at that time to adorn themselves with the morals of the bourgeois capitalist world and induce bourgeois society respectfully to remove its hat in the presence of the "legal" wife of the capitalist magnate, who sold herself openly to an unloved husband, and to turn away in disgust from the girl thrown into the streets by the force of poverty, of lack of care, of unemployment, and of

other social causes arising from the nature of capitalism and private property. Prostitution in ancient times was regarded as a "legal" accompaniment of regular established family relations. Aspasia received more respect from her contemporaries than did their colorless wives at home, their breeding apparatus.

In the Middle Ages

In the middle ages, under the petty guild system, prostitution was recognized as a legal natural phenomenon of life; the prostitutes had a guild of their own, which participated on the same footing as the other guilds in holiday parades and municipal celebrations. Prostitution guaranteed the "chaste" daughters of respectable citizens and secured the fidelity of legally obtained wives, since the bachelors always had an opportunity, in return for a corresponding fee, to indulge in the pleasures of the flesh with the professional guild prostitute. Consequently prostitution was useful to the honorable citizen proprietors, and the latter openly acknowledged this fact.

With the rise of capitalism the picture begins to change. For the first time in history, prostitution began to assume in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the character of a danger to society owing both to its proportions and to its nature; the sale of the labor power of women, which was increasing without interruption, is closely and indissolubly bound up with the sale of the female body, and results in the fact that there enter the ranks of the prostitutes not only the "lost" outcast girl, but even the respectable wife of the worker, the mother, for the sake of the children; the young girl (Sonia Marmeladov), for the sake of the family. It is a picture of horror and hypocrisy, arising from the exploitation of labor by capital.

Wherever wages are insufficient to feed the woman, there appears a tempting underground trade—the sale of love. The hypocritical morality of bourgeois society, on the one hand, breeds prostitution with all the force of its destructive exploiting economy, while on the other hand it mercilessly brands with contempt the girl or the woman who has been forced by need on to this much trodden path.

Prostitution follows as a black shadow in the wake of legal marriage in bourgeois society. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries prostitution assumes enormous proportions, unequalled in history. In Berlin there is one prostitute to every twenty so-called respectable women. In Paris there is one to every eighteen, but in London there is one to every nine. One form of prostitution is that which is open, regulated, legal; another form is that which is secret, underground, "occasional". But all forms appear as a poisonous, unhealthy growth in the rank swamp of the bourgeois system of society.

Inevitably Associated with Capitalist Society

And even children, the tender buds of the future, are not spared by the bourgeois class world, which

casts little girls of nine or ten years of age into the filthy embraces of rich old men satiated with vice. So-called disorderly houses with minor and infant inmates are a phenomenon that has been in existence for a long time in bourgeois states. At the present moment, after the war, unemployment, which weighs most heavily on women, has caused a tremendous growth in Europe of an army of "street women". Hungry crowds of wealthy purchasers of white slaves cruise nightly through the streets of Berlin, Paris, and the other cultural centers of the respectable capitalist states. Openly, in view of everyone, the market in female flesh is carried on. But why not! The bourgeois world is built up altogether on purchase and sale, and even legal marriage itself includes unquestionable elements of material or at least economic calculation. Prostitution, as an underground trade, is an outlet for the woman who has not succeeded in obtaining a male supporter for herself. Prostitution under capitalism is a means for men to attain conjugal relations with women without burdening themselves with the obligation to support them for a long period, until death do them part.

But if prostitution is so wide-spread, if it is maintaining itself even in Soviet Russia, how shall we fight against it? To answer this question it is necessary first to recall to mind what are the causes of prostitution, what is the source from which it flows.

Bourgeois learning and its representatives have felt it proper to point out to the world that prostitution is a "pathological" phenomenon that is itself called forth by the abnormal qualities of certain women. Just as there are said to be criminal types that are congenital in their origin, so it is declared there exist born prostitutes. Wherever you may put them, no matter what conditions they may be placed in, these women will end in vice, and in the way of all flesh. Of course these misrepresentations of the bourgeois scholars go to pieces when faced with the facts of life.

Marx and the more honest of the bourgeois scholars, physicians and statisticians, clearly point out that the innate inclinations of the woman play no part. Prostitution is first of all a *social phenomenon*, closely associated with the undefended position of woman and her economic dependence on man, both in the family and in marriage.

Pseudo-Science and "Morality"

The roots of prostitution reach far down into the economic system. The economic exposure of women, on the one hand, and the habit, ingrown in women, through many centuries of education, to seek material support from a man by legal or extra-marital relations, on the other hand, that is the root, that is the cause of prostitution. As a matter of fact, if the bourgeois scholars of the school of Lombroso and Tarnovsky, who claim that prostitutes are born with indications of perverseness and sexual abnormality, are right in making this claim, how do they explain the very

well-known fact that in times of crisis and unemployment the number of prostitutes suddenly increases? How do they explain the fact that the purchasers of "living flesh", of white slaves, who came to Tsarist Russia from other countries, always found a rich harvest in the starving provinces, suffering from poor crops, and came off empty-handed in the provinces that were well fed, with a very small yield of white slaves? Why did there suddenly appear so many perverted types of women, branded for ruin by nature, in years of famine, or unemployment?

And, furthermore, is it not typical that in capitalist countries, prostitution recruited its numbers for the most part among the *indigent layers of the population*? The greatest percentage of prostitutes are always found in the more poorly paid trades followed by working women, among the more neglected and lonely young women, forced by bitter need and by the necessity of immediately feeding their little brothers and sisters, who have fallen as a care upon the unprotected, young and penniless girl. If the theory of the bourgeois scholars on the innate criminality and perverseness of certain women were correct, as a reason for prostitution, all classes of the population, including the rich and protected classes, would give as high a percentage of criminal and perverse women as the needy classes. But as a matter of fact this is not the case. The professional prostitutes, living by the sale of their bodies, are recruited with rare exceptions from the propertyless class. They are driven to prostitution by poverty, hunger, neglect, or by the crying phenomena of social inequality, these foundations of the bourgeois system.

Let us take another example. The increase in professional prostitution, as is shown by statistics, comes in all capitalist countries from girls between the ages of thirteen and twenty-three, in other words, the age of childhood and youth. And among these girls the majority are those that have been neglected or lonely. It is characteristic that the daughters of comparatively protected families, of whom their well-to-do parents took proper care, enter the ranks of prostitution only in very exceptional cases. In most cases these girls are victims of a number of tragic circumstances, among which a very important part is played by the traditional lying and hypocritical bourgeois "double standard of morality". The girl who has "sinned" is cast out by her bourgeois family, and, finding herself alone, unaided, branded by the contempt of "society", is placed in a situation that has only one outlet, namely, prostitution.

Economic Causes of Prostitution

Badly paid labor, the striking inequalities of capitalist society, the unhealthy habit of women to depend economically on men, to seek support not in their own labor power, but in pay for love, at the hands of the "feeding" man,—this is what breeds prostitution, it is there that we must seek

the roots of this long existing, unhealthy phenomenon.

The workers' revolution in Russia, which shook the foundation of capitalism, also dealt a blow to the former dependence of woman on man. All citizens are equal before the workers' society, only they are obliged to work for the common good, and, in case of need, they are entitled to the assistance of the collective system. The woman is protected no longer by marriage, but by her participation in the creation of the national wealth, in other words, by her own productive labor. The mutual relations between the sexes are being transferred to a new basis. But the old views and conceptions are still weighing down upon us. And besides, our economic system is still far from having been fully established along the new line. We are still far from the Communist system of life. Naturally, in this transition period, prostitution still has powerful supports. For, many of the reasons that brought it forth have not by any means been removed, although the fundamental causes that bred it—private property and the petrified forms of the bourgeois family—have been eliminated. But there still remain a number of causes, the neglect and lack of protection of childhood, the poor living conditions of the working class, the loneliness of youth, the low pay of female labor, the imperfections of our provisioning apparatus, the general disorganization of the national economy, and a number of other economic and social phenomena which still give rise to the sale of female flesh, and thus support prostitution.

Should the Soviet Government Fight Prostitution?

The struggle against prostitution means first of all a struggle against all the above mentioned phenomena, in other words, to support the general policy of the Soviet power in the matter of strengthening the beginnings of Communism and perfecting production. This is our chief, our fundamental task. But some will ask: is it necessary in this case to wage a special war on prostitution? This painful phenomenon will outlive itself when we have strengthened the power of the toilers and brought about, in full, the beginnings of Communism. To reason thus is equivalent to ignoring the disintegrating and baneful influence which prostitution exerts on the very structure of the new Communist society. Already at the first All-Russian Congress of Working and Peasant Women, the correct program was proclaimed: "The free and equal citizen women of the Soviet Workers' Republic cannot and must not be an object of purchase and sale." That was what was said, but as a matter of fact the conditions remain what they have been.

Prostitution injures the Russia of the toilers, principally from the standpoint of the interests of the national economy and the free development of our productive forces. We know that a victory over disorganization, an impetus imparted to the evolution of our industry, is only accessible to us

by a supreme exertion of all the working class energies of the Republic, a complete and planful application of all the individual working power, both of men and of women.

Down with the unproductive labor in domestic life, with the exploitation of children in the home! Make way for organized labor, productive labor, labor that shall serve the workers. Organization! That is the problem of the moment.

We Must Fight Deserters from Work

Meanwhile, what is the professional prostitute? The professional prostitute is a person whose working energy is not given for the advantage of the collective whole, a person who lives at the expense of others, and who receives a share from the rations of others. Is such a condition of affairs permissible in a workers' republic? By no means, because it decreases the supply of labor power, the number of hands at work at the creation of the national wealth, of social good. How are we to consider the professional prostitute from the standpoint of the interests of national economy? Only as a *deserter from work*. In this sense we may mercilessly condemn prostitution. We must immediately, in the interests of a sensible economic plan, enter into a conflict with this evil, bring about a decrease in the number of prostitutes, and stamp out its manifestations, whatever may be the form in which they appear.

It is time that we understand that the existence of prostitution contradicts the fundamental principles of a workers' republic, in which all forms of earnings not obtained by labor are subject to prosecution. Our understanding of this matter has much changed during the three years of the revolution. We are beginning to form a morality of our own, based on principles unlike those of the former morality. For instance, three years ago we looked upon a merchant as a completely respectable man. If his books were in order, if he did not engage in fraudulent bankruptcy, if he did not openly and outrageously overcharge and underweigh his customers, the merchant was not only not put in jail, but on the other hand, was rewarded with honorable designations: "merchant of the first guild", "of an old merchant family", "a respectable citizen", etc.

The Merchant No Longer Respectable

Now, in the time of the revolution, our relation to commerce and to merchants has been radically changed. We now call the "honorable merchant" a speculator. We not only do not confer flattering epithets upon him, but we hale him before the Extraordinary Commission and intern him in a camp for forced labor. And why this? Simply because we know that we shall be able to create a new Communist economy only by inducing all grown up citizens to undertake *productive labor*. Whoever does not work, whoever is living at the expense of others, on the earnings of others, that is, whoever performs no productive labor, he is a danger to the collective society, to the republic.

That is why we prosecute the speculators, the traders, the profiteers,—in short, all who live on income not obtained by labor, and that is why we must fight against prostitution as one of the forms of desertion from labor.

But when we consider the prostitutes and fight them as a non-productive element of society, we are not placing them in a special category. For us, for the Republic of the Workers, it is absolutely a matter of indifference whether a woman sells herself to one man or to many, whether she is a professional prostitute living by some other source than her own useful labor, or by the sale of her caresses to a legal husband or to an occasional purchaser of female flesh, whose identity may vary from day to day. All women who desert from labor, who take no part in the obligatory work, and who are not performing any work for small children at home, are placed on an equal footing with the prostitute—they must be forced to work. And we cannot make any distinction here between the prostitute and the most lawful wife who lives on her husband's sustenance, whoever her husband may be, even though he be a "commissar".

In other words, we are going to introduce equal treatment for all deserters from labor. From the standpoint of the workers' collective, a woman is to be condemned, not for selling her body, but for the fact that, just like a legally married idle woman, she does no useful work for the collective. This new, absolutely new, procedure with prostitution is dictated by the interest of the workers' collective.

Venereal Diseases

The second reason why we must now immediately wage a conscientious and organized campaign against prostitution is in order to defend the public health. Soviet Russia is interested in preventing the disorganization and lowering of the working powers of the population, as well as their capacity for work, by sickness and indispositions. Now, prostitution happens to be *one* of the sources of venereal diseases, but of course not the only source. These diseases may also be communicated in the *regular course* of daily life, by reason of poor domestic conditions, the absence of hygienic appliances, an insufficiency of dishes, which are therefore used in common by a number of persons, common towels, which are often causes of infection. Besides, in our extremely agitated transition period, as far as moral views are concerned, owing to the constant gathering and uninterrupted transfer of the army from one place to another, venereal diseases are spread to a remarkable extent, quite independently of the agency of commercial prostitution. For instance, in the southern fruitful provinces civil war has been in progress. The male Cossack population has been scattered, driven out, has gone off with the Whites, or been scattered to the winds. In the settlements there remain only the women. They had enough of everything, but there were no men. Red Armies advance and take the town, they are billeted out, and remain in the city for

weeks at a time. As a result there are mutual attractions, free alliances, having no similarity whatever with prostitution, since the women in this case voluntarily associate with the men, as a result of inclination and without any calculation of material gain on their side; it is not the Red Army man who feeds the woman, but the reverse, it is she who takes care of him, mends his clothes, shelters him as long as the army is quartered in the settlement. But the army departs, and as a consequence the settlement has become infected with venereal diseases. The same thing has been repeated with cities and villages which are taken by the Whites.

A general contamination is constantly going on. The diseases are spread, increased, and threaten to wipe out the entire unborn generation. In the joint session of the Motherhood Protection Society and the Provincial Women's Sections, Professor Koltsov spoke on hygiene, the science of healing and perfecting mankind. Closely related with this task is the question of the struggle against prostitution, which is one of the most active causes of infection from person to person.

Steps to Fight Venereal Diseases

In the theses of the Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Prostitution, in the Commissariat of Social Welfare it is declared to be the immediate task of the Commissariat of Public Health to work out special measures for the struggle against venereal infections. Of course these measures include all the sources of infection and must not be limited to the prosecution of prostitution, as was the practice of hypocritical bourgeois society. But at any rate, even if we recognize the fact that the communication of infection is also accomplished to a very great extent in the regular course of daily life, it is very important to furnish the population with a clear understanding of what is the role of prostitution in the spread of venereal diseases. It is extremely important to conduct a proper sexual education of the young, to equip the young with precise information, to enable them to enter life "with their eyes open", to refrain from keeping silent on questions concerning sexual life as was done by the lying, hypocritical, sanctimonious bourgeois morality. The third reason why prostitution is inadmissible in a Soviet Workers' Republic is that it prevents the development and solidification of the fundamental class qualities of the proletariat, of its new morality. What is the fundamental property of the working class, the most powerful moral weapon in its struggle? The feeling of comradeship, of solidarity. Solidarity is the foundation of Communism. Without this strongly established feeling, among the mankind of the workers, it is inconceivable that we shall erect a new truly Communist society. Of course it is self-evident that conscious Communists must with all their powers aid in the development of this feeling, and conversely, must with all their might struggle with those forces

that would hinder this development and prevent the solidification of such qualities and characteristics of the working class of the toiling population. What is it that follows in the wake of prostitution? A debasement of the feeling of equality, of solidarity and comradeship between the sexes, in other words, between the two halves of the working class. The man who purchases the caresses of women begins at once to look upon women as a commodity. He regards women as dependent upon himself, in other words, as creatures of a lower order, not entitled to equal rights, not of equal value to the workers' government. His contemptuous attitude to the prostitute whose attentions he has purchased for her material gain he transfers to all women. Instead of a growth of the feeling of comradeship, equality and solidarity, we shall have, if prostitution should further develop, a strengthening of the conditions of inequality between the sexes, of the feeling of the superiority of man, the dependence of woman on him, in other words, a decrease in the solidarity of the whole working class.

From the standpoint of the new Communist morality which is in process of formation, of crystallization, prostitution is intolerable and dangerous. Therefore the task of our party as a whole and of the Women's Section in particular, must be to wage the most merciless, open and resolute cam-

paign against this heritage of the past. In bourgeois-capitalist society all the modes of struggle against prostitution turned out to be a useless waste of energy, since the two fundamental causes of prostitution—the existence of private property and the direct economic dependence of the greater number of women on a man (father, husband, lover)—were powerfully and firmly established.

In the Workers' Republic these causes have been eliminated. Private property has been abolished. All the citizens of the Workers' Republic are obliged to work. Marriage ceases to be for women the means of finding a "meal ticket", and thus to escape the inevitability of working, of nourishing themselves by their own work. The objective fundamental causes of prostitution in Soviet Russia are being outgrown. There remain a number of secondary economic and social causes, which are much easier to deal with. The Women's Sections should apply their energies decisively in this direction for there they will find a wide field of activity opening before them. It is only necessary to bear definitely in mind that the struggle against prostitution may be waged only on the basis of a struggle with the *sources from which it originates*, and consequently the study of these sources, a careful seeking after them, is the first task of the Women's Sections.

(To be concluded in the September SOVIET RUSSIA)

Preserve the Archives!

By VLADIMIR BONCH-BRUYEVICH

(As an interesting contrast to the above original and radical analysis by Alexandra Kollontay, we print below a contribution from a writer of an entirely different type, a scholar and collector, whose ambition it is not so much to point out the institutions of the past that are destined to crumble, but instead the necessity of preserving the evidences of past endeavors, so that students in future generations may have ample material. The author was once the Executive Secretary of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.)

THE Tsarist Government which was overthrown by the revolution always kept its affairs as secretly as possible, with the result that investigators of Russian history, investigators of the life of the Russian people, succeeded only with the greatest difficulty in obtaining access to the archives of the various ministries and institutions, where great quantities of valuable documents concerning the life, habits, customs, protests, and other documents of the social-political and national life of the various peoples occupying the territory of the great Russian empire had been accumulated.

The Tsarist Government, which put down all free initiative and destroyed wherever possible all free creative activity, blocked the springs of thought in all fields by means of raids and searches whenever such thought arose above philistine and petty bourgeois levels, by the acts of its numerous police, missionaries, secret service organizations, etc., and attempted everywhere and at all times to prevent, to wipe out the productions of the pen and of

the brush, if these productions were in any way unpleasant or harmful to it. For this reason there was no single writer in Russia who had stood out even slightly above the level of the repressed life of the Romanov period, whose house was not raided, and who in such raids, as well as by the operations of the censorship, did not lose his own writings, as well as photographic pictures, notes, and other documents, together with those of his friends. And all these in many cases extremely valuable documents are being preserved to the present time in the archives of the secular and church censorship committees, in the archives of the police, the divisions of the gendarmerie, the Ministry of the Interior, and in other places.

In Russia there has been developing for nearly a thousand years a most interesting peasant movement, which we have been accustomed to regard as a sectarian movement. In this movement, chiefly participated in by the masses of the peasantry, there was expressed through many centuries the

desire for liberty, for a new and better life on the part of the oppressed, of the most downtrodden and most unhappy masses of the Russian people, the masses that were suffering boundlessly under the knout of the Russian Tsar, the landed proprietors, and the police. And these masses were seeking in their own way an outlet from the condition of affairs thus created, an outlet which they formulated in their own teachings, their own songs, their own tales, legends, philosophical cogitations, biographies of their martyrs, who had been persecuted and destroyed by the fanatical cruelty of the police, the monks, the servants of the Tsar, the spies, the missionaries of the Orthodox Church, the gendarmerie, and all the other hirelings and scoundrels of the oppressors of the Russian people.

Tsarism Fought the Peasant Communes

Against these workers' communes, which lived under their own form of organization sometimes for entire centuries, the representatives of the Tsarist Government were constantly carrying on raids, in which they took away from them available materials, manuscripts, notes, annals, pictures painted by the members of the group, pieces of sculpture, ancient books, collections of songs, poems, as well as dramatic, philosophical, and other productions, and all these things were stored in the archives, which were locked with seven locks and sealed with seven seals, so that no one could get in, in order to study or to print all these documents so extremely important for the history of the Russian people. My own experience was that I had to try for decades to obtain permission to enter these archives, to acquaint myself with the documents, to study and to publish them, and up to the revolution itself it was impossible for me to secure this permission; so persistently did the Tsarist Government hide everything that it had taken away from the Russian people, everything in which the representatives of the masses expressed their opinion concerning the sad actuality, concerning the tortures of the life in which as in a slough, the old Tsarist and nobility system was holding them down.

All these crimes the Tsarist Government was at great pains to keep as secret as possible, and for that reason it never permitted anyone to enter the archives of the jails, or of the courts, or of the police department, the gendarmerie, or the secret service, or the archives of the Ministry of Finance, for then the students of history would immediately have been able to reveal the proportions of the thefts, extortions and petty mulctings, not only by the whole Tsarist Government and its representatives, but also by those on whose services it depended, and who executed its will: in these archives are hidden the acts of the landed proprietors, courtiers, factory owners, military men, of the rich, of the bourgeoisie.

How the Tsar Fought Sedition

But the people—the workers, the peasants, and the greater part of the intelligentsia—did not wish

to bear the oppression and robbery practised by the Tsarist Government and waged a tireless struggle against the old regime, and this struggle was answered by the Tsarist Government with persecutions, jails, penitentiaries, banishments; the dismal places of Siberia and Northern Russia were filled with exiles and prisoners; they arrested thousands of people, shot down strikers, insurgents, persons who took part in manifestations, punished revolutionists, and gave rise to the most sharpened forms of struggle with the revolutionary and social movement. All materials seized in raids in the houses of revolutionists, workers, peasants, and social students, and in the various institutions, all these, either in the capital or in the provinces, throughout Russia — were carried away to the police, the secret service, and other institutions, where they have remained until the present day. And wherever you may look, everywhere in the archives there lie precious materials for the history both of the Russian people as well as of the other peoples who inhabited and still inhabit Russia.

If you wish to study the situation of the working class in Russia, you must turn your attention to the archives of the Ministry of Finance, to the sections governing the merchants, to the archives of the noble class, where a great number of documents concerning the history of the factories and manufactures that were situated on the estates of the landholders may be found. If you wish to acquaint yourself with the mode of agriculture, with the movement of agricultural property, with the ownership of peasant and noble lands in pre-revolutionary times, you must study the archives of the Ministry of Justice, of the surveyors' offices, the law courts, the archives of the Peasant Bank, the Nobles' Bank, and the other agricultural banks. And the same is just as decidedly true of all other questions, all questions of history, ethnography, religion, social and revolutionary movements, questions as to the position of the working class and peasants, all these are connected with the archives and with the documents preserved in them. Without a study of the documents of these archives it is impossible both in this as well as in a great number of other extremely important questions to take a single step forward.

Even Housekeeping Records Are Important

At every step documents are necessary—even documents that may at first glance seem of slight importance—for the study of the various phases of the life of our people. Let me point out a single example: A well-known English scholar, the economist Rogers, undertook to study the question of the position and movement of the pay of workers in England as compared with the prices of the most necessary products, beginning in the middle ages. And he was enabled to perform this interesting and extensive work, to which he devoted a number of years, only because he succeeded in obtaining in a sufficient quantity, from English housewives, entire collections of the notebooks in

which they had set down the goods they had bought in the shops and the prices paid for them. And these apparently worthless notes thus afforded the assiduous scholar the possibility of clearing up an important question in the life of the English people.

At the present time, when the eagle flight of the great Russian Revolution is opening up to the Russian people immense possibilities of free creative activity, we, who have the great fortune to be living in this stormy period, which is devoted to the struggle for our own and world freedom, should not forget the desire for creative activity that will be present in future generations. Let us hope that not only future generations but already our own generation will succeed in putting some work on the study of Russian history in a peaceful time, when the enemies of the Revolution may have been completely overthrown by a powerful onslaught by our people. For us ourselves, and more particularly for the coming generations, let us jealously guard the archives. All executive committees, Soviet departments, and other local authorities, must see to this carefully; for it would really be a shame if it should become generally true that the provision of the Supreme Council of National Economy on the collection of useless and used up papers, that is, clippings, waste paper, crumpled sheets, torn papers, old newspapers, etc., should be understood in the provinces in such a way as to lead to the scrapping of the archives of the various institutions, and taking them to the paper-pulp factories to be remanufactured.

It is necessary also jealously to preserve the archives of private persons, particularly archives which are in the possession of the former landed proprietors, for many of them were occupied in collecting materials concerning various subjects, and some of them preserved very carefully in their files their correspondence with well-known persons of their epoch: with authors, with social and political figures, scholars, artists, and other persons. Many of them still preserve collections of notes and documents touching upon the social and political life of the country, and of course it is self-evident that all these archive documents are extremely important for the historian; they should be very carefully protected, preserved, and forwarded to central archives.

The Central Direction of Archives

The Government of Soviet Russia has a special institution called the Central Direction of Archives, situated at Moscow, which, in turn, has its representatives all over Russia. It is to these persons that the local authorities should apply in all matters concerning archives, with full knowledge in advance that they will find here not only friendly advice, but also support, instruction, as well as a frank and active assistance in their work. Of course it must be clear to everyone that in all archives there always will be some things that may and should be destroyed, without any harm

to the interests of the collection, and persons who undertake work in archives know very well what it is in each archive department that may be destroyed, but this should never be done without the instruction of specialists, or on the direct order of the Central Direction of Archives, and at this present moment there are being organized Selecting Committees for Archives, who are taking up this difficult task with full knowledge of what it involves. In this way these responsible operations will be carried out according to a systematic plan, and it is always necessary to remember that anything that is destroyed cannot be reproduced, that future generations will be extremely grateful to us, the contemporaries of the great revolution, if we devote all our energies to preserving the archives and documents not only of our epoch but also of preceding generations, whose descendants we have become by the disposition of fate.

Importance of Preserving Relics of the Past

In the whirlwind of the revolution, which not infrequently has destroyed articles of great value, let us try by all means to preserve the valuable documents of science, literature and art, so that no one may ever anywhere be able to accuse us of vandalism, of a needlessly ruthless and destructive elimination of such things; on the other hand, let history be able to record everywhere that our revolution, arising under the emblem of the class consciousness of the workers and peasants, and which, for the first time in the history of the world, handed the entire mechanism of power to them, after proletarians and laboring peasants had been put at the helm, was really worthy of the name of the Great Proletarian Revolution, which shed light over the world for many centuries and summoned to a universal international union all the toilers, into one great family, full of inspiring activity and of sacred zeal.

Let everyone note that though we may be able to destroy to the very root the old social, political and national institutions of Russia, those organized and solidified instruments of authority, of oppression, and enslavement of all those that toil and are heavy-laden, we yet in all other matters, including in the first place the domains of science, of historical investigation, of art and of the preservation of the archives of all Russia, as well as in all fields of creation and inspiration—stand as an impregnable wall, guarding all the values of our country's culture, all the possibilities for developing and encouraging the growth of creative activity in our country in the future. And that these interests not only are not strange to us, but occupy the first place, are close to our hearts, and seem to all of us just as important and necessary as air, bread, and water. We shall explain everywhere and at all times to the great masses how valuable and important it is to preserve the archives for the use of the scholars of the present day as well as for the labors of future generations, after the eager proletariat, ever hungry for knowledge and light, shall have brought forth from

its own ranks whole groups of new, active, energetic students, developed in thought and in revolutionary zeal, who with friendly hand will aid in the study of our many centuries of history and perhaps for the first time in the history of the world will achieve the completion of the account of the life of a great people, viewed from the sole standpoint of class relations, from the standpoint of the struggle of the classes, with the postulates of revolutionary Marxism for the first time taken as the basis of the entire study. For these future scholars, with whom the proletariat will supply our people in rich numbers, let us preserve every opportunity, particularly the archives, so that no one may accuse us of having made any irreparable mistakes, which would be equivalent to a cruel historical wrong.

SUPREME COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ECONOMY AND GRAIN TAX

By V. MILIUTIN

(Vice-Chairman of Supreme Council of National Economy)

I. The Decree on the introduction of the Agricultural Tax in place of the Food Levy, creating as it does favorable conditions for the expansion of the small farms, which are the chief source of food and raw material, at the same time ensures further chances for extensive work in our large industry, which is the chief task of the economic policy of the Soviet Government.

II. The extreme exhaustion of the resources in food, raw material and fuel compels the Soviet Government to pay particular attention to raising peasant economy. To this end it is necessary to intensify by all possible means the production of articles of necessity and give state aid to small industry and handicraft.

The Nationalized Industry

1. With the change of economic policy, our nationalized industry which is still the basis of our national economy, finds itself placed amidst new conditions, differing from those in which it has developed up till now.

2. The development of nationalized industry should be brought about by means of improving enterprises, raising the productivity of labor, and improving supply and accounting. It is still necessary to form large reserves of fuel, metal, iron ore and other raw materials, to minister to the needs of transport and the production of machinery and all means of production generally.

All the means of the State should be entirely directed towards the development of the nationalized heavy industry. Thus a stable foundation will be created for improving our national economy and contending against ruin.

Small Industry and Handicraft

3. Small Industry and Handicraft at the present moment are assuming great importance, particularly in the sphere of helping peasant farming, of conducting repairs of agricultural implements, as well as in supplying all kinds of articles for

private use, to carry out all of which, under the present conditions, our nationalized industry would not be capable, owing to its being engaged in State tasks. It is necessary, therefore, to present small industry and handicraft wide possibilities for development, and render them all assistance possible.

Production of Articles for General Use

4. During the war, attention was chiefly directed, on the one hand, to producing military supplies, and, on the other hand, to ministering to the needs of transport and heavy industry. In consequence of this the branches of industry that supplied the needs of the masses of workers and peasants were naturally relegated to the background. At the present moment, of course, the branches of industry which supply the needs of the workers and peasants must be revived, and the production of articles of mass consumption developed as far as possible.

It is necessary therefore, parallel with raising the heavy industry, to make it a special task to develop the production of articles of general use, first of all in the salt, textile and leather industries.

Commercial Exchange in Kind

5. The right of buying and selling the surplus products and raw material remaining after the food tax has been paid, alters the whole of the system of supplying industry with raw material; the centre of gravity in obtaining raw material should be shifted to the system of exchange or that of purchasing from the producers.

6. The system of fixed prices which was suitable under the practice of levies, must now be fundamentally changed. Instead of fixing prices, money commodity equivalents should be determined in the districts, on the basis of which the government organs will obtain raw material and food by a system of barter, giving the peasants corresponding articles or products.

Money prices, both when purchasing from the producer of raw material and food, are determined by the local State organs.

7. The process of producing raw materials should be centralized, and enterprises should be included in the network of government supply organs. The work of distributing raw materials obtained by taxation should be left to the organs of the Food Commissariat. The supply of raw material obtained in exchange should be concentrated in the cooperative organs operating under the direct observation of the organs of the Supreme Economic Council.

8. The works and factories receive the right to accept orders from individual peasants as well as from cooperative societies of various kinds on the basis of agreements, and under the absolute condition that the execution of such orders does not affect the execution of the industrial program established for the given enterprise. The draft of the Decree should be drawn up by the Supreme Economic Council in agreement with the Central Council of Trade Unions, and submitted to the Council of People's Commissars.

The Heroism of the Red Officers

By MOISSAYE OLGIN

(In Volume IV of SOVIET RUSSIA we printed two of Mr. Olgin's studies of Russian intellectual types. We now present a translation into English of another of his contributions to the "Jewish Daily Forward", also dealing with students, but this time with students of warfare.)

IT was the end of September when I saw Trotsky and spoke to him about the peace with Poland. He was very pessimistic, could not think of the possibility of a speedy conclusion of the war, and was already calculating what would be the cost of the new winter campaign to the Soviet Republic. But when I asked him: "How is General Wrangel's situation?" he answered without a shade of doubt in his words: "We shall soon dispose of Wrangel; the White Army will be annihilated within six or eight months." When I told this to my friends at Moscow they replied: "How can he know that?" Meanwhile Wrangel's army was coming closer and closer. His demeanor was more insolent every day. I asked a number of officers at Moscow about it; they smiled and said: "If Trotsky said so he knows what he is talking about," and one whispered to me: "Please keep an eye out for the military report of October 8, and you will learn something interesting." My interest fully aroused, I began to inquire in various circles what was supposed to happen about that date; I was told that on October 5 new divisions would arrive at the front, with *kursantsy* (Red officer cadets, because they have taken courses), and that would change the situation. I had no other choice than to wait. All Russia was then waiting with bated breath. On October 5 the *kursantsy* really arrived at Wrangel's front—they were the workers and peasants who had been educated to be Red commanders. On the same day new evolutions were undertaken, Wrangel's army began to retreat, the Red Army victoriously advanced; five or six weeks later came the historical battle for the Isthmus of Perekop, in which Wrangel's backbone was broken and in which also ten thousand *kursantsy* and Red soldiers lost their lives. Two months after my conversation with Trotsky there was no longer a single Wrangel soldier on the Crimean peninsula and Trotsky's prediction had come true.

Since that time I was much interested in the *kursantsy*, spoke to many military authorities about them, visited many of the Red courses, made the acquaintance of many of the *kursantsy* themselves, and thus obtained the conviction that the Red courses were one of the most excellent military institutions in the world, and that the revolution would gain and be able to apply immense power by means of this organization.

"The *kursantsy* died with the Marseillaise on their lips," was the story that ran from mouth to mouth. I knew that it was not the custom to invent heroic legends in Soviet Russia and to circulate military lies in order to keep up the courage of the people; and yet I wanted to get more pre-

cise data on these tales. I asked an official of the Pror (Political Administration of the Revolutionary Military Council) for documents. He showed me the report of a commander who wrote: "The Petrograd and Moscow *kursantsy* have added many splendid pages to the history of the revolutionary struggle." One of these pages was the battle for the city of Oriekhov. The Officers' Section of the Drozdovski Division fought with great ferocity against the *kursantsy*. A number of the latter were taken prisoners and sentenced to execution by the Whites. As they were being led away, they began singing the International. Even on this last journey, they were again maltreated by the officers, but their fearlessness was such as to impress even the White beasts. When they had arrived at the freshly-dug graves, the Reds, looking death calmly in the eye, sang their military war song. The Whites fired and the song was silent. Such reports on the *kursantsy* were very numerous. The peasants and workers who prepared themselves for the career of Red commander brought an iron will into battle, as well as an ardent enthusiasm and a contempt for death that was without vacillation. The greater number of these heroes consisted of Communists.

The fight for the Isthmus of Perekop aroused all of Russia; since the defeat of Yudenich near Petrograd there had not been so exalted an enthusiasm.

The Difficult Conquest of the Crimea

Crimea has the shape of a bottle, the neck of which is formed by the Isthmus of Perekop, which connects the peninsula with Russia. To this point the Red Army had pursued Wrangel. To defend the entrance to the peninsula Wrangel's officers constructed a regular fortress, with all sorts of obstacles. It was here that Wrangel had been in hiding before his onslaught on Soviet Russia and here he felt himself safe. It seemed impossible to take Perekop. France was supplying Wrangel with a great number of guns, tanks, airplanes, and wireless apparatus; the Red Army on the other hand did not have enough airplanes and artillery. But to permit the Wrangel army to remain here meant exposing the country to constant danger of counter-revolution, as the counter-revolution would then continue to have a figure on which they might place their hopes. It was therefore necessary to conquer Perekop and the Red Army accomplished this task empty-handed as it were.

At the head of the Red Army marched the battalions of the *kursantsy*. With a tremendous impetus they threw themselves, in spite of the barbed wire entanglements and the treacherous

ditches, against the batteries. The whole act looked like one of madness, but in the words of Maxim Gorky: "The madness of the brave has conquered." Perekop was taken. Wrangel's place of ambush was burst open, the Red Army threw itself into the Crimea and drove the last White General into the sea; very great masses of munitions and foodstuffs were taken — a present from France. Wrangel was disposed of. Ten thousand *kursantsy* and Red soldiers lost their lives in this battle. Eye witnesses tell me of the mountains of bodies encumbering the battlefield, while new ranks passed over those that had fallen on their path to battle and victory. If you should speak of this to Russian petty bourgeois or intellectuals they would say: "Well, what about it? They take a common peasant boy, give him good food and shelter and the authority to command others; why should he not be faithful in return for all this?" To these narrow-minded and narrow-hearted creatures everything seems small; in all that is great they can find only a petty spirit; for them there is nothing that is heroic or sacred; for them everything is estimated and judged on the basis of the *payok* (the daily food rations).

The Kursantsy Thrown Against Kolchak

Is the Russian *kursant* really a man who has been purchased? Would the price be worth the sacrifice? I was recently told of the Circassian officers' courses which, after having been established in the year 1918 in Moscow, were shortly afterwards transferred to the Urals, so that they might be nearer to Siberia, whence attacks were feared from Kolchak. The possibility was reckoned with that the Red Army might, in case of need, be a source from which Red commanders might be drawn. The school, on its transfer journey, reached Uralsk a few weeks after leaving Moscow. Hardly had it arrived, when the Ural Cossacks fell upon the city, and the *kursantsy* had to lay aside their books and hasten to the defence of the railroad connected with the Urals and Riazan. In a few days it became clear that Uralsk was not safe, for the reinforcements from the Red Army had not arrived. All Soviet institutions were transferred to Saratov, but the *kursantsy* were thrown from Saratov to Cherkassy, in the province of Kiev. In June they arrived in Cherkassy, and already in July a life and death struggle had to be faced, first with the Little Russian (Ukrainian) bands, then with Denikin. As Denikin was gaining every day, and a prolonged sojourn in Cherkassy was impossible, it was rendered necessary to transfer the forces to Petrograd. When the *kursantsy* arrived in Petrograd at the end of September they at once had to take part in the defence of the city against Yudenich.* Between their various conflicts they had not neglected their studies, however, and the alternation of their activity with

theoretical instruction continued until the instruction was completed, early in 1920, and the students received their diplomas.

That is the way Red cadets study, a book in one hand, a gun in the other, ready at any moment to sacrifice their lives, ready to shed their blood for the revolution. Would one do this for the sake of a good military coat or a plate of kasha?

Radek's Admonition to Red Soldiers

I heard many military speeches in Russia but none so clearly expressed the spirit of the revolutionary army as the speech delivered by Karl Radek on October 24, 1920.

It is a very long speech, and I shall therefore reproduce here only its conclusion:

"We believe that what we are doing is the sole means of saving mankind; of this we are convinced, and this is our strength. We can rightly say to the Red Army and to the Red *kursantsy*: the life that we are building will be so large and so magnificent that it is worth dying for it. All of us who are assembled here will perhaps not see that new age. A long road lies before us, severe struggles must be made, and after we have won the victory in Russia, we shall still have the task of aiding the workers in other countries. But one thing we know: the way is still a far one, and many of our brothers must still perish in the battle. But we speak of this not with gloom but with joy, for we know that the death of each of us is a source of new life.

"There was a time in which man dreamed much of immortality. Man lived his pittance of life, was a petty creature, sought ceaselessly to maintain himself alive, sought not to starve, never succeeded in doing anything big, and it seemed senseless to him that he must die without leaving behind him anything that was worth while. All his life the peasant or the worker tilled the soil or drove the cattle to pasture or slaved in the workshop. And he asked himself: What is the sense of all this? And as there really was no sense in it, he imagined to himself a life after death, a life in which he would not be a slave, but an immortal spirit, hearing the music of the spheres. But we know that when we go to our death there is no other life; when the soldier has died, nothing remains of him. And yet each of us goes into battle with the firm conviction that the cause we serve is immortal.

"Bourgeois historians describe the history of humanity in their works as a series of wars in which great captains carry off great victories, but we know that it is not the generals, not the field marshals, that achieve the victory, but the soldiers of their armies, soldiers whose names are not even mentioned. When we honor Lenin and Trotsky, we do not think of them as common men, as men of whom the world has already seen many. We know that they are the men who are most conscious of the magnitude of the cause they represent. But without us they could do nothing;

*) The events and dates referred to in the foregoing are evidently of the year 1919.—Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA.

we also know that the cause for which we are working is the cause of the working class, of all of us; we know that if this cause is victorious, the victory belongs to all of us. And this thought gives us a pleasure in life, it drives away all fear at the moment of danger. We know that the *kursantsy* who have died shall live in the hearts of their comrades, we shall never forget that they died for our cause. We are building this structure with our blood and with our sweat, and if it is necessary for us to put our lives into it as its corner stone, we shall do so with joy; and once the structure is finished and the people alone possess it and need no longer to suffer, but may lead a life that is worthy of man, the whole people will think of us, even if they do not know our names. The people will know that the foundation of this building was built up of the lives of the thousands of class conscious workers, who saw a bleeding and disorganized world before them and said: 'We shall clear the way for a new life, even though we may lose our own lives in the task.'

"When we ask ourselves whether it is worth while to die, whether life could not offer us more than death, all of us may answer: to be sure it is better to live, to work, to create, on this great building; every one of us would like to behold the new life taking shape, but every one of us knows too that this new world can only be born if we refuse to be frightened in the presence of death. Therefore death, into whose eyes we look fearlessly, and in whom we have become accustomed to behold a danger, but nothing more—this death is for us the symbol of life, the greatest and mightiest heroism of life.

"We are taking leave of our comrades, whose death has just been reported to us. We say nothing to your dead bodies, that cannot hear us, we say nothing to your souls, for science knows nothing of your souls; we say only to ourselves: if these men could shout from their graves: *All ready!* we should answer them with the battle cry that was taught us in our youth: *Ever prepared!*"

The Progress of the Sowing Campaign

(A report of the tour made by Comrade Ossinsky, People's Commissar for Agriculture.)

The following is an extract from an article which appeared in the Moscow *Pravda* on May 13th, dealing with a tour which Comrade Ossinsky, the People's Commissar for Agriculture, made of some of the central provinces for the purpose of acquainting himself with the course of the sowing campaign.

"What strikes one most," subsequently reported Comrade Ossinsky, "is that the sowing campaign has affected large numbers of the peasantry, and is generally attracting great attention. There is a large network of vigorous organs in connection with this campaign, which are most active, and which have absorbed some of our best men. The fact is that the sowing campaign is a question of the greatest importance in every locality; it is a question which concerns every member of the population, with the result that all agricultural activity has now been directed along this road.

"The question of the actual existence of the village committees and of the village sowing campaign groups, a rather doubtful question, has now become quite clear. These committees do not only exist, meet, and work, but, what is more, they introduce improvements in almost every village. The proclamation of the agricultural tax and the introduction of the distribution of State seeds has considerably invigorated the village committees.

"Until recently, the chief work of the committees was to make a complete register of the total amount of seeds, to draw up a sowing plan, to take account and control of the fulfillment of the latter, of the distribution of the supply of State seeds, and labor mobilization for the purpose of assisting the families of red army soldiers, orphans and invalids and

the horseless peasants. Notwithstanding the fact that the above work is rather limited and formal, its importance has brought new life and spirit into the village committees. It is generally observed that almost every committee has gone far beyond the limits of the work enumerated above.

"The sowing plan was received, discussed and accepted in every village. It has often happened that once the question of the sowing campaign was mentioned to a president of the village committee, the latter turned to the 'sacred image case,' from which he extracted a number of papers and documents, including the sowing plan, encased in some old office book or file. It is a far more difficult thing, of course, to carry out this plan than it is to draw it up, and the result often differs considerably from what was originally proposed. The most obvious thing, however, is the social and educational organizing role that this plan has played, as an industrial program generally does; it logically resulted in a preliminary registration and control, and a verification of the extent to which the facts and figures in question have been dealt with. With the plan as a guide, the village Committee is in a position to give information with regard to the exact amount already sown, the reason why one kind of grain is to be sown more than another, and so on. There was some doubt here, in the question of the general improvement of cultivation, as to whether the peasantry fully understood the advantage of early sowing, and whether the introduction of corresponding regulations would meet with any difficulty.

"The very first village visited made it clear that the advantages of early sowing had been gen-



A UKRAINIAN POSTER

"Peasants! The Red Army will protect your crops against all bandits and invaders."

orally accepted; this was latterly confirmed by absolutely all Village Committees. It is now generally believed by the peasantry that early sowing, even without preliminary manuring, gives far better results than late sowing after manuring.

"There is reason to believe that the repair of agricultural machines and stock is also widespread, the result of which will no doubt prove to be very considerable. In comparison with last year, tens of thousands of additional machines have been repaired.

"A great work has been carried out by propaganda and agitation. In this respect, printed propaganda lags somewhat behind oral agitation. Quite a number of leaflets, placards, and special editions of newspapers have been published by local means in many provinces; there were also issued quite a number of special publications; the provinces of Tula, Voronezh and Kursk should be mentioned in this connection. Yet this is not all. To fill the gap, we had the assistance of oral agitation and propaganda. This method has spread to such an extent that all the regulations dealing with the agricultural tax, the latest information of

Extraordinary Conferences, sittings and so forth, reached the rank and file of the peasantry immediately. There is also very little doubt that, thanks to the sowing campaign, contact between town and country has more than doubled. As an instance, the Zadon *Uyezd* of the province of Voronezh should be mentioned; here, within about two or three months, four local conferences were held, and a fifth conference was set for the near future.

"What is of most interest with regard to the attitude of the peasantry to the Tax in Kind and to free trading, was the influence that these decrees exercised over the extension of the sowing area. That a great change has actually taken place is evidenced by the fact that large numbers of peasants, not belonging to the trading or profiteering class, continually travel on the railways and ordinary horse transport, with sacks of seeds bought for sowing purposes. It is characteristic to observe that with the beginning of the rainy season, the Tula peasants coined a new expression: "The Agricultural Tax is watering the land." It may be said that same Tax has also considerably strengthened the Village Committee."

The Congress of the Russian Emigrés in Paris

By OUR PARIS CORRESPONDENT

THE Russian émigrés, the dispossessed nobles and capitalists who have taken refuge in capitalistic countries which are seeking the overthrow of Soviet Russia, are working hand in hand with these capitalistic governments in the fostering of plots against the life of the Russian Soviets. France now is the center of world reaction, and in France there is the largest colony of émigrés. Encouraged and even financed by the French financial oligarchy, just as before the Wrangel fiasco, they publish newspapers, they hold congresses, they plot ceaselessly.

To articulate their fumings and their songs of hate against Soviet Russia, the Russian émigrés in France have already held three congresses. For the third time this year the Russian émigrés gathered on June 5 in the Hotel Majestic, one of the most sumptuous of the Paris hotels, to plot the overthrow of the Soviet Republic. For the third time they came to decide upon the exact division of the Russian bear's skin.

The first of the congresses was made up of members of the late-lamented Constituent Assembly, the ex-members and their allies. Kerensky and Chernov, Martov and Milyukov met in solemn conclave, passed voluminous resolutions, and with a gravity appropriate to their exalted state, decided upon the fate of Russia, the panacea being of course the Constituent Assembly. The reactionary press gave them tremendous publicity, the French Government gave them its official blessing. The fall of Bolshevism was imminent. Gradually the noise of battle subsided, the smoke disappeared, and the Russian bear was still at large.

Next came the ex-captains of Russian industry, the wealthy magnates and their allies. They with much solemnity admitted their willingness to assume charge of Russia's inexhaustible wealth. They declared not only for the restoration of private property and personal initiative in commerce, but more than that, against state interference and for the transfer of public utilities (even those formerly belonging to the state, such as railroads) to private ownership, to the former magnates. The reactionary press lauded their keen appetite, the politicians gave their official blessing. The fall of Bolshevism was imminent. But when the smoke of battle disappeared the Russian bear was still at large.

Do These Exiles Represent Russia?

Now for the third time the émigrés came together in a most ambitious meeting to decide on how to destroy the power of the Russian Communists. In a "Congress of National Unity" they declared themselves custodians not only of the unfortunate assembly or of the Russian ex-captains of industry, but of the entire nation—God save the mark!

This Congress was the most sensational held this

year. In fact, sensationalism was the most characteristic trait of this "National Congress". It needed the widest and wildest stretch of the imagination to call it "national". For not only did it not represent a significant fraction of Russia, it did not represent even a significant fraction of the Russian émigrés. The Octobrists (Constitutional Monarchists) and the Right Cadets, were the only distinct parties represented. The rest was made up of nondescript elements. The rest was made are the most active plotters and the most dangerous. For example, there is the notorious Madame Tyrkova, supposedly representing the Russian colony of London (but keeping very discreetly under cover the fact that seventy persons elected her).

There was the press agent Burtsev, editor of *Obshche Dyelo*, which is financed by the French Government. There was the social-traitor Alexinsky, representing *Yedinstvo*, of which he is one of the not very numerous members. He was the buffoon of the congress. Once upon a time he refused to be in the same picture with those same reactionaries whose cause is now his. Every once in a while he would jump up like a jack in the box, and say: "I, the Social-Democrat and the friend of Plekhanov". Nobody paid any attention to him, because even the mention of the name of Plekhanov did not please them, as Socialism, even of the most moderate kind, is not to their liking.

Another prominent figure was the charlatan Doctor Pasmanik. He caused the greatest scandal of the Congress. A cringing boot-licker, he is always bent double before the reactionary powers that be. Anti-democratic and with no faith in the people's initiative, he presumed to speak in the name of the Jewish people, who never delegated him to the task. He had been defending the counter-revolutionists and fighting the Bolsheviks with bitterness, in the name of the Jewish interests! But wilfully blind as he is, he could not help seeing a little of the kind of "democracy" his dear friends Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel practised. So, very timidly, he suggested to the National Congress that it might be advisable for it to go on record as disapproving of the massacre of 150,000 Jews and the violation of 25,000 Jewish women and girls. An uproar greeted this statement. He was abused in unprintable language, for he had dared to insult the "glorious volunteer army", with its "valiant" generals. Nothing served so well to unmask the men who had come to this congress than this incident. There they stood revealed, the guilty band of rascals who once went under the name of "The Black Hundreds".

The Former Enemy of the Tsar

The master of ceremonies was Burtsev, this intriguer whose finances never run dry. In his

address that opened the congress he managed to express his hatred for the Bolsheviks, but besides that he said nothing definite, because it is the principle of a Burtsev to speak vaguely in public and to do his best work plotting in secret.

Then came an address by Kartoshev, who advanced the motto, "For our country, for our fatherland, for Russia". He said, "We must speak for a Russia of all citizens, not any one section." He spoke of Russia being turned (by him and his gang of course) "into a haven of social peace", and that in Russia "the idol of class inequality will be cast to the ground". Then he hurried to add that private property, and freedom of individual enterprise would be maintained. He spouted much drivel, words that do not merit commenting upon.

Katinkov, one of the émigrés who had been at Constantinople and sat in the councils of Wrangel, revealed a sample of the plotting continually carried on by the Black Hundreds. He told of how in 1919 there was formed an inter-party organization, the forerunner of the present one. It was formed in Petrograd itself, and printed illegal leaflets for the "liberation" of Russia, and spread them among the population, especially in the factories. They also posted them everywhere at night. They helped thus to prepare the ground for Yudenich. In 1918 they had already agreed on the form of government that the restoration would give to Russia. It would be hard and forceful; the representatives would be appointed and not elected; the army would be the ruling power, and the commanding general the dictator. It is these same gentlemen who are shouting themselves hoarse denouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A Former Marxian

Struve, the ex-Marxian scholar, and until recently representative of the Wrangel "government" in Paris, seconded all the noble words expressed by his fellow-conspirators. To the Zionist Pasmannik, who dared hint that the counter-revolutionary troops had not been over-delicate in their treatment of the Jews, he answered that, on the contrary, only a powerful army could save the Jews from pogroms, and that attacks on the army would be fatal.

One of the ironies of the Congress was that most of the speakers admitted that the Bolsheviks were the only consistent Socialists, but they always hastened to add that Socialism was a failure. The speakers shouted for "Freedom and property, property and freedom". And when interest in the proceedings lagged, someone would mention Wrangel and the "glorious volunteer army" and would call for a hurrah. One speaker, Bublikov, who had been in America, said: "We have much to learn from Charles Schwab, of the Bethlehem Steel Co., whose motto is industrial democracy." One of the resolutions passed by this congress states that clemency will be exercised towards soldiers of the Red Army. This promised clemency towards soldiers of the Red Army is belied by what actually

happened when the capitalist regime was restored in Hungary, and it brings to mind also what happened to the Communards of Paris, of an earlier time, who were slaughtered to the number of 30,000. If these forces of the Black Hundreds should get back into power, the horizon in Russia would be dark with corpses of Red Army men hanging from every telegraph pole, and the soil of Russia would be soaked with the blood of the victims of the White Terror.

Invasion of Russia Proposed

The resolutions called for a restoration of the capitalist régime, and for armed intervention by a foreign power. It is these same gentlemen who, when they are in the saddle, and when the interests of the "country" are in any way threatened by a foreign power, raise the cry of national defence, patriotism for the fatherland, protection of hearth and home. But when they are dispossessed of what does not belong to them, they forget the hypocritical language with which they were wont to induce the people to shed their blood in imperialist wars. Instead it is they who call for armed and forceful invasion of Russia by a foreign power.

Although the antics of these émigrés are farcical, the danger should yet not be minimized. It is always with the aid of capitalist governments, who have been behind every nefarious adventure launched against free Russia, that such enterprises have been initiated and prosecuted. They were behind Yudenich, Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel. They had a hand in the Kronstadt rebellion, and in the coup at Vladivostok. Like vultures they circle about Soviet Russia, hoping that she will grow weak from her wounds, so that they can pounce upon their prey. Yet Soviet Russia seems to know how to heal her wounds and drive off the vultures.

For Russia's Hungry Children

A picnic will be held on August 7th, 1921, in Ulmer Park, Brooklyn, by the American Committee for Children in Soviet Russia. The entire proceeds will go towards buying and shipping milk to starving children in Soviet Russia.

Pictures of children's life in Russia will be shown.

Admission 50 cents.

Take West End train (B. R. T.), to 25th Avenue, Brooklyn.

The Russian Workers and the Paris Commune

(These greetings, sent twenty-five years ago to the French Workers in Commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Commune, and showing so admirably the class consciousness of the Russian proletariat, were preceded by an even earlier address, sent in the seventies to the surviving Communards by The South Russian Labor League.)

TWENTY five years ago the workers of Moscow, as today, made ready to greet the French workers on the 25th anniversary of the proclamation of the Paris Commune. At secret meetings held in the month of February 1896, under the guidance of intelligent comrades, they wrote and despatched to Paris the following letter of greeting:

“Address of the Workers of Moscow to the Workers of France.”

“On the 25th anniversary of the proclamation of the Paris Commune, a day that is memorable to every thinking workingman, the workers of Moscow send their hearty greetings to their elder fellow-workers of France. The name of France is bound up with all the greatest social upheavals of contemporary world history. And naturally so. There is not another country in history where the struggle between the classes was always so strikingly pronounced, where the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was so sharp as in France.

“And beginning with 1861 Russia herself has been gradually following the same track as the European countries. The age-old pillars of Russia’s structure are cracking and swaying under the weight of capitalism. The bourgeoisie is growing stronger every day, and has won the recognition of absolutism, which is pouring privileges down upon it in profusion. The latter, simultaneously with the application of the latest improvements, is making the direct transition to capitalism most painful. The antagonism of the classes is therefore becoming more and more apparent. The numberless and practically ceaseless strikes that are breaking out all over the Empire, strikes that the Russian Government is both unable to hide from society and unable to suppress by force of arms, serve as the best proof of the fact that the young Russian proletariat has been aroused.

“There is now no force able to stop this movement. The Russian workers, having raised the old revolutionary banner that is stained with the blood of the martyrs of their cause, and having armed themselves with the ideas of scientific Socialism, have taken their stand beneath the common Red banner of the proletariat of the world. They are proud with the knowledge that the first bastion of European reaction which the proletariat of the world will have to seize — Tsarism — will have to be destroyed by them, that the last pillar of bourgeois domination, without the destruction of which the victory of the whole proletariat is unthinkable, will have to be overthrown by them.

“Let the workers of France feel sure that when

the call to revolution comes from the workers of the West, the Russian workers will have a ready response and a helping hand.

“Long live the workers’ revolution, whose glorious precursor was the Commune of 1871!”

“From 605 workers of 28 factories and works.
“Moscow, February 29th, 1896.”

The workers of Petersburg, on their part, resolved also to send greetings to the workers of France on the 25th anniversary of the Paris Commune and through the medium of the then existing illegal organization called “The League to Fight for the Emancipation of the Working Class” despatched to Paris the following letter:

“Address of the workers of St. Petersburg to the workers of France.”

“The sad song of the Russian peasantry has long reached the ears of the Western nations. And the bourgeoisie of France, fraternizing with the Tsarist Government, has narrated to the world the conquering crusade of the Russian bourgeoisie. On the memorable day of the 18th of March, a day that is so dear to the Socialists of the whole world, let the distant voice of Russia, stifling under the yoke of despotism, the voice of proletarian Russia, reach the ears of the proletariat of France. Let the French worker know that the freedom-loving heart of the Russian proletariat still beats behind the bars of the Tsarist prison.

“We boldly declare to our French comrades that a stable foundation has been laid for the Russian labor movement and no power on earth can now retard it. It is not for nothing that the Russian Tsar hastens to show his ‘extreme gratitude’ to his troops for their massacre of unarmed workers during the Yaroslav strikes in 1895. It is not for nothing that the Russian Minister of Finance issues circulars betraying the alarm which the Russian Government feels concerning the ‘sinister designs of working class agitators.’

“Tsarism feels that its enemy is growing in strength daily and hourly, and that this enemy is not the helpless liberalism of the Russian educated classes, but the rising wave of the social-democratic movement. The Russian workers, standing under the banner of scientific socialism, calmly look to the future, firm in their faith in ultimate victory.

“The Russian workers send their hearty greetings to their French comrades. On this anniversary of the day when the French proletariat made the first breach in the defences of the bourgeois world, let the foundations be laid for a more active cooperation between the workers of both countries.

Let them remember the call of our great teacher:
 'Workers of all countries, unite!'

"Long live the French proletariat!"

"Long live the French Revolution!"

"The League to Fight for the Emancipation
 of the Working Class.

"St. Petersburg, March 3, 1896."

COOPERATIVE UNION IN SESSION

The Third Session of the Council of the All-Russian Union of Cooperative Societies was opened in Moscow on the 10th day of May.

Comrade Khinchuk, the Chairman of the Central Union, opened the session with a report, in which he pointed out the importance and gravity of the tasks imposed upon the cooperatives in connection with the transition from the Levy to the Tax, and that their complete emancipation is provided for in the basis of the new Decree on cooperative societies. Having membership of the entire population in the cooperative societies, the Soviet Government fully attained the aims which were pursued by the co-operators in former times, but which were unachievable under former conditions. Concerning the question of financing the cooperative societies, the speaker pointed out that the cooperatives will, apart from their own means, obtained by contributions, receive monetary as well as goods advances from the State.

For the purpose of expanding commercial exchange beyond the limits of mere direct barter, Comrade Khinchuk considers it expedient to establish a system of obligations between the producers and the cooperatives, in the form of cooperative bonds.

In order that the renovated cooperatives may start out with the confidence of the population, Comrade Khinchuk recommends the method of centralized management and decentralized execution.

The second day of the session was devoted to the report of Comrade Brandenburgsky on State commercial exchange and the cooperative societies. The report furnishes a clear conception of the aims and tasks of the cooperatives under the new arrangements, as well as of the immediate prospects in relation to food and commerce in Soviet Russia upon the introduction of the agricultural Tax. The Tax in kind on the chief products of agriculture for the harvest year 1921—22 has been established with a view to satisfying the indispensable requirements of the army and of the urban workers only. According to the approximate calculations of the Food Commissariat the following products will have to be obtained in the ensuing year through State exchange above the Tax, not counting the Ukraine and Turkestan: 150 million poods of corn, 37½ million poods of potatoes, 10 million poods of oil seed, and others, which constitutes about 300 million gold rubles at pre-war rates. What then are the goods resources of the country? The speaker pointed out that the rise in prices of

products of agriculture and articles of manufacture since 1914 was most unequal, for the former were much more than the latter. The establishment of an exact coefficient of the rise of prices is at present impossible, the more so that it must vary with the producing district. Taking the provisionally accepted relations of prices for manufactured goods and agricultural products in Russia at the present time to be in the ratio of 3 to 1, the State will need 100,000,000 rubles to obtain the future harvest through commercial exchange, and 20,000,000 rubles for this year's harvest. From the plans and prospect of the development of Russian industry in the year 1922, Comrade Brandenburgsky calculates that the goods resources in the hands of the State for exchange operations next year will be equivalent to 50,000,000 gold rubles. The goods that will be lacking, to the value of 50,000,000 rubles, will have to be purchased abroad. Comrade Brandenburgsky further spoke of the role which the cooperatives will have to adopt in State commercial exchange, to which they will be summoned by the Soviet authorities as its chief support in exchange operations. The essence and political basis of the Decree on the Agricultural Tax is contained in the idea of creating the conditions under which all the products at the disposal of the producer should go to supply the consumer through the medium of mutual exchange between the cooperative organizations of producers and their cooperative society.

The interest which those present at the session manifested in the report, and the animated debates which the reports subsequently called forth, show the development of a new type of worker and peasant cooperator that renounces the "Liberal-Democratic" cloak under which the cooperatives existed in Russia as well as in all bourgeois countries. The new type of Russian cooperator does not suffer from the liberal illusions of a terrestrial paradise within the capitalist system. As in other spheres, a profound revolution has taken place in that of the cooperatives as well. The Russian cooperators are beginning to regard themselves not only as men of business, but chiefly as builders of the State.

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Russia's Internal and External Situation

By KARL RADEK

(The authorities of the Russian Soviet Government have always been frank in revealing the difficulties which it is encountering in its efforts to establish Communism on a firm and permanent basis. No one could be franker in revealing the weaknesses in its situation than is Karl Radek in the following striking presentation of the aims that are pursued in the new policy of the Soviet Government toward the peasants.)

PARTY discussions in recent days have been concerned with an alteration in the internal and external situation of Soviet Russia, which was not immediately grasped by all the party. If we desire correctly to estimate the resolutions of the last party congress we must take as our point of departure an analysis of the altered situation of Russia. The decisive fact, which has aroused not only the consciousness of the peasants, but also of the working class, is the fact of the defeat of the feudal and capitalistic counter-revolution, which has been accomplished in a long series of campaigns.

The peasant is convinced that he is no longer threatened by any danger from the old landed proprietors, and this conviction is bringing about an entirely new phase in the relation of the peasant to the working class. For the Soviet Government arose from a common struggle, waged by both the peasants and the workers, against the feudal and capitalist bourgeoisie. The last three years of revolution and civil war were filled with a jointly waged repulse of reactionary restoration. The peasant to be sure was little content with the fact that he was obliged to feed the cities without receiving anything in return, but yielded because of his conviction that the Soviet Government, if it were eliminated, would be replaced by a government of capital and landed property.

The attitude of the peasants in the Red Army was quite characteristic. There is no doubt that the Red Army was created by the application of compulsory methods. But in view of the situation of the Red Army — in some respects even unbearable — whose members had to fight, often without shoes and without regular nourishment, on fourteen fronts, it would have been absolutely impossible to conduct a war if the peasants had not been conscious of the fact that the war was being waged in their interest also. Even those who had deserted were brought back to the ranks by means of agitation, by presenting to their consciousness this threatening danger. I myself know of a case in which thousands of deserters, who had banded together, were approached by Comrade Pankov, himself a peasant, who went into their camp unarmed, and who succeeded by propaganda alone in bringing back these people into the army. In spite of all the awful things they had experienced in the last few years, it was possible to arouse a sense of this danger in them, and the political work in the army consisted in awakening in the peasants feelings of a solidarity of interests, as

opposed to feudal reaction. At the moment of Wrangel's defeat, when there were no longer any White troops on any front, the peasants had an idea that no danger was threatening them any more. This expressed itself in the meetings of the village soviets, in which it was openly declared that the White troops were being disposed of in such a way that they could be regarded as no longer a danger. If you trace the views that have predominated in the Russian counter-revolution, you can see that even in these circles the conviction is gaining ground that it will not be possible to conduct the policy of Kolchak, Yudenich, Denikin, etc., in the future, that the peasants must not be frightened by using the bogey of a restoration of the landed estates, and that the fact to be taken as a basis is that the land belongs to the peasants.

Wrangel Tried to Placate the Peasants

And a consideration of the propaganda conducted by Wrangel will show that he tried at least externally to base himself on the above mentioned understanding. A study of the policy of French imperialism will show that even in these circles there is a conviction that the plan of restoring landed property and eventually fighting down the Soviet Government must be given up. Savinkov, in a letter to the French Government, declares that the peasants must under no circumstances be permitted to infer that they are dealing with members of the old regime, for they will then inevitably join with the workers. Of course it would be an illusion to believe that European counter-revolution is really capable of giving up the plan of restoring the great landed proprietors, for even if the counter-revolution should be successful in a petty bourgeois form it would have to restore the great landed proprietors. If the capitalist counter-revolution should be victorious, it would have to impose enormous taxes on the peasants, not in order to bring about a return of the old form, but in the form of payments in instalments. At any rate, the peasant is convinced that this danger is now past and this conviction must be considered as an important factor.

Real Sufferings of the Peasants

The second fact determining the political situation has transpired as a result of the investigations that we have conducted since the last crop failure, which has brought about the great crisis in our agricultural economy. Until recently it was generally believed that the city might perhaps have

suffered much by the war, but that the peasants had grown rich and were living much better than the city dwellers. This is true, however, only of the immediate vicinity of the big cities, where the peasants were able to exchange their foodstuffs for all sorts of commodities. But on a nationwide Russian scale this assumption would be absolutely incorrect. The peasant did succeed in getting articles of luxury, but not instruments of production, cattle, horses. The decrease in the crops is not merely the result of a lack of good will on the part of the peasants, but is primarily due to the fact that Russia has been unable for seven years, owing to the imperialistic and the civil wars, to import any agricultural machines, scythes, or other farm implements, that the live stock has been considerably decimated, the number of horses decreased, and that the peasants have lost a tremendous number of their best people in the war. In this situation, in which the peasant is conscious that he is no longer threatened by any danger from without, and in which distress is simultaneously becoming greater and greater all the time, the relation between the peasantry and the working class was naturally also exacerbated. The peasants believe that they no longer need the help of the workers, and that they are being obliged to deliver foodstuffs to the workers for no return. This has brought back in a sharp form the question of the relation of the working class to the peasantry.

War Industries in Russia

We must consider also in this connection the total result of the war. For three and one-half years Russia was waging a great war on the basis of a disorganized economy. Soviet Russia has been feeding an army of five millions. Abroad, the impression has been that the great civil war was being fought with the remnants of the old army. This is not so.

We can prove statistically that in the year 1919 we had already succeeded in forcing the production of arms and munitions to a point that was as high as that reached before Kerensky's assumption of the government. In 1919-1920 the war industry was the sole industry of Russia, and this fact accelerated the growing debility of Russian industry in general. The munitions industry used up at a tremendous rate the stores of metal, the accumulated as well as the newly acquired stocks of raw materials. The economic situation, owing to the fact that during the war production was limited to the war industries only, was tremendously disturbed. All needs were judged by the criterion of whether they were war requirements or not. For instance, compare the treatment of the textile workers with that of the munition workers. The textile workers often had no bread while the munition workers had all sorts of privileges. The workers who, like the peasants, are convinced that the war is over, and that the revolution is no

longer threatened by any danger from the outside, who have been obliged to live under unheard of difficulties as to food and clothing, and for whom we have not been able to build any new dwellings or repair their old ones, who have had to toil so hard during the entire civil war—twelve hours a day in the munitions factories—they also are now demanding an improvement in their situation. But the working class is mistaken if it believes that the revolution has emerged from the danger of external complications. We must not, however, neglect the fact that the conduct of these workers will be influenced by their beliefs, even though they be mistaken. From these relaxations of the efforts of the country and of great masses of workers, there arises a general discontent, which asks what have been the promises of the revolution, and what have been its performances. Let us not forget that during the war and the revolution the conditions of the working class have changed. Already during the imperialist war great masses of peasants and petty bourgeois elements were drawn into the factories, in the first place because of the higher pay, and in the second place because the work in the munitions factories was a ground of exemption from military service. During the revolution great masses of workers went back into the village, in which they sought their bread. In part these were highly skilled workers, who had greater cultural needs and who bore hunger with less fortitude than those who had not been used to good living before. At the same time, peasants were requisitioned as unskilled laborers, for instance on the railroads, and this great mass was gradually incorporated in the working class. Female labor also has gained in compass. Many elements of the petty bourgeoisie, which had formerly led a parasitical existence, were pushed down into the working class. The best elements however were at the front, where we have a much greater loss to record than during the imperialistic war. This has involved a weakening of the really revolutionary ranks of the workers. In the factories there were left only former peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, who had gained their living by trade; these elements considered the Communists simply as slave drivers, as elements that were demanding greater and greater sacrifices from them.

The Attitude of the Working Class Toward the Peasantry

The first question to be discussed in connection with the new situation is the relation between Communist and non-Communist elements. The second question is concerned with how we shall cope with the new political situation. You are probably acquainted with the discussions that have been going on since September last year, within the party, in other words from the moment when we seemed about to be on the point of disposing of Wrangel. We were faced with this question: is it possible to soften the antagonism, is

it possible to close the gap between the advance guard and the main body of the workers? This question was approached in a manner to divide the discussion into several channels, namely these: the question of trade unions, of party organization, discussions on the higher layers of the population and the lower layers, a discussion of the alteration of the foodstuff policy, an attempt at the new agrarian policy. The Congress took a definite stand, with a majority that made further struggles on these tendencies impossible within the party, with a majority that forced the minority faction of the party into a complete acceptance of the will of the party, which is now fully conscious that the approaching period will not be a peaceful one, but a period of sharp struggles. For the mode of accepting the situation is never the following: the party has spoken and all will therefore admit the correctness of the new policy. It is clear that the adaptation of the party to the new conditions will assume the form of a series of conflicts between the proletariat and the peasants.

The Revolution Abroad

The consciousness of danger was also sharpened by the example offered by Kronstadt, to liquidate which incident 200 members of the Party had to leave the Congress. This local action shows that the continuance of the revolution will not only involve the discussion of a program, but will be a struggle with arms in hand. It is necessary to understand the decisions of the Party Congress, and this is necessary not only for the Russian party, which will carry them out, but also for the foreign comrades. But what is happening in Russia? The destinies of the Russian revolution will influence the international movement not only by the fact that they actually alter the world situation, but chiefly in an ideological way. The reverberations of all our struggles will extend very far into the approaching day of accounting of the social revolution abroad.

Our first question is the question of the relation to the peasantry. In this connection Russian Communists have been rebuked by western opportunists for being the most opportunistic party in the world. I remember how the German Independents at the outbreak of the Russian Revolution sent a telegram to the Soviet Government, in which Ledebour considered it necessary to remind us that socialization should not stop with the factories, but should also involve the entire agricultural system. The Russian comrades were not so stupid as to follow this advice. There is no power that can socialize 15,000,000 small peasant farms by means of a national decree. The Russian November Revolution accepted the formula of the social revolutionists, the formula of a nationalization of the soil, and for tactical reasons. The November Government was a government of the coalition with the Left Social-Revolutionists. In reality the point was the recognition of the soil as the property of the peasants into whose hands it fell. A socializa-

tion of agriculture can be undertaken only after a long historical evolution within the revolution, after industry has been gotten to function well, and after the workers, who hold a national monopoly in their hands, have attained a predominance over the peasants. The new generation of peasants, who have seen much, and who are able to judge of the value of cooperatives, might be capable of passing over to new forms of work.

If the Soviet enterprises can demonstrate that by cooperatives better results are obtained, the question of a socialization of agriculture will be up for immediate consideration. The policy of the Soviet Government toward the peasants was clear. It knew that socialization could not be transplanted into the village by an interference from above. Nothing would be altered by this. But the manner is to be changed in which the Soviet Government will provision the cities, and in which it takes grain from the peasants. The bread monopoly was not first introduced by the Bolsheviki, but was already established by the Kerensky Government, when it transpired that their provision policy had raised prices and had not secured the provisioning of cities and workers. But the execution of the monopoly left it in the hands of the great landed proprietors and grain dealers, and this took away the grain of the peasants at fixed prices, but delivered nothing to them at fixed prices. This was one of the causes of the rebellion of the peasants against the government. When we (the Bolsheviki) came to power, resources had been reduced to nothing. Kerensky's apparatus had broken down. In the storehouses of the Government there were no stocks of grain. The new apparatus which we were to create had not yet been put in place. And there remained only the one path which Lenin took in the Putilov Works, when he said to the workers: "The Workers' Government is nothing else than you yourselves, and if you cannot get any bread for yourselves, we cannot give you any." There began the organization of sections which went into the villages and took what was available. Simultaneously we attempted to crystallize out those elements in the villages that might help us. We tried to gain the support of the poor peasants, to whom we gave a portion of the grain that had been confiscated. There was thus created the system of the *razvierska*, which consisted in the Government's confiscating everything in the way of grain and raw materials, which was not absolutely necessary for the peasants, in order to live themselves, and we could not deviate from this way for the simple reason that the Ukraine had been lost to Germany and Siberia to Kolchak, the Social-Revolutionists, and counter-revolutionists.

Reduce the Size of the Army!

Central Russia had to feed itself, and the process could not be carried out by gentle means. All the grain the peasant had left had to be taken away ruthlessly, and the quantity of grain given to the peasant had to be approximated to the quo-

tum of the city worker. When the civil war began and an army of 5,000,000 was to be supported, we had to proceed even more sharply. Our line of action toward the peasantry, which was laid down in 1919 at the Eighth Party Congress: "Fight against the rich peasant, do not disturb the middle peasant, and support the poor peasant," had to remain on paper. The city and the army had great needs, with the result that the deliveries by the rich peasants constituted only a small percentage, and that it became necessary to proceed sharply even against the middle peasants. Can we do anything to change this situation? Can we make any concessions to the peasants in this matter? We think so. When we demobilize, and in part we shall demobilize, in any case, for an army of 5,000,000 is not a good instrument of war. The relation between fighters and eaters was always a poor one in the Russian Army. The difference is so great that we must keep down this ratio in the interest of the striking power of the army. Whether we shall continue to wage war or not, the army must be reduced to half its size. This will relieve us of a great burden, for the peasants will return to economic work and will feed themselves. The apparatus which we have developed now permits us to achieve a much more precise understanding of the situation. We can now discontinue our custom of imposing the entire burden of deliveries on individual provinces. We have added Siberia, Ukraine, the Caucasus to our grain furnishing districts. The increase which these districts gave to our population is only one sixth of the increase of grain that we obtained by these annexations. If we continue to have peace for a time, we shall be able to approach the question of liquidating the evil of banditry in these districts, so that the influx of grain from Ukraine may be increased. It is clear that as soon as we have put down the vendée in the Don region and a relative condition of quiet has been restored there, we shall be glad to take up the same task in the Kuban.

A New Incentive to Till the Soil

The conclusion of the commercial agreement with England, which opens the way for us to conclude similar agreements with America and Germany, affords us an opportunity to get industrial products and aids us in disposing of the question of foodstuffs. Our gold supply is not so great as to put us in a position to spend with a lavish hand, but there is no doubt that we can have great quantities of goods for a portion of this gold supply, goods that are unquestionably necessary for the peasants. This will bring the proletarian state nearer to the peasant, since the peasant beholds in this state an organization that permits him to improve his economy. If we at the same time permit American capitalists to work on the Russian boundary, by an application of the concessions policy, in order to obtain important means of production and raw materials from them, we shall thus obtain the possibility of building up our in-

dustry, more and more, and supplying our peasants with our own industrial products. We can count upon the fact that we shall be able to make secure the feeding of the cities if we take gentler steps with the peasants.

We shall do this by substituting a tax in kind for the system of taking away everything from the peasant, so that the peasant will be required to make deliveries in accordance with the size of his establishment, the number of his cattle, the number of men employed. On the basis of his harvest calculations, the peasant will learn, at seed-time, what tax he will have to pay in grain. In this way an incentive is given to increase the amount of seeded land, and to cultivate the soil more carefully. The peasant will know that after he has delivered a certain percentage of grain, he will obtain industrial products for the rest, or may exchange the rest in local free trade. He will thus be placed in a better relation with the proletarian state. We are convinced that by this political step we have turned a good card out of the hand of the European reaction, and that this concession to the peasants will put us in the position to fight down the petty bourgeois counter-revolution, both militarily and politically. A comrade who returned from Kronstadt reported that the news of the proceedings of the party congress, concerning the procedure with the peasants, had filled a whole division of the Red Army with an entirely new spirit. These sons of the peasantry in the army, who are not so stupid as western Europe would like to believe them — for they discuss and grasp often too much—these sons of the peasantry at once recognized the changed policy of the Government toward the peasants, and were quite ready to fight once more for the Government.

The Peasants and the Constituent Assembly

It would be ridiculous to assume that, because there are Social-Revolutionists at the head of the present movement, the peasants are all Social-Revolutionists. The Constituent Assembly is a phantom as far as the peasants are concerned. They have not felt the need of it, they have not advocated it. The peasant knew nothing about it in his political life. The watchword of the Constituent Assembly is a watchword that the Social-Revolutionists brought into the movement and the peasants are willing to give it up as soon as their own needs are satisfied. We are convinced we shall have a better relation with the peasantry. This does not mean that there are not dangerous sides to this policy. It is, on the other hand, a policy that involves the greatest danger.

Dangers of the New Policy

What does it mean for us to leave a portion of the peasant's products in his own hands? If we are not in a position to give him industrial products, the gate is absolutely open to capitalistic speculation. But if the railroad men are starving and the peasant gives them a portion of his pro-

ducts and in return receives transport of his own grain along their line, this may result in a great disorganization in the railroad system, and capitalistic speculation may assume nation-wide proportions.

There is a further danger that the peasant may attempt to get a great portion of the crop into his own hands and may thus keep secret a portion of his harvest. The party could not live on illusions: it well knows the dangers that it must fight. We see the thing in this light: we shall have a struggle between capitalistic speculation, based on a re-birth of petty industry and on the other hand on corruption in the nationalized factories. The speculator will attempt to create a great mass of small traders, being a trading capitalist, and on the other hand he will try by corruption to make the national industry serve him. The question now is whether the Government will be strong enough to take up the armed struggle against the peasants, to maintain peace on the exterior, or whether the proletariats of foreign countries will come to aid us.

The New Policy May Be a Failure

This will be a long process, and if the revolution abroad does not come to our assistance we shall suffer a failure of this policy. Just as the débacle in France occurred by reason of the fact that the peasant was rendered satisfied and a new class arose through the Constituent Assembly, so in our country, together with the bureaucracy of the Soviet institutions, the speculator would strengthen the counter-revolutionary movement. We have no illusions as to the fact that our victory is possible only with a victory of the European revolution. The policy that we have now undertaken is intended to extend the wind of the revolution, so that it may hold out longer than that of the counter-revolution. We must see to it that a concentration of capital is prevented, and that we shall be able to fight all counter-revolutionary elements on the basis of the creation of free trade.

The second question is that of the relation with the working class. What is the meaning of the altered foodstuff policy? It does not mean that the proletarian dictatorship is to become a peasant dictatorship. It means a policy of the internal breathing-spell, of internal maneuvering. The policy of concessions to foreign countries is connected with this policy and is also a maneuvering policy. The most important thing for us is not to be misled, not to lose the social basis upon which we have established ourselves. This danger no doubt exists. It exists if only in the fact that the proletariat itself includes peasant and petty bourgeois elements, which naturally express themselves in part at least as an opposition to the Communist Party. The danger exists in the fact that through the dictatorship of the proletariat, not only open counter-revolution, but also the center parties, are put down—and they had to be put down—and that thereby the Communist Party is

left as the only organizing factor in political life, and, since this party is at the same time the governing party, it was not to be avoided that many petty bourgeois elements sought and obtained admission to its ranks. The necessity of making use of specialists also makes it necessary to adopt a conciliatory policy toward them. If officers are put into service they may be dominated by the sword, by permitting them to give commands today and putting them in jail tomorrow. The Communist Party seeks to influence the officers and finds an honest echo among them. The Russian corps of officers never was the same as the European. The officers had no preferential social position. They were therefore far more democratic in spirit than in the West. We must also consider the numbers of officers that were not commissioned until after the war began. Life did not fail to influence them, and we have many officers who have entered our party. The same was the case with other specialists. But even if they do come to us, they nevertheless represent a difference of opinion which has an influence on the party.

All these facts taken together make it plain that the Communist Party of Russia, once the most proletarian party in the world, has recently added a number of petty bourgeois elements to its ranks, partly drawn from the Soviet bureaucracy, partly from the circles of the intellectuals. This has produced a petty bourgeois danger for the party. This danger consists in the fact that these elements may influence the ideology of the party, for these elements have always been accustomed to command, and interpret the relation of the vanguard of the proletariat to the mass of the proletariat as a relation of command.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.



This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

THE index to Volume IV of SOVIET RUSSIA (January-June, 1921) is now ready for delivery and will be sent at once to all libraries on the subscription list, as well as to all such readers as make request for them. Such request should be made at once, as the number of copies of the index is limited.

* * *

THE *New York American* of July 19 prints a message from its Special Correspondent in Berlin, Karl H. Von Wiegand, dated July 18, which states that General Sukhomlinov, the Tsar's Minister of War who was charged with duping the Tsar into signing an order for the mobilization of the Russian Army in 1914, thereby forcing Germany to mobilize, was ordered on that day to leave Germany within twenty-four hours. "He received the order from the Socialist Chief of Police there (in Dresden)."

There is hardly any doubt that the ruling classes of Russia and Germany, not to mention those of other countries, had dropped sufficiently under the control of the capitalist forces to make it quite possible for an ambitious, or unscrupulous, or indifferent, general to act as the lever by which a monarch might be induced to bring on a world war. There seems also little doubt of the fact that figures similar to Sukhomlinov existed in Germany and in other countries, and that their guilt in aiding to bring on the world war was similar to his. But it is interesting to note that the Russian people, through the Soviet Government, has succeeded in having its Sukhomlinovs shown up, while the German people, in spite of their "Revolution", and the other peoples of Europe, have as yet not the necessary records in their possession, from which to prove the guilt of the gentle and highborn aristocrats who dragged them down into their present physical and moral degradation.

And Germany, in spite of its "Revolution", remains a haven for the oppressors and misleaders of other nations. Just as in the palmy days of the Russian cosmopolitan nobility, Dresden and Berlin are choking with noblemen, former and present capitalists, bureaucrats who refuse to work for the Russian people, fine ladies whose idleness is now subsidized no longer by exploitation of the proletariat, but by their own prostitution, and other

Russians who feel that the German "Revolution" is a better place for them than the Republic of the Russian Workers.

To the honor of the Russian workers it should be pointed out that Hindenburg, Ludendorff, and William II would hardly think of asking asylum at Soviet Russian sanatoriums, while Sukhomlinov was permitted to take quarters at a sanatorium at Weisserhirsch, near Dresden, until some petty local intrigue moved the chief of police to declare that he could not contain his feelings against the "monarchist, militarist, and reactionary" general, and to sign an order expelling him from the country. But the German workers have not yet taught the chiefs of police that they must be rigid not only with the Russian Sukhomlinovs, whose acts were of course acts of hostility to the Imperial German Government, but that they must also banish and cast out the Hindenburgs and Ludendorffs, whose services to the German people were no less unfortunate for the latter than were Sukhomlinov's to the Russian people. For, at the same sanatorium was stopping a German general, Von Hohenborn, the former Minister of War of the German Empire, who interceded with Berlin in behalf of Sukhomlinov, because of the latter's age, which is above seventy.

"Thereupon, the former Russian Minister of War, who is considered the man who put the match to the powder barrel in 1914, got permission to remain another week, when he will go to Berlin, permission having been given him to live there.

"Sukhomlinov is writing two volumes of memoirs, which promise to throw additional light on the question of responsibility for the world war."

While German monarchist generals inhabit Dresden sanatoriums and secure transient privileges for refugee Russian generals, the latter do not enjoy similar privileges in Soviet Russia. In that country the sanatoriums are places in which workers rest and recuperate during their vacations or when sick, and where children are given an opportunity to gain what health they need in order to grow up into healthy men and women.

* * *

NOWHERE in the world is so much attention devoted to children, in the distribution of food, the provisions for nursing and homes, the general public propaganda, as in Soviet Russia. In spite of the fact that Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes, in a letter to *The New York Times*, of July 20, quotes statements made by Comrade Lunacharsky, People's Commissar of Education, calling attention to the fact that much of the ambitious program to benefit the children has been impossible of fulfillment, it nevertheless remains true that every facility at the disposal of the Proletarian Dictatorship has been used to give the children an opportunity to obtain health and strength, frequently by permitting them to live in the salubrious regions formerly chosen to be sites of palaces to be built for the Tsars. Only recently we received a batch of propaganda posters issued by the Commissariat for Health, of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and observed how many of them warned

mothers to guard themselves against infection during pregnancy, to refrain from over-exertion in the fields and in the factory before childbirth, to give the nursing baby a proper quantity of milk, to refrain from over-swaddling and over-covering infants in hot weather, in short, admonished mothers in every way to look after their own health, as well as that of the children,—but always it is clearly to be inferred that the main interest of the Commissariat of Health is not in the parents, but in the children. In no other country of the world, furthermore, is there so much frankness in the treatment of disease, filth, public hygiene, individual morality. In other countries, syphilis, for instance, is a mysterious plague to be uttered by name with bated breath, if named at all. We believe that to this day *The New York Times* does not distinguish between syphilis and other forms of "blood-poisoning". Deaths from the former are always attributed, in the *Times* columns, to the latter. In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, syphilis, like all other serious diseases, is admitted to be a menace to the individual, to the people generally, and, more particularly, to the unborn generations. As is the case also in the publicity work with other diseases, a series of letter-press posters has been prepared (seven in number for this disease), in which its various stages are enumerated and described, its treatment outlined, its consequences warned against. In addition to these clear presentations of the nature and symptoms of syphilis, evidently intended to be placed in consecutive order (they are numbered for the purpose) on the walls of Soviet institutions, in places where they may be studied at leisure by those who are interested in them, there are great numbers of smaller posters, in heavier type, one warning against specific symptoms of the disease, another calling attention to the fact that five years of observation and treatment should be devoted to it, while a third informs the passer-by that even after all the symptoms of syphilis have yielded to treatment, there yet remains in the body the poison that may give rise to further symptoms at a later date. And all this propaganda (for many other diseases the amount of printed matter is just as great and just as exhaustive) is openly and clearly for the purpose of preserving the unborn generation from congenital infection by this plague.

OF COURSE it is true that at the present time it is very difficult for the Soviet Government to look after its little wards, or, as a matter of fact, to do any of the magnificent things which the proletariat was pursuing when it installed its Dictatorship. Particularly at this time, the resources in food are running very low, the supplies left from last year's crops having run out, and the new harvest being not yet in. And besides, the prospects of this year's crops are very poor. Throughout the eastern portion of European Russia, along the Volga and the Urals, there is an almost unheard of drought, and the chances that any crop

at all will be gathered in those regions are very poor. Relief seems not to be forthcoming from other countries, and the Soviet Government itself is too proud to ask for help. Whatever can be done to relieve the peasant population in the afflicted provinces is being done: the famine relief campaign is being vigorously pushed by all provincial authorities, labor organizations, and public bodies in Russia, as well as by numerous volunteer organizations. The Russian Telegraph Agency informs us (cable of July 20, to SOVIET RUSSIA) that "Communist propagandists throughout the country are urging the peasants in the provinces to give unselfish aid to their afflicted brothers in the drought-stricken Volga districts."

But Russia is not the only country that is now afflicted with drought, which seems to be the condition generally of all the Northern Hemisphere. There are few countries in Europe, for instance, that can count on a sufficiently generous food supply to feed their own population, and if France would like to finance a new venture of Poland's against Soviet Russia this Summer, she must be prepared to take the consequences. It may be that the French politicians are aware, however, how little of the world's resources in grain they can afford to pour into Poland this fall, in the form either of money, or food, or munitions.

* * *

THE French Government emphatically denies reports that have recently been circulated by American newspapers in the cables received from their European correspondents, to the effect that France is again ready to support Poland in a new attack on Soviet Russia. This leads one to believe that such support by the French Government is being already given to the Polish "Republic", and this belief is further strengthened by the persistent statements in the press that Soviet Russia is massing great bodies of troops for aggression against the border states and the West generally. Such imputations of aggressive intent on the part of Soviet Russia have hitherto always been a means of announcing aggression from the West against Russia.

* * *

READERS of SOVIET RUSSIA have been complaining in letters to the editor that the monthly appearance of the magazine does not supply them promptly enough with the material which they were used to reading in our columns. There are certain advantages in the monthly form of publication, but, as these letters from our readers indicate, there are also advantages in a weekly paper. The whole question is one on which we are open to conviction, and we therefore invite our readers to express their views on this subject, as well as on any other that touches the interests of the publication, as fully as they like in writing. We have invited such cooperation before and never found any lack of interest on the part of our readers in the policy and material of SOVIET RUSSIA.

Recognition in the English Courts

By CHARLES RECHT

The validity of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement hinged upon the decision of the British Court in the case which is here reviewed by the Attorney for the Soviet Government in the United States. Upon the signing of the Trade Agreement, Mr. Krassin, the Representative of the Soviet Government in England, announced that the agreement would be considered void if the British courts should decide that property of the Soviet Government could be seized in England. Previous to the Trade Agreement this case had been decided adversely to the Soviet Government by Justice Roche in the lower court. (For a discussion of this decision, see SOVIET RUSSIA, January 22, 1921.) After the signing of the agreement the Supreme Court reversed the earlier decision and recognized the sovereignty of the Soviet Republic. Recent press dispatches from London report that the validity of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement has been further strengthened by the decision in a second test case in which the British Chancery Court decided that gold roubles, formerly part of the gold reserve of the Imperial Russian Government, could not be attached in England for obligations incurred by the Tsar's Government.

THE recent decision of the English Court which recognized the Soviet Government as a sovereign state arose as follows: A corporation known as A. N. Luther, organized under the Russian laws in 1898, owned a saw mill in the Government of Novgorod in Russia. After the revolution, the Soviet Government by a decree of the Council of Commissars, dated June 20th, 1918, under sub-division 17 of Article 1 nationalized "All the mechanical saw mills of limited or private companies which have a capital of at least one million rubles" and under sub-division 18 "All woodworking establishments equipped with machinery which belonged to private or limited companies."

In June, 1918, the Commissars of the Soviet Government took control of the saw mills of the Luther Company. On August 14, 1920, James Sagor & Company, an American corporation, made a contract with Mr. Krassin by which it bought from the R. S. F. S. R. the entire stock of wood of this Luther Corporation. The stock, which amounted to about one hundred and thirty-five tons, was imported into England. Thereupon the Luther Corporation sued the Sagor Company for the possession of this wood, claiming that it was their property. The Sagor Company contended that the British Government had recognized the Soviet Government as a de facto government and therefore the sale by a duly authorized representative of the Soviet Government to an American Corporation could not be questioned in an English Court.

The Case Before Judge Roche

This case came to trial in the Court of Kings Bench before Judge Roche, on November 29th, 1920. In support of the contention of the defendant there was read into the record a letter from the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which certified "That His Majesty's Government has regarded M. Krassin as exempt from the processes of the Court, and also for the like limited purpose His Majesty's Government has assented to the claim that that which M. Krassin represents in this country is a state government of Russia. . ." The letter however ends by stating "I am to add

that His Majesty's Government have never officially recognized the Soviet Government in any way."

Judge Roche held that the question whether the Soviet Government was a sovereign power depends first upon the question whether it was recognized by the English Government; and second, if it was not recognized, whether it had a right to sue or be sued in English Courts.

In the cases cited by Judge Roche, although there are some decisions to the contrary, the following proposition appears to be established: that it belongs "exclusively to governments to recognize new states in the revolutions which may occur in the world; and until such recognition either by our own government, or by the government to which the new state belongs, courts of justice are bound to consider the ancient state of things as remaining unaltered." The above quotation, which the Court uses, is from an American case. The Judge thereupon comes to the conclusion that he is "unable to recognize or to hold that the Soviet Government has sovereignty, or is able by decree to deprive the plaintiff company of its property," and he therefore decided the case against the defendants, and that the plaintiffs were entitled to recover the articles in question.

Appeal to the Supreme Court

The case was appealed to the Court of Appeals of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and came on for decision before the Learned Justices Bankes, Warrington and Scrutton. All of the three Judges wrote opinions involving these questions, and all three opinions agree.

Judge Bankes, after reviewing the facts, recites two letters read into the record, signed by the Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and comes to the conclusion that Judge Roche, basing his decision on only the two letters, was justified in rendering his decision. However, since Judge Roche had decided, the attorneys for the defendant had obtained, from the Foreign Office, on April 20th, 1921, a certificate to the following effect:

"I am directed by Earl Curzon of Kedleston to refer to your letter of the 12th of April, asking

for information as to the relations between His Majesty's Government and the Soviet Government of Russia.

"2. I am to inform you that His Majesty's Government recognizes the Soviet Government as the *de facto* government of Russia."

The Court states that this additional statement by the Foreign Office presents an entirely different state of affairs, in that recognition of the Soviet Government as a government *de facto* entirely changes the entire aspect of the case, and opens up two branches of inquiry; first, what is the effect of recognition, and how far back, if at all, does that recognition extend? And second, the question of fact as to whether there is sufficient evidence to establish the identity of the Soviet Government now recognized with the government which seized and sold the property in question.

As to the first proposition, the Judge comes to the conclusion that if a government exists and becomes recognized, its acts from the commencement of its existence "are upheld as those of an independent nation". In favor of this proposition, Judge Bankes cites an American case, *Underhill vs. Hernandez*, where Chief Justice Fuller of the United States Supreme Court, in speaking of civil wars, said "If the party seeking to dislodge the existing government succeeds, and the independence of the government it has set up is recognized, then the acts of the government it has set up are regarded as those of an independent nation."

As to the second branch of the proposition, the Court comes to the conclusion that the recognition of a *de facto* government makes valid all of its decrees from the time of its existence.

The Soviet Government a Sovereign Power

As to the second question raised, the Court, quoting the letter of April 22nd, addressed by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the lawyers for the defendant corporation, states that "it appears that the Soviet authorities dispersed the then Constituent Assembly on the 13th of December, 1917, from which date I think it must be accepted that the Soviet Government assumed the position of a sovereign government and purported to act as such." And therefore the Court concludes that "the seizure of the plaintiff's goods in January, 1919 and subsequent sale were all acts of the Soviet Government, which has been recognized by the Government of Great Britain, and must be accepted by the Courts as such."

The plaintiff thereupon raised the objection that the confiscation was immoral, and so contrary to the principles of justice of Great Britain that the Courts of that country ought not to pay any attention to it. The Court disposes of that by citing older cases, which hold that even though the sale by a foreign government would constitute a felony according to English law, where the sale was made in a foreign country and was valid under the foreign law, it must on every principle of law depend upon the local law. The Court states further that

"Even if it was open to the Courts of this Country (meaning Great Britain) to consider the morality or justice of the decree of June, 1918 nationalizing the property of the plaintiff, I do not see how the Courts could treat this particular decree otherwise than as the expression of a *de facto* government of a civilized country of a policy which it considered to be in the best interests of that country. It must be quite immaterial for the present purposes that the same views are not entertained by the Government of this country, are repudiated by the vast majority of its citizens, and are not recognized by our laws."

Lord Justice Warrington in his opinion also upholds Judge Roche in the decision which he had formerly made, because the situation had changed between the time that Judge Roche had rendered his opinion, and the decision of the appeal. The Judge holds that the letter of the Secretary of State is conclusive as to the status of the Soviet Government, and that it is an independent sovereign government. As to the authority of the decree, Judge Warrington cites an American case, *Oetgen vs. Central Leather Company*, in which Judge Clarke of the United States Supreme Court held that "every sovereign state is bound to respect the independence of every other sovereign state, and the Courts of one country will not sit in judgment on the acts of the government of another one within its own territory."

Thereupon Judge Warrington goes into the most interesting and crucial question in the case, that is, whether recognition is retroactive to any and what extent. Citing *Oppenheim on International Law*, the Court reads "Recognition is the act by which it becomes apparent that an old state is ready to deal with a new state as an international person and a member of the family of nations." "If this is so," says Judge Warrington, "then provided the act in question was an act of the State so recognized, it must in my opinion be entitled to the same respect as the act of a sovereign state, *whether done before or after recognition.*"

"We have not," the Court emphasizes, "been referred to, nor have I found any authority in English law on the point, but there are decisions of the Supreme Court of America directly supporting the view I have expressed."

American Precedents

Citing from the case of *Williams vs. Bruffy*, Lord Warrington reads the opinion of Mr. Justice Field, in which the United States Court, in speaking of *de facto* governments, says: "They are of two kinds. One of them is such as exists after it has expelled the regularly constituted authorities from the seats of power and the public offices, and established their own functionaries in their places, so as to represent in fact the sovereignty of the nation. As far as other nations are concerned, such a government is treated as in most respects possessing rightful authority; its contracts and treaties are usually enforced: its ac-

quisitions are retained: and its legislation is in general recognized, and the rights acquired under it are with few exceptions recognized after the restoration of the authorities which were expelled."

Reading from the same decision he adds: "If it exists and becomes recognized, its acts from the commencement of its existence are upheld as those of an independent nation", and speaking of the American United States after their separation from Great Britain, the United States Court says, "Having made good their Declaration of Independence, everything they did from that date was *as valid as if their independence had been at once acknowledged.*" The Court, therefore reaches the conclusion that all the decrees of the Soviet Government are valid decrees, regardless of the date of recognition by the government of Great Britain.

Lord Justice Scrutton in his opinion comes generally to the same conclusions as the two previous judges, saying "That if Mr. Krassin had brought these goods with him into England and declared on behalf of his government that they were the property of the Russian Government, in my view no English Court could investigate the truth of that statement. To do so would not be consistent with the comity of nations as between independent sovereign states. * * * It is impossible to recognize a government and yet claim to exercise jurisdiction over its personal property against its will."

Does Recognition Apply to Past Years?

As to the interesting question involving the retroactive applicability of such recognition, the Judge differs somewhat in his conclusions from those of Lord Warrington. He says: "It appears to me that the recognition of a Government as the *de facto* government in one year does not necessarily recognize that from the first moment when some of the individuals supporting its cause began to resist or to attack the then established government, it was the *de facto* government. It may well be a question when first the struggling body obtained such power that it was a Government *de facto*, and over what area and that you cannot answer that question by knowing that some years later the sovereign (meaning the sovereign of England) recognized it as the government *de facto* over a particular area. When that question is to be answered the Court must ask the sovereign for information; but here the Foreign Office letters appear to show that since the beginning of 1918 the Soviet Republic has been the government *de facto* of Russia."

Proceeding from then on, the Court is of the opinion that the decisions of the United States Courts in *Oetgen vs. Central Leather Company*, and other cases, go a little too far in holding that "When a government which originates in revolution or revolt is recognized by our government as the *de jure* government of the country where it is established, such recognition is retroactive in effect, and validates all the actions and conduct of

the government so recognized from the commencement of its existence." Justice Scrutton says "That the definition of the last six words (meaning "from the commencement of its existence") may require very careful consideration." Finally, Judge Scrutton, considering the question whether titles derived under Soviet legislation were confiscatory or unjust, makes the following significant remark, "At present British citizens who may contribute to the State more than half their income in income-tax and super-tax, and a large proportion of their capital in death duties, with the fear of a capital levy hanging over their heads, can hardly consider a foreign State immoral which considers that to vest individual property in the State as representing all the citizens is the best form of proprietary right."

International Law Restored

The legal effect of the Luther case is the reaffirmance by a high court of one of the greatest powers, of certain well-established principles of international law. The Great War played sad havoc with most of its well-settled rules and proved that the courts of all the contending nations merely attempted to legalize the acts of their foreign offices. The law regarding the two propositions which this decision postulates was just as valid in 1918 as it is to-day. The propositions are the following: a *de facto* government acquires, in the conception of international law, the legal right to enact legislation which the other sovereign states are bound to recognize; and although a sovereign state, whether *de jure* or *de facto*, enact a municipal law which may be repugnant to another state, such law will be deemed valid by the courts of that state.

The Luther case bears a peculiar relation to American jurisprudence. To begin with, it is based mainly on American decisions arising out of the three wars, the Revolutionary, the Civil, and the World War. Furthermore, these decisions bearing out the contentions advanced by the attorneys for the plaintiff in the Luther case are also the selfsame ones advanced by the attorneys for L. C. A. K. Martens in the deportation case.

It makes no difference whether the legislation passed by the Soviet Government in nationalizing industries is legislation which from the American viewpoint is moral or immoral; it does not behoove the American courts to pass upon it. And *a fortiori* does this apply to cases of nationalization or of confiscation of property. Governments have been exercising that prerogative from time immemorial, and the American government is no exception, e. g., slaves, liquor, income and ships. It is odd, however, to read in an English decision authorities so distinctly American, particularly those which established the once weak and merely *de facto* American Government.

We predict that before long the high American Courts will maintain that the Luther case merely restated a well-known American doctrine.

The Theatres in Petrograd

By B. ROUSTAM BEK

Petrograd, May 23, 1921.

The American press has said little about the stage in Soviet Russia. The capitalist papers, although compelled to admit that the Bolsheviki have not destroyed the theatres, occasionally complain bitterly that they have created nothing new. Such critics, of course, deliberately ignore the truth that an art cannot be recreated in a moment but must pass through a process of gradual development. The Social Revolution may direct art into new paths, but it will never destroy the art of the past. While the Russian Revolution gave a new creative impulse to the artists, pre-existing art in Russia in all branches not only remained unmolested, but was actively protected by the Proletarian Government from possible injuries during the period of general confusion which was a natural consequence of the destruction of the old regime. The survival of theatrical art in Russia through the most dangerous period of the Revolution and its flourishing condition today are due to the devoted efforts of Comrade Lunacharsky, the People's Commissar of Education.

It must be remembered that the organization of the State Theatres in Russia was always a complicated and delicate apparatus, requiring an enormous administration of specially trained technicians and artists. The Russian stage has always been more than a mere place of public amusement. The Russian theatre was and is a temple of education and an academy of art. Before the Revolution, however, the temple was open only to the aristocracy and to the well-to-do bourgeoisie. Millions of Russians heard of the splendor of the Russian ballet and of the magnificence of the Russian opera, but never lived to see or hear either. Today there remain in Soviet Russia neither aristocracy nor bourgeoisie—or at least those who survive need not be taken into account, since they have lost all their former privileged significance. The theatres in Russia are open only to workers.

The auditorium of any Petrograd theatre in these days is a most impressive sight. The brilliant uniforms and the fashionable dresses have vanished entirely; instead of pearls and diamonds the house shines with thousands of bright eyes turned towards the stage, where the spectacle is performed for these poorly clothed and hungry people who watch intently every movement, listening to each word and every note with keen interest and admiration.

The Petrograd theatres are divided into two classes: The State theatres and the private theatres, or "Collectives". There are three principal State theatres: The former Mariynsky Theatre, where, during the winter season, opera and ballet are given every day except Mondays; the former Mikhailovsky Theatre, where light

opera, both of Russian and foreign composers, is produced; and the Alexandrinsky Dramatic Theatre, in which are performed the classics of Shakespeare and Schiller, as well as modern Russian playwrights like Ostrovsky, Gogol, Andreyev, Lunacharsky and many others. In addition to these three, there are four other State theatres, forming a group of "People's Houses." One of these is devoted to French and Italian opera, and another to melodrama and classical comedy, such as that of Shakespeare and Molière. This latter theatre is under the management of a young and promising artist, S. E. Radlov, who has introduced entirely new methods in theatrical art. Radlov's attention has been centered especially upon stage movements and gestures. He is a severe critic of those modern actors who, in his judgment, are unable even to stand properly on the stage, much less to move with artistic effect. In order to correct these shortcomings Radlov has not hesitated to adopt everything which might improve the technique of stage movement, not excepting acrobatics. There was much criticism against certain innovations introduced by Radlov, especially when he invited acrobats and comedians from the circus to take part in his productions of comedy. The dramatic artists protested vigorously, but Radlov remained firm and finally carried through his ideas. He was enabled in this manner to introduce entirely new elements into comedy and to enrich it immensely with a technique unobtainable without these elements. The result injected a most effective liveliness into comedy.

The Great Dramatic Theatre

The Great Dramatic Theatre, which occupies the building of the former Little Theatre, is under the management of the well-known Russian artists, Monakhov and Maximov. Here have been performed Shakespeare and Schiller and other classic authors, and recently "The Servant of Two Masters," an Italian comedy by Goldoni, which had great and well merited success. Between the acts artistic dances are given before the curtain, designed to create an atmosphere for the succeeding act. The scenery, costuming, and lighting are excellent and the acting very fine, though the actors in this theatre for the most part have been trained from experienced amateurs and young professionals.

The academic State theatres in Petrograd are under the general direction of I. V. Ekskuzovich, to whom the present high standard of these theatres is largely due. Ivan Vasilievich Ekskuzovich is an architect by education and at the same time a professional actor, a combination of professions which make him an excellent director of theatres. When the Revolution came he was working as an architect on a new railway line in the Pakov

region and lecturing in an Engineering School in Petrograd. He is a young man of great energy and tact, thanks to which he has become very popular both among the artists and the other members of the numerous staff of theatrical workers.

The Shops of the State Theatres

The disordered events of the first period of the Revolution were reflected in theatrical spheres and unavoidable anarchy prevailed everywhere, even in the State theatres. To meet these circumstances, Ekskuzovich was chosen head of the Theatrical Association and became manager of the State theatres in Petrograd. Later he was confirmed in this position by the Soviet Government. "First of all," Ekskuzovich told me, "I was anxious to preserve the traditions of our stage. I believed that without those traditions no discipline could be maintained and without such traditional discipline no stage would exist. It was possible to succeed in this because the artists remained out of politics and because they offered to submit themselves entirely to an impartial director chosen by themselves and appointed by the Government." Those early days of general confusion imperilled the theatrical property, worth many millions of dollars. There were several criminal attempts to steal the costumes and other accessories from the wardrobes of the State theatres, which are the richest in the world. Nevertheless the five hundred thousand costumes and other properties belonging to these theatres remained untouched during the most turbulent days of the Revolution. And today they are in such perfect order that any part of any costume from any play of any epoch can be delivered to the Director in a few minutes. I went through the shops in which the costumes and other stage accessories are made and stored and found them in excellent condition. In the women's department I was much impressed by the zeal of the workers. At the time of my visit the ballet, "The Fire Bird," was in preparation and all the costumes for it had to be ready within ten days. Several of the new creations were shown to me. The workers for the most part were aged persons, who had seen more than a quarter of a century of service in these same shops. They told me frankly that nothing in the world would detach them from their beloved theatres. "We passed, comrade," said one of them to me, "through all the horrors of the Revolution and we still continue at our jobs. To be sure, we are short of materials, but nevertheless we are doing our best." This worker indeed described the case. Because of the shortage of the simplest materials, the leather for boots and for different accessories for the costumes, such as metallic parts, were being imitated with extraordinary simplicity and most artistic effect. The canvasses are magnificent, from the designs of the famous artist Alexander Yakovlevich Golovin, who is considered even greater than Bakst. I saw scene sketches also of Alexander Benois, and other dis-

tinguished masters who are still working enthusiastically for the Russian stage. The costume stuffs coming from the theatrical dyers are given the most careful inspection by experts. I saw pearls made by hand out of silk and wool and laces printed so artistically that even at a short distance I could not distinguish them from the real. The stores of material are immense and richly provided through the forethought of the Director, who, being an engineer and constructor, realized that large reserves of materials were necessary to keep the theatres going, and accordingly, even at an early period before the nationalization of industry, did not miss his opportunity to buy supplies wholesale for the theatres. Indeed, when I inspected the stocks I could have imagined that I was in a large department store in New York. Materials of all sorts were carefully sorted and distributed. I do not know of anything similar either in English or American theatrical institutions. In all, there are under the direction of Ekskuzovich about twenty different establishments in Petrograd which serve the State theatres.

The Theatrical Museum

Thanks to the organizing ability of Ekskuzovich, the ten Moscow Academic theatres are united with those of Petrograd and all work together in full harmony—a rare circumstance in theatrical life.

The Theatrical Museum is a new creation of the Revolution, due to the initiative and energy of Ekskuzovich. The museum is located in the large building of the main office of the State theatres in a fine suite of rooms which formerly served as the apartment of the Director. Here I found pictures of Russian dramatic and operatic artists, and prominent ballet dancers. There were portraits also of composers, conductors and musicians and scenic artists. Some of these were the work of celebrated portrait painters. There is a section devoted to playwrights, with numerous documents and manuscripts relating to their work from the earliest days of the Russian theatre. All the furniture and the art objects in the museum had belonged to deceased artists and were either bought from private persons or donated by relatives and friends. This collection was actually gathered together during the period of the Revolution. There were some interesting models of stage settings and an extensive and rare collection of photographs of many periods of the Russian stage.

Can Americans appreciate the circumstances under which all this work has been accomplished? In addition to the shortage of food and of clothes there was also a critical lack of fuel, especially during last winter. This reached such a point that Ekskuzovich was at one time actually obliged to remove some beams from several buildings belonging to the State theatres in order to provide fuel to keep the artists warm during the severe Russian winter. Being an architect, he dared to undertake such extreme measures, knowing that when summer came he could replace the beams.

The theatrical schools and the Ballet Academy in Petrograd might serve as models for the entire world. Their organization is so perfect and unique that I wish to reserve a description of them for a separate article.

The orchestras in the Academic theatres are composed only of musicians who have accomplished their education in the State Conservatory, and all of the teachers in the Conservatory take important parts in the orchestras, which contributes greatly to their artistic excellence. Russian opera singers are most particular in regard to their orchestras. An artist like Shaliapin, for instance, would refuse to appear on the stage with mediocre music. The choruses also are composed only of accomplished pupils of the Conservatory and are very fine. Of the ballet, which is renowned throughout the world, there is no need to speak.

The impression created in the Russian Academic theatres is that of great harmony of color, movement, music and lighting. The technique of lighting has been greatly improved during the Revolution. Moreover, after familiarity with the English and American stage, one is struck by the fact that all the performers are acting all the time. One does not see the puppet-like faces of the chorus, nor the awkward movements of the supernumeraries, which are such a common defect in Western opera. Each scene performed in the Academic theatres, in addition to its high dramatic quality, is a complete picture, academically correct, as well as artistic. The costumes and scenery, the makeup of the actors, are the result of careful study of the historical originals. Here art and science work together. The members of the chorus are physically attractive, full of life and enthusiastic. They mostly come from working class and peasant families.

In all the Academic theatres, as well as in the State theatres in general, before the beginning of any play, opera, or ballet, there is always a lecture upon the forthcoming performance. These are most instructive and popular.

The Comic Opera is under the management of K. A. Mardjanov, and the Theatre of Free Comedy also belongs to the State. They are both very popular. When the Free Comedy Theatre was created it was supposed to stage productions of the type of the French Grand Guignol. They have often performed so-called Miniatures and political satires. The actors are mostly amateurs who, under the talented producer N. V. Petrov, formerly an artist of the State Theatre, are perfecting their acting with extraordinary rapidity. It is expected that Petrov may develop this theatre along most original lines. The Theatre of Free Comedy allows absolutely free treatment and pays no attention to the authority of the playwright, whose play is altered according to the ideas of the producers. I understand that the producer during a considerable period made many experiments without definite results. Then the comedy "Samoye Glavnoye" (The Most Important Thing) by Nikolai Nikolai-

evich Yevreyinov, the proponent of the "monodrama", put an end to experimentation by becoming the hit of the season. This production produced much discussion. It establishes an intimate connection between the auditorium and the stage. To a certain extent the audience actually took part in the play. The author, who has great knowledge of the theatrical art, assisted in the production, to which he contributed extremely original ideas. Up to 1914 Yevreyinov had been an ardent advocate of the so-called "Theatre for One's Self", on which he published a most interesting book. Believing that imagination is the greatest factor in theatrical art, he held that by means of simple illusion anyone could enjoy any play at home without alteration and without professional actors. Later he carried this idea still further and suggested that all life was nothing else than a theatre and every person more or less of an actor. Carrying this conception to its mystical development, he transformed the theatrical art into a religion of which he himself became an apostle. His play "Samoye Glavnoye" is an exposition of his theory that life is a stage. The most part of life, he asserts, is an illusion; the actor in his impersonation actually transforms himself into another personality. Thus he believes that the theatre can actually be of social service through this power of the actors, who, like Red Cross nurses, will place their abilities at the service of humanity. In this play a party of actors enter into the private life of a family and by their skillful acting restore the last hopes of its unhappy members. I had several opportunities to study this play in performance and I was greatly impressed by it.

In addition to the State theatres there have grown up in Petrograd during the Revolution several so-called "Collectives", which exist upon their own resources and represent an independent trend in the art.

BOUND VOLUME FOUR of SOVIET RUSSIA

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The Japanese at Vladivostok

(The following is the text of a note of protest sent by the Soviet Government to certain Western European Governments against the recent seizure of Vladivostok by Japanese troops.)

Moscow, June 1, 1921.

To M. Aristide Briand, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paris; Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London; to the Governments of France, of Great Britain, and Italy.

The struggle of the toiling masses of Russia for peace and for the right to direct their own destiny themselves is passing through a new phase. By gigantic efforts and miracles of heroism, after having valiantly beaten back the united attacks of internal counter-revolution and of the greater number of foreign powers, they have achieved the right to govern themselves by their own workers' and peasants' Soviets. They had thought henceforth to be able to devote themselves freely to the internal reconstruction of Russia, and to live at peace with foreign countries after the conclusion of treaties providing for a mutual arrangement of the economic needs with which the various countries were faced. Their hope unfortunately has been deceived by a new attempt at foreign intervention and a new combined attack of Russian counter-revolution and foreign governments. Under the protection of Japanese bayonets the White Guards at Vladivostok suddenly took possession of the authority in this city, while a similar stroke was accomplished at Nikol'sk-Ussuri'sk, and in other regions occupied by the Japanese. Outspoken counter-revolution is thus installed by Japanese military power in the district occupied by that power. The Russian worker and peasant masses of the Far East have done everything in their power to attain an acceptable peace with Japan. They created a separate democratic republic in order to make such a peace possible, and the independent republic of the Far East signed an agreement to this effect with Japan, which had declared its readiness to retire its troops from this region on this condition and to return their freedom to the masses of the Russian people in the Far East. In the name of the latter the Government of their Republic has been tireless in its efforts to obtain a complete agreement with Japan in order to be able to live in peace and in conditions of neighborliness with that country, but the Japanese Government replies to their efforts for peace by a new violent attack against their liberty from within, and against their independence from without. The worst enemies of the masses of the Russian people, the extreme reactionaries whose avowed object is to conquer Siberia with the aid of Japanese bayonets, and there to become the subaltern employees of Japanese conquerors, have violently raised to power the armies of Japan.

But this attempted conquest of Siberia is not an isolated fact. The Japanese Government assigns

to capitalists in its own country the rights to conduct fishing in the waters of Kamchatka which have hitherto belonged to the Russian cooperatives and to other Russian citizens. Japan is there introducing its control. It takes possession of arrogated rights in the Kamchatka fisheries; this is an arbitrary grabbing of the rights of Russia, which the Russian Government considers as a violation of the elementary rights of the masses of the Russian people. At the same time, it is with the aid of the Japanese military power that the remnants of the counter-revolutionary bands of Semionov and Kappel are maintaining themselves on the Chinese border and occupying the Chinese railroads, and it is with the aid of Japanese auxiliaries that the bands of Ungern-Sternberg are terrorizing Mongolia and there preparing for their attacks against the Russian country. The agents of Japanese imperialism penetrate far into Central Asia, in their attempts to propagate sedition everywhere, and the emissaries of counter-revolutionary elements in Turkestan go to Japan to work out a common plan of conduct. The Russian Republic has frequently repeated its propositions of peace to the Japanese Government, but in spite of all its pacific efforts the Japanese Government is at present the initiator of a new campaign of intervention against the power of the Russian workers and peasants. The Japanese Government should note that the great masses of the Russian people, who have taken their destiny into their own hands and have frequently repulsed all the attacks of their enemies, will be able to wage this new struggle victoriously and will make their strength felt more than ever by those who attack them. But the responsibility for these hostile acts cannot be limited to the Japanese Government alone. We have proofs that the French Government, in its implacable hostility to the workers and peasants of Russia, is the active instigator of this new campaign of intervention, and participates in the Japanese plan of conquest in Siberia. Soviet Russia cannot do otherwise than consider all the powers of the Entente as morally responsible for this new phase in the interventionist program, which is the collective work of all the Entente powers. On the part of the British Government, the Soviet Government beholds in this step an active hostility not at all in agreement with the Anglo-Russian treaty. The Russian Government protests most energetically against the acts aimed at Russia either directly or through the intermediary of attacks on the army of the Republic of the Far East, and reserves the right to draw those conclusions which will force themselves upon the Russian Government.

CHICHERIN,

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

RUSSIAN SHIPBUILDING

A decree was issued by the Council of People's Commissars on March 24, 1921, directing that the entire Metal Shipbuilding of the country be united under one organ in the Metal Section of the Supreme Economic Council.

This is a decree of considerable importance. If we fully consider the facts that as far back as 1903, water transport amounted to 41 per cent of the entire Russian transport, and that the Russian waterways and channels are one and a half times the extent of dry land transport, the significance of the waterways, of navigation, and consequently also of shipbuilding for Russia becomes fully apparent.

In 1913, when the tonnage of the World Fleet amounted to 48,000,000 tons, consisting of 30,029 vessels, Russia possessed only 800,000 tons, that is to say, less than 2 per cent; Russian steamers carried no more than 4 per cent of the entire Russian export, making 0.22 per cent of the entire world water transport.

Russia's Ships Lost in the World War

The above illustrates the extent to which Russian export depended on foreign ships. This state of things is made more acute by the fact that from 1914 to 1921 Russia lost almost its entire commercial fleet, with the result that she is now faced with the dilemma either to transfer the entire import and export to foreign capital, or to undertake the construction, either at home or abroad, of a fleet to secure the necessary tonnage.

The River Fleet is not in a much better condition. It is necessary to keep in mind that, owing to the war, to neglect and to wear, the losses in this direction are estimated at 50 per cent, to which should be added the fact that for seven years the usual normal addition has been lacking, and finally there is also the fact of the irrational exploitation of out-of-date types of steamers and mechanisms. The result of all this is that we may take 70 per cent to be the exact figure of the loss to our river fleet.

This latter circumstance, more than anything else, convinces us of the necessity of the immediate organization of a State shipbuilding industry.

An organized shipbuilding industry should ultimately bring our transport to a state most advantageous to us.

Enumeration of Russia's Shipyards

At the present time, there are altogether about 21 more or less important shipbuilding enterprises. In European Russia these may be divided into three principal groups, according to their geographical position:

1. The 1st, *Northern* (Petrograd Metal Works, the Uyevsky Metal Works, the Putilov Shipyard, the Krayten and Okhta Works).

2. *The Volga District*, Sormova, Kolomna, Vatikinsky, Nizhnegorodsk, Teplokhod Works, Zhuravlev Works, the Shoran and Kulebaka Wharves.

3. *The Southern District*, The Ruzud Naval Works in Nikolayev, the Vadon Works in Kherson, the Billing, Fendrich, and Russian Steamship Co., in Odessa, the Novorossisk and Pastukhov in Ros-tov.

Production Program

The above groups are capable of producing as follows:

The annual output of the Northern group amounts to 4,440,000 poods of metal hulls.

The Volga output amounts to 1,335,000 poods.

The output of the southern amounts to 2,730,000 poods.

The combined output requires the following amount of fuel; the Northern group, 3,900,000 poods; the Volga, 1,200,000 poods; and the Southern, 3,300,000 poods.

The number of workers required for the complete program is 98,000.

The amalgamation of the entire State Metal Shipbuilding industry under one organ marks a new era in the history of Russian shipbuilding, Russian transport, and the Russian navy.

It should not be forgotten, however, that under existing conditions we can hardly speak of developing our shipbuilding industry as such.

The resources of the Republic are so limited that the development of shipbuilding can only run parallel with the development of industry as a whole, upon which it of course depends.

TO RUSSIA

By JOSEPH KOVEN

Open the door to us, Mother—
We have been waiting so long in the dark
To hear the sound of your voice,
To see your welcoming smile.

What though your house be disordered
And your welcoming smile be sad
And weary with endless labor
And vigils and pain?

How we have hoped for you, Mother,
Prayed for you, loved you!
All our tears were shed for you, Mother—
In despair and in exaltation.

What is there here to console me
Away from you, Mother?—
The bread of slavery is cursed,
The tyrant's footstep is loud,
There is no fountain in the desert,
There is no song in the wilderness.

Open the door to us, Mother—
We are waiting too long in the dark!



THE PEASANTS AND THE PROPRIETORS

The above poster, issued by the Ukrainian Soviet Government, bears under each of its panels one verse of a little couplet which, translated into English, reads as follows: "The truth of the peasants is sharp and clear; that of the masters is ever ready to twist and bend."

A Journey to Odessa

By MAX BARTHEL

(This short chapter is taken from the author's account of his journey through southern Russia, which is reviewed in the current issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. The illustrations accompanying it are connected with the article only in so far as they are reproductions of appeals to the peasants of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, through which the author's journey took him.)

THE landscape is peaceful; farm coming after farm. At Vinnitsa we are again received with ceremony. Vinnitsa is a little city which suffered terribly in the civil war, and which was flooded by ever new White invasion. When the Galician troops were at Vinnitsa, infected with typhus, they spread the disease to the whole city. Of its 50,000 inhabitants, 40,000 were infected and 5,000 died. These victims also are to be charged to the Entente. There was a lack of medical supplies that were necessary to fight the dread enemy, the typhus. For a long time the railroads were the great spreaders of infection. The Soviet power waged a sharp struggle against dirt and lice, but encountered the stubborn resistance of petty bourgeois inertia. But this resistance was ruthlessly broken and the great war against dirt and lice went on. The cars were washed and cleaned, every house and every room had to be tidied, and anyone who was remiss in this duty was severely punished. The struggle against infection required as many victims as the struggle against Krassnov, Denikin and the Poles.

At Vinnitsa there were 60 factories, most of them for tobacco products. Of these, 24 are still in operation, the rest having been destroyed by the Poles, who also dragged off the machinery. In their withdrawal they burned down 6 villages near Vinnitsa. Immediately 18,000 peasants in these provinces volunteered for the Red Army and the grain deliveries rose 30 per cent. In this city also, as in Kremenshug, the railroad workers decided to vote a whole month's pay to help the revolutionary railroad workers in western countries who were preventing the transport of troops and munitions to Poland. At the station, I spoke to a young worker from one of the tobacco factories. He earns 500 rubles a day, but a pound of bread, white bread, costs 150 rubles in open trade at Vinnitsa.

The bridge over the Bug river is of wood; the iron bridge lies tangled in the water. Near Zhmerinka there are whole kilometers of burned-up skeletons of railroad cars and small locomotives. The locomotive repair shop at Zhmerinka was blown up by the Poles, but we nevertheless got our regular reception at the station, and as we departed, the red cavalry, wild Cossacks, swung their swords and waved them in wide curves of salutation over their heads.

The landscape is hilly and covered with leafy trees, while on both sides of the railroad track there are well cultivated fields, and much cattle and fruit. The train carried us along the Bessa-

rabian boundary. The district around Odessa is flat, rich in black earth and herds of buffalo, harvested wheat fields, great areas of corn (maize), and great fields of sunflowers and melons. Around Odessa are the farms of German colonists, who are among the most reactionary of the peasants. Just as we were passing into the city, we beheld great blocks of houses that had been overthrown by a tremendous explosion of munitions—the Germans having been in Odessa at the time.

The Beach Near Odessa

From the little railroad station we proceeded at once to the Black Sea shore. The shore line reminds you somewhat of the Bay of Naples in the direction of Sorrento. We go in bathing, and none of the heroes of the Communist International, denuded of their clothes, turns out to be much different in appearance from Serrati, the leader of the Italian delegation, or from Milkich, the representative of Yugo-Slavia, or from Münzenberg, of the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International, or from Bamatter of Basle, Bolagno of Rome, Jakob of Stuttgart, or Rosi of Berlin; they are just as inconspicuous as the many thousands who populate the sea and the beach as a sort of earthly paradise, with the exception that the workers and women of Odessa are far more handsome specimens of humanity and can swim much better than Chakaya or Sadoul.

We pass through the brown beauty of naked bodies on the beach and row out into the blue sea, a winding chain of boats, which we then tie together and sing the Carmagnole and our revolutionary songs. As we were proceeding back to the shore, we were met by a fine large vessel bearing well-groomed men and women, looking quite aristocratic and untouched by revolution. A comrade said that these were still representatives of the Odessa big bourgeoisie, and that it was too bad that Deutsch, chairman of the Extraordinary Commission, had let them slip out through his fingers. Deutsch also met us and reassured our excited comrade by telling him that he knew those on board, who were members of the Soviet administrations.

Odessa is a European city with broad, well cleaned streets, neat houses, and parks. The harbor is practically deserted, the warehouses locked, and the blockade is throttling the city. Every three hours motor boats proceed out into the sea in order to observe the French cruisers and inspect the mine fields. On some days you can hear the artillery fire on General Wrangel's front, for

Wrangel would like to advance on Odessa. The Poles are ever alert, and the Rumanians are sending out their spies. On the order of the day of the Odessa revolutionary committee, military questions take up most of the discussion. On the beach I met a German comrade from one of the international regiments, who approaches Angelica Balabanova and tells her, after greetings, that the Whites had shot 25 of his comrades in prison, but had overlooked him.

The trade unions in Odessa have just assigned 5,000 workers to the villages for the collection of grain. In 3 days they sent 50,000 poods of wheat into the city, each pood costing 68 rubles. Their estimate is that they will obtain 5,000,000 poods. "If we get so much," said Robinson, the leader of the Odessa trade unions, "we have gained more than a victorious battle against the Poles."

Odessa is still full of tales of the Italians who left the port a few days ago and took with them the last stores of grain, 300,000 poods, destined for Italy, as the first shipload of wheat that Ukraine is furnishing to the West. As the Italian captain walked through Odessa and beheld the handsome, well-groomed and tree-shaded city, he shook his head and said: "They always told us that Odessa was a city of murder and pillage, that we would not be able to go through the streets unless we bore arms, and now we see that the city is at peace, and have no difficulty in setting sail, with our wheat on board." The Italians brought with them a whole cargo of medical and surgical instruments, valued at more than one million lire. The quinine

and aspirin were not of course of the best grade, they were the leavings of the Italian war, but it was nevertheless a great assistance for the struggling, bleeding, and sickness-ridden country.

Anarchist Bands in Odessa

The Italians had not been altogether misinformed as to pillage, for Odessa had earned a rather bad reputation. During the war and the revolution more than 30,000 bandits had sought refuge here. Anyone who dared appear in the streets after four o'clock in the afternoon was cleaned out. Great contributions were imposed upon the bourgeoisie, contributions that were so large that the big merchants organized themselves, declared a strike, and closed their shops. The protest meeting held by them in the Stock Exchange was dispersed by the bandits in broad daylight, the merchants themselves robbed and sent running naked through the streets.

At first the attacks of the bandits were directed only against the bourgeoisie, but soon they turned their attacks also on the Soviets. They arrested a number of prominent Communists and then sent a deputation which declared itself ready to deliver those who had been arrested for a ransom of one million roubles. The members of this deputation were shot. The bandits now got out their daggers and prepared to use their pistols. The Soviet prepared a regular campaign against them. Thereupon they sent a new deputation, which declared: "Give us peace; we want to fight only



AN APPEAL TO THE UKRAINIAN PEASANTS

As is shown by the Russian words on the paper which one of the peasants holds, the poster is an appeal, issued by the Russian Soviet Government, to the middle class peasants to produce and deliver grain in the interests of the Soviet Republic.



HOW TO PRODUCE CLOTH FROM GRAIN

(A poster of the Ukrainian Soviet Government)

"The matter is really quite simple, and from grain you may also obtain everything else that the peasant needs in his work. And the peasant himself is better fitted than anyone else to carry out this task. All that he needs do is to take his surplus grain and deliver it to the collecting point at a fixed price. From this point the bread will go directly to the factory and to the workers themselves, who produce everything that the peasant needs. But, in order that the worker may be able to work well, he must be well fed, and only the peasant can feed him. If the peasant does his work, the outcome will be as in the above factory. At one end of the factory the peasant will put in his surplus grain while at the other end he will take out all the things he needs. *Peasants, the foundation of your welfare lies in an organized exchange of commodities! Peasants, carry all your surplus grain to the collecting points, to sell there at fixed prices!*"

against the big bourgeoisie, and you are against them too."

Meanwhile a special commission for combating counter-revolution, speculation and sabotage had arrived from Moscow, and this special commission went to work with a firm hand. In the serious conflicts that then ensued, about 20,000 of the bandits were wiped out.

Vinitzky, their well-known ringleader was shot, and the bandits, gnashing their teeth, declared to the Communists: "When you go we shall shoot you in the back." But when the Communists really were obliged to go, no robber shot them in the back, for there was none on hand to do the shooting. Those that had remained had fled from Odessa and gone over to Denikin, or to Makhno, or to Wrangel.

The monument of the Third International arises in a park overlooking the sea. After a massmeet-

ing that took place at the foot of this monument, there came a solemn assemblage in the Great Theatre of Odessa, in the evening, and Russian comrades assured me that this theatre was one of the most beautiful in the world. Captain Sadoul was the chief speaker that evening, for French cruisers were blockading Odessa, and Baron Wrangel was the avowed protégé of France. Sadoul turned to the three French delegates, to Raymond Lefèvre of the Committee of the Third International at Paris, to Vergnet, the secretary of the trade union of metal workers, and to Lepetit, the anarchistic metal worker from the southern part of France, and denounced France in the presence of the Odessa proletariat for its crimes. France, he said, was one of the most inexorable and bitter enemies of Soviet Russia, was a citadel of world reaction, was the employer of Poland, for whose use it was sending officers and cannon to Warsaw. France,

the friend and financier of Wrangel, was supporting the latter with money and with guns. It was France that was blockading Odessa with its battleships, choking the port, and bombarding Kherson.

Sadoul is very popular in Odessa, for he was here once before, when he was preparing the revolts of sailors on the French battleships, and delivering speeches on the cruiser that first raised the Red flag. The French comrades listen attentively, and as Sadoul concludes his speech, they jump to their feet and declare solemnly before the workers of Odessa that they will do everything in their country for the proletarian revolution and for Soviet Russia.

The three French comrades did not return to France. On their return journey, by way of Archangel (they were traveling illegally in a frail boat toward the Norwegian coast), they were drowned in the Arctic sea. Of Lefèvre we are told that already on his journey to Russia he had expressed fear of the sea and had said that he expected to die some day on a sea voyage.

This theatre also was surrounded by many thousand people. A little Russian girl fell about our necks and kissed us. For a few minutes she sat in our auto and chirped like a bird. The night was soft and warm and a searchlight was playing over the harbor.

TROTSKY REPLIES

Moscow, July 5.—Reporting to the Congress of the Third International on the general economic situation, Leon Trotsky dealt at length with the letter of Secretary of State Hughes to Samuel Gompers, made public last April.

"Mr. Hughes," said Trotsky, "is reported to have declared that Russia is a 'gigantic economic vacuum' and to have stated that the impoverishment and decay of Russian economy cannot be blamed on the blockade and civil war, because, according to Mr. Hughes, the ruin has affected industries which were independent of foreign countries prior to the war.

(Note: In his letter to Mr. Gompers, published April 18, Mr. Hughes wrote, "There can be no relation of the failure of all these industries to blockades or to civil war, for most of them require no imports, and the men mobilized since the Soviet Revolution were far less than before that event."—Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA.

"As regards the mobilization having been less than under the Tsar," said Trotsky, "this argument is truly childish. In the first place, Russian industry was ruined not only by the mobilization for civil war, but by the preceding imperialist mobilization. The argument that the Soviet Government mobilized less men than Tsarism is arithmetically correct, but substantially wrong. Tsarism left the qualified workers at the factories and workshops, recruiting the army from the aristocratic and middle class youth, with professional officers and student volunteers, etc., while the Soviet armies

are expressly comprised of the experienced workers. Thus the mobilization imposed upon the Soviet Government by the intervention of France, England and America hit Russian industry harder than did the imperialist war.

"The argument that the ruined industries were independent of foreign countries before the war," continues Trotsky, "exhibits an amazing forgetfulness of the ABC's of economics. All branches of industry are inter-linked and inter-dependent. Russia before the war was a component part of the world's economic system, and became even more closely dependent upon the Entente countries during the war. The blockade immediately severed these vital ties. As a result all the most important branches of Russian industry suffered, and in individual cases frequently were paralyzed for the lack of small essential parts previously imported from abroad. For instance, we lack many precise measuring instruments, as well as such articles as spiral drills. For coal mining we lack the necessary flat and round metal cables, formerly obtained from England or Germany. To begin manufacturing these articles in an economically exhausted country, isolated from the rest of the world, naturally presents tremendous difficulties. The wire screens used in our paper mills were also foreign importations and the shortage of these has greatly handicapped our paper industry. This list could be multiplied many times. There was not a single industry in Russia which was not directly or indirectly dependent upon foreign countries before the war. If Mr. Hughes were able to grasp these phenomena in their inward economic significance and world-wide inter-relations, he would have to say: 'The fact that Russia, divorced from the world's economic system, shaken and exhausted, first by the imperialist war and then by the civil war, has been able, under the Soviet Government, to withstand three years of uninterrupted intervention and wars, and to feed, clothe and equip an army at times exceeding five million men—this fact is nothing less than a miracle. No other regime, under similar circumstances, could have developed such vitality.'"

Russian Telegraph Agency.

IMPORTS AT NOVOROSSISK

The company "Obtorg" has signed an agreement with the representative of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade at Rostov on the Don for the supply of goods to South-Eastern Russia to the amount of 35,000,000 francs. The following goods are to be imported: Agricultural implements and machinery, instruments, binder twine, 8,000,000 yards of dry goods, etc. The first shipment, amounting to 10,000,000 francs, will arrive in Novorossisk within three weeks. In exchange for these goods the following products are offered: tobacco, potash, benzine, bristles. The company "Obtorg" has appointed a permanent representative in Novorossisk.—*Pravda, Petrograd, May 31, 1921.*

Return of Workers to Russia

By L. MARTENS

(In our issue of April 2 we published a cablegram from L. Martens, announcing the organization of a special committee in Moscow to consider the problem of emigration from the United States to Soviet Russia. We have recently received a letter from Mr. Martens, in which he describes the work of the committee. Our readers will be interested to learn from this letter, which we publish below, that the Soviet Republic is fully aware both of the eagerness of many workers in America to go to Russia and of the valuable part which they could play in the reconstruction of the Proletarian State. Certain conditions, which Mr. Martens explained in the letter, made it necessary to enforce a complete stoppage of emigration from America until facilities for the reception of emigrants can be arranged and until an official mission of the Soviet Government can be established in America to direct emigration at its source. Mr. Martens, who still retains his position as the accredited Representative of the R. S. F. S. R. to the United States of America, has been elected to the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Public Economy. According to the "Economic Life", Moscow, June 7, Mr. Martens has also been assigned temporarily to the supervision of the Metal and Electro-technical Departments, and in addition to his work on the Commission for the return of Russian citizens from America, is connected with the Council of Mining Engineers, the Administration of the Geodetic Survey, and is engaged in special work in the examination of agricultural machinery.)

EVERYONE here realizes that the return of Russian workers from America is an exceedingly important factor in the task of building up our industries. The various Soviet institutions interested in this question are all giving it careful consideration and doing all in their power to reach a satisfactory solution. The Council of Labor and Defense was the first to consider this problem. It was decided, in principle, to grant on contract entire mills and factories to groups of Russian workers returning from the United States, provided they can prove that they are capable of conducting the industry. It was also decided to encourage in every way possible the organization in America of all kinds of cooperative associations of Russian workers—including agricultural,—to whom the Government plans to turn over for specified periods and on certain conditions various public works, or vacant land, etc. All these questions, as well as the regulation of immigration, have been placed in the charge of a special committee of the People's Commissariat of Labor. This committee is composed of representatives of the Supreme Council of National Economy, of the Commissariat of Labor, and of the Trade Unions. I am also temporarily a member of the committee. In view of the physical impossibility at present to cope with the influx of immigrants, one of the first acts of this body was the complete stoppage of immigration from the United States. As soon as proper conditions for the admission of immigrants have been prepared, such as sufficient housing, machinery for the distribution and employment of immigrants, etc., and as soon as we are in a position to direct the matter of immigration at the point of origin, i. e., in the United States, the frontiers will be immediately opened for the reception of immigrants. The first requirements of the problem are already being successfully met. In Moscow, Petrograd, and other centers, steps are being taken to provide shelter and food for immigrants. The latter part of the problem can be

solved only after the Soviet Republic has established a mission in America.

Workers from America Have Their Own Works

The committee has already begun to work on the plans of the Council of Labor and Defense with reference to leasing entire mills to groups of Russian workers returning from America. Thus, a group of workers who recently came from the United States were placed in charge of a splendidly equipped automobile factory "Amo", in Moscow. Our Comrade Arthur Adams, formerly head of the Technical Department of the Soviet Government Bureau in New York, has been appointed one of the managers of this factory. This group at present consists of only 100 people. They will soon begin to operate the factory, and, in order to bring its productivity up to a proper standard they intend to invite through the above committee, and with the aid of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, 1000 workers and mechanics experienced in the automobile industry.

Write Direct to Soviet Russia

All those interested in any questions relating to the return of Russian workers from the United States, may communicate direct with the Committee on Re-emigration, People's Commissariat of Labor, Moscow. Likewise, all questions pertaining to the formation of cooperative associations should be taken up with this Committee. All cooperative organizations desiring to go to Russia should inform the Committee as to their membership, and furnish a list of the machinery, tools and equipment which they are able to bring with them.

Only Organized Groups Are of Use

Under the present conditions, only organized groups, capable of bringing with them more or less complete equipment required for the kind of work in which they are planning to engage upon arrival in Russia, can work here successfully.

Highly desirable would be such organizations as agricultural cooperative societies, composed of any number of persons, each of whom should come with a more or less complete set of agricultural machinery and implements, and also, for instance, building cooperatives, tailors' cooperatives, hat-makers' cooperatives, etc. It must be borne in mind, however, that until the economic conditions have changed for the better, workers or groups of workers coming here without tools are in many cases merely a burden upon the Republic.

In all instances, individual workers or organizations desiring to go to Russia are advised to make preliminary inquiry of the Committee on Re-emigration for permission to enter Russia.

Russian Workers in America May Be Invited

In the near future a conference of the Miners' Union will take place in Moscow. At this conference, among other matters, the question of Russian workers in America will come up for discussion. The Miners' Union will appeal to the Russian miners in the United States to come to Russia in order to help build up the Donets region. The question of securing the aid of Russian miners from America in the Donets region is of enormous importance.

I shall endeavor to bring in close contact with each other the American organizations of Russian workers with the authoritative Soviet institutions and trade unions.

THE FUEL SITUATION IN PETROGRAD

The fuel situation in Petrograd is improving to the extent that foreign coal on the one hand, and Russian mineral fuel, both liquid and solid, continue to arrive.

During February 8,929 carloads of wood arrived in Petrograd as against 5,945 in January. Systematic increase in the daily arrivals is observed. In the first two weeks of February the average daily arrivals consisted of 281 cars, for the third and fourth weeks the average arrivals were 344 and 368 cars per day respectively.

The quantity of solid fuel arriving in February reached 560 cars, including foreign coal 68 cars, Donets coal 6 cars, Moscow coal 304 cars, Borovich coal 120 cars, Ural coal 57 cars, charcoal 5 cars.

The quantity of oil fuel arriving in February was 348 tanks, of which there were 240 tanks of petrol, 40 tanks of kerosene, 57 tanks of kerosene remains (after distillation), 1 tank of gasoline.

FREE TRADE

Decree of the Council of People's Commissars.

1. It is permitted to exchange, purchase and sell the surplus of agricultural products, remaining after the payment in full of the tax in kind.

The right to exchange, purchase and sell applies also to commodities and articles of home and petty industries.

Note: The right to exchange, purchase and sell does not apply to goods and commodities which are under special regulations of the Central Government.

2. Exchange, purchase and sale of commodities is allowed to individual citizens and cooperative associations, viz. agricultural consumers' cooperatives, as well as cooperative stores for articles of home industry, and may be conducted in markets, bazaars, stands, booths and enclosed shops.

3. Products directly manufactured by the economic institutions of the Soviet Government, or under their control, for the purpose of exchange, enter into the Commodity Exchange Fund of the R. S. F. S. R. and are released for distribution in the order provided for by article 4.

4. The Commodity Exchange Fund of the R. S. F. S. R. is under the supervision of the People's Commissariat of Provisions and is released for commercial exchange mainly through the cooperative organizations, and in special cases through private persons acting on a commission basis—in each case, however, advising the Centrosoyuz, according to an agreement concluded by the latter with the People's Commissariat of Provisions.

5. Trading in markets, bazaars, stands, booths and other places, as well as in enclosed shops, is regulated by decrees and rules issued by the Executive Committee, within the limits of the general instructions issued by the People's Commissariat of Provisions, in cooperation with the Department of Internal Affairs, and approved by the Council of People's Commissars.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars,
(V. ULIANOV) LENIN.

Director of Affairs, N. GORBUNOV.

Secretary of the Council of People's Commissars,
L. FOTYEVA.

Moscow, Kremlin, May 24, 1921.

GEORGIAN TRADE

It is reported from Tiflis that the Commissariat of Foreign Trade has concluded an agreement with a large Italian firm for the delivery to Georgia of flour, sugar and matches in exchange for kerosene. A considerable quantity of goods from Turkey, including dry goods, stockings, lead, telephone equipment, medical supplies, etc., aggregating 1,000,000 Turkish liras, has arrived at Batum. —*Izvestia, Moscow, June 2, 1921.*

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SOVIET RUSSIA

110 WEST 40TH STREET,

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Leaving the Path or Returning to It?

By YU. LARIN

(N. Lenin's pamphlet on the general peasant situation, reprinted in last month's SOVIET RUSSIA, is here supplemented by a discussion of the new economic platform in which it is pointed out that the platform is in reality a return to the original Bolshevik program of action, and not a deviation from that program.)

THE decrees of the Council of People's Commissars of April 7, 1921, on the grain tax and exchange, and of May 13, 1921, on domestic industry and the cooperatives, are the practical expression of what it has become customary in recent days to call the new economic program. The rapid succession of these measures and provisions has called forth in anti-Bolshevik circles the statement that the Communists are deserting the very foundations of their policy and consequently are themselves disillusioned with the results of the November Revolution of 1917. Our opponents in the meetings point out that in accordance with the manner in which the chief lines of the economic policy had been drawn, the main points to be emphasized, at bottom, should be the following:

1. A complete nationalization of all productive industries.
2. A complete prohibition of private trade (exchange), even on the part of the cooperatives, leaving to the latter only the obligations of a distributing apparatus under the control of the Commissariat of Provisions.
3. A complete national monopoly in the products of peasant economy (*razviorstka*—rationing).

By way of evidence our opponents base themselves on the *practice*, still vivid in the public memory, of the years 1919 and 1920, saying: "What is the value of all the hopes and programs of the Bolsheviks; why should the broad working masses still continue to rely on them, if the Bolsheviks themselves are already renouncing their fundamental ideas? If we are to renounce the Bolshevik program, we do not need Lenin and Trotsky in power—the Mensheviks and S. R.'s will be fully capable of carrying out this work."

No Deviation from the Bolshevik Program

This statement is absolutely incorrect—as a matter of fact what is going on now is a *straightening of the line*, a return to the program which prevailed among us in the period of the November Revolution, and throughout almost the entire first year of our authority. Under the pressure of a number of causes of which I shall speak below, we made a number of departures from this old and straight line, which were undertaken in the years 1919 and 1920. Now, after the conclusion of the war, when the party finds it possible to take up again a consideration of the internal situation, and when the fuel-provision crisis at the beginning of 1921 led to a greater thoroughness in work of this kind—it becomes possible to eliminate the distortions of the old straight line that have

accumulated during the confusion of the war, and to undertake once more a straightening of the road. The program of Bolshevism consisted and still consists in the overthrow of the power of capital, in the establishment of the political and economic dictatorship of the working class, to the point of a complete realization of Socialism, and to gradual restoration both of the Russian national economy, as well as of the universal revolutionary movement of the proletariat, both of which were much shattered by the World War. The kernel of our economic practice is nationalization (that is a transfer to the control of the working class organization as a government power), a nationalization of the former capitalistic industries and transportation, in order that, on the basis of provisions made by that class, the proletariat may be assured of economic support for its political function, and the technical basis (foundation) may thus be recreated and broadened, to assure a possibility of a socialization of the entire economy (including agriculture) and a significant improvement of the life of the population.

Peasant Economy Must Not Be Molested

Such was and remains our program of action, and consequently the fundamental line of our practice (the nationalization of industry and transportation and the control of them on the part of the Workers' Government). It is through this channel that the proletarian current must pass (under present-day Russian conditions) in a country where the majority of the population consists not of workers but of small and middle peasants, who constitute four-fifths of our people. The peasant is a private owner, working within the limits of private, not of united, ownership. For him it is necessary that *his private economy* be profitable, in order that he may carry on operations on a larger scale than is necessary for his own family (in other words, that he should also obtain provisions for his workers and raw materials for industry), and to make his operations profitable there is necessary a certain freedom of movement, even to the point of a partial *freedom of the exchange of the products* of petty private economy, and the possibility, by utilizing them, of securing to himself the cooperation of the trades and petty industries (blacksmithing, flour-milling, small wheel-wrights, etc.) required by the demands of the peasant economy, and consequently *the freedom of petty industry is necessary*.

This character of the economy of the fundamental mass of the population was well expressed by our party already at the time of the November

Revolution in 1917, and the forms and modes of realizing the proletarian dictatorship in economic life were established with sufficient firmness, with the conscious limitation that it was in practice necessary in order to strengthen the program of attaining our fundamental goal, without eliminating the presuppositions which were indispensable for assuring the peasant economy of petty bourgeois economic aid, and consequently for a peaceful living together of the workers' minority with the peasant majority.

Nationalization Only of Large Enterprises

In the domain of industry this was equivalent to a nationalization only of the great and medium capitalistic industries. Nothing like a "full nationalization of all industrial production" was ever proposed by us. Furthermore, at the beginning of 1918, my proposition to stop altogether the nationalization of industries by local or central organizations, by all except the Council of People's Commissars and the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy, was accepted; and in the summer, in June, I sent from Berlin to Moscow, with Comrade Krassin, a proposal for a decree on the nationalization of Russian industry. A decree on this subject was issued June 28, 1918 in which I included the special point that only enterprises with a capital not under half a million rubles (at the valuation of that time) should be subject to nationalization, and this proposal also was adopted. Neither the small crafts nor the domestic industries, nor the fixed petty industrial activities (those, in other words, that have an *immediate* importance for the peasantry) were touched,—and this was our *conscious purpose*, both in the legislation and the actual practice of the first year of our authority. The author of these lines was one of the originators of the economic policy pursued at that time, and he therefore may insist that it was not a fortuitous but an intentional property of this policy that made it so cautious in this matter. (It should be sufficient to read, for instance, the preface, written December 27, 1917, to my pamphlet "The Workers and Peasants in the Russian Revolution", issued at that time by the Petrograd Soviet.)

With regard to trade (that is, the so-called "free exchange") it may also be said that neither in the intentions nor in the practice of the first year of the Bolshevik Government was there any trace of a full abolition either of the cooperative trade or of private trade, both of which were absolutely necessary for the existence of the many millions of petty private enterprises in the country (and it is absolutely useless to base a growth of the socialist economy on the existence of conditions for the development of great industries and transportation that have been nationalized and are now in the hands of the proletarian power).

We expressed in full what we had done and what we planned for the future in our decree of November 21, 1918, "On the Organization of Supplies." This decree provided for the opening of

shops, which were, however, autocratically closed down by the local powers, and stated the task of the government as such to be the trade in the products only of the nationalized large factories. Trade in the products of home industries, small crafts, and small private industry remained free both for individual persons as well as for the cooperatives. Our policy in this matter was to support the line of a Marxist (scientific) understanding in petty bourgeois economic circles, by which it was necessary to clear the road for a large-industrial Socialism.

But here we collided with political causes that paralyzed (crippled the activity of)* our policy in actual practice—and these causes must be sought not among the peasantry nor among the workers. The fact is that the old city bourgeoisie simply refused to trade, refused to continue to run the petty industrial enterprises of Russia. The laws remained, but the shops and stores were closed, their owners closed down in order no longer to "risk their means under the Bolsheviks." For the first few months after the November coup d'état of 1917, petty bourgeois trade and production continued going on through inertia. The owners hoped that the Bolsheviks would soon fall by their own mistakes. The Bolsheviks did not fall and the owners one after the other gave up their activity of organization—their motto then became "Let us wait until it falls, but let it not fall on us." This was the time when the ship-owners on the Volga practically ceased making all repairs, when the lumber operators stopped preparing wood for sale, etc. To this day we have been obliged to burn fresh wood instead of dried wood, because for a whole year a considerable portion of the work in the lumber business was abandoned and a normal turnover in the lumber trade did not take place, resulting in the fact that it was impossible to let the wood dry for a whole year in the open after it was cut.

The Present Condition Is Different

But now, in 1921, the situation is entirely different. The petty bourgeoisie is now convinced of the durability and solidity of the Soviet power; now it will be perfectly possible to trade and conduct shops with profit for those who decide to do so. Then it was different. Willy-nilly, or rather much against its will, the Government was obliged gradually to take upon itself the crushing and useless burden of discharging the work both of the lacking intermediary (middlemen's) apparatus, and of immediately organizing practically all of the small trades, not to mention the private shops having more than ten or a dozen workers and employees. Only in the autumn of 1920, after the counter-revolution (Wrangel) had been finally put down, after the idea of the permanence of Bolshevism had been thoroughly hammered into the

*The author takes occasion frequently to insert Russian equivalents for difficult words of foreign origin, in order that the comparatively untrained reader may not be confused by difficult technical expressions. This is a general practice with writers on technical subjects in Soviet Russia.

heads of the philistines—only after this had been done — were conditions created under which the government of the proletariat could again shake off all these obligations without the risk of having to combat the economic sabotage of the petty bourgeoisie which it had formerly to encounter (for the bourgeoisie then had preferred to enter as individuals in the service of the Soviet institutions and to wait there for the fall of the hated system, rather than to continue the management of their own trade and industrial enterprises.)

The self-elimination of the bourgeois philistines from their share in the organizational work of the present Russian economy began to be even legally formulated in the year 1919, and particularly in 1920.

By peculiar irony of fate, the last step in this direction—the nationalization of all enterprises having more than five or ten workers—was undertaken by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy (rather by inertia than by intention) at a time when the possibility of a return to the straight path was already beginning to be very generally recognized; the possibility of restoring our program of action of 1917-1918—in other words, in December 1920. But fortunately this provision of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy has already been abrogated by the Decree of the Council of National Commissars of May 13, 1921, restoring those relations with petty industry which were in force in 1917.

Thus, as far as the first two “main lines” are concerned—nationalization and trade — the question never aroused any doubts as to principle, among us, and if the practice of the years 1919-1920 has deviated from these lines, such divisions were called forth by conditions that had shaped themselves unfavorably for us, and such deviations did us only harm.

It is our business to nationalize only the factories, works, mining industry, railroads, shipping—and not to take hold of a monopoly of every little wooden spoon turned out by the village industry and every rowboat on the river, every flower booth, and every fashionable millinery shop. On the contrary, an intelligent dictatorship consists, among other things, precisely in fact that it is able, *that it understands how to utilize, and to cause to flow side by side with the main economic current, the economic organized powers and efforts also of other social classes and strata.* At the present moment it is perfectly clear that the guidance of the economic life of the country will be achieved by him in whose hands are the transportation, industry, and political power, and not by him who has a monopoly of the home-created spoon, or stirrup, or the boundless diversity of the millions of individual small businesses.

But while the matter of establishing proper boundaries for the nationalization of industry and for trade in industrial products did not in all this period call forth any serious doubts, and while the

deviations from the straight path were due to compulsions brought to bear upon us from without—it was a somewhat complicated matter to arrange the matter of provisions, of rationing the products of peasant economy, of establishing the norms of relations with that economy itself.

What is going on in 1921 is as a matter of fact only a resolute return to that which was intended and in part realized already in 1918; in a word, there is here proceeding merely a straightening of the line. But in this matter also the party of the proletariat as a whole was able only gradually to grasp the practical significance, in the transition years, of the internal tendencies (direction of evolution) in the peasant economy, and the necessary forms of relation with it. More properly speaking, the party only gradually began to understand that “military communism”, to use the words of Comrade Lenin, “was not and did not need to be political, corresponding with the economic tasks of the proletariat; it was a temporary measure”, forced to the front by the war and the disorganization (in his pamphlet “The Tax in Kind”*) and after it had understood this question, the party resolutely returned to the program which had been set up by the November Revolution, and from which there had been made such provisional deviations as had arisen under the influence of the war and the disorganization, and which had continued only because of the insufficient maturity, among the masses of the people, of their understanding of the thought which Comrade Lenin has expressed in the words: “The proper policy of the proletariat, in the realization of its dictatorship in a country of small peasants, is the exchange of grain for those industrial products that are necessary to the peasant.” But of this we shall speak another time.

Moscow, May 23, 1921.

A LIE FROM ROME

Last March the capitalist press published sensational reports of the “discovery” of vast stores of jewelry and precious stones in the baggage of the Russian Trade Delegation when it was broken into by the Italian Customs. Far and wide the news was heralded that Representative Vorovsky had been caught red-handed in an attempt to smuggle the crown jewels of Russia into Italy for the purpose of subsidizing revolution.

It was a good story, and of course the papers that found it so useful to their purposes neglected entirely to report the official Communiqué issued by the Italian Foreign Office on March 28, 1921, which stated in regard to the baggage of the Trade Delegation:

“Nothing in these contents would compromise the Russian Mission to whom the baggage was restored.”

MONEY TRANSFERS DISCONTINUED

The American Bureau of the All-Russian Jewish Public Committee announces that, in accordance with cabled instructions from Dr. D. H. Dubrowsky, the acceptance of individual money transmissions to Russia will be temporarily discontinued. The money transfers already accepted will be paid out at the rate prevailing at the time of deposit.

Where Russia Trades

(The following clippings, taken from many sources, both Russian and foreign, prove that there is great eagerness on the part of business men in foreign countries to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the trade which the Russian market offers. And the figures at the bottom of the next page would seem to indicate that one country which is not trading directly with Soviet Russia is very much in need of new markets.)

RUSSIAN TIMBER ARRIVING IN RIGA

The American Trade Commission at Riga reports on May 4, 1921, as follows:

"The first consignment of timber from Soviet Russia, for sawing in the mills at Riga, Latvia, was floated down the Duna River from Soviet Russia and arrived in Riga on April 28. It consisted of 15 rafts, with 3,270 logs. It is stated that the Bolsheviki have 120,000 logs within the Latvian frontier on their way down the Duna to Riga. The timber consists of pine and fir and is reported of good quality. An agreement is now being concluded with the Latvian sawmills for the working up of the timber for Bolshevik account." (*Daily Commerce Reports, U. S. Dept. Commerce, June 16, 1921.*)

A Russian Telegraph Agency dispatch from Moscow on May 10 reported that a special Trade Commission headed by Lomov had signed an agreement with the Latvian Government for the sale of Russian timber which was being floated down the Duna.

TRADE WITH FINLAND

The Finnish Trade Delegation which arrived in Moscow last June includes representatives of the metal and paper industries of Finland and the Finnish Assistant Minister of Trade, Hovillanen. According to a dispatch from the *Russian Telegraph Agency*, the Finnish Delegation made arrangements for the delivery of considerable quantities of agricultural implements, print paper, and metals of various kinds. On their part, the Finns are seeking Russian raw materials, notably flax and hemp, which they greatly need. Negotiations between the Finnish Delegation and the Commissariat of Foreign Trade were proceeding successfully and speedy results were anticipated.

The American Trade Commissioner at Riga reports the organization in Finland of an "association of the most important manufacturers, dealers and traders in wood and wood materials" which proposes to open an office in Helsinki to take charge of the purchase of timber for its members, "*particularly in Russia.*" (*Commerce Reports, U. S. Dept. Commerce, June 16, 1921.*)

HOLLAND MAKES A PROFIT

Dutch business interests have organized a syndicate to finance their trade with Soviet Russia, known as the Consortium Vlessing & Co., with its head office at No. 1 Javastr., The Hague. According to a report of the American Consul General at Rotterdam, among the firms specially interested in the Russian trade have been Vlessing & Co., of the Hague, Gebr. Lucardia, of Leenwarden, and K. Smit of Groningen. "These concerns," reports the American Consul, "have been dealing for some time with the Russian States—that is, with Bolshevik interests. Recently trade in some lines has grown to such a degree that none of the firms singly is in a position to finance it. . . . The business of the concern has consisted chiefly in the sale to the Russian interests of old army uniforms, khaki cloth, shoes, rough underwear, and other clothing, with medical and other sorts of army supplies, in return for which it has been receiving flax and gold through shipments arranged between Reval and Rotterdam. The balance against the Bolsheviks for these shipments has been settled for in gold exported from Reval to Amsterdam. The combination practically controls the trade at present, since it controls the credits established by the Russian authorities. Interests in Holland outside of the combination which deal with the Russian are, therefore, practically compelled to do business through the new syndicate, but the business has been found so profitable that no complaint is made by the general run of Dutch exporters."—*Commerce Reports, U. S. Dept. Commerce, May 28, 1921.*

THE BRITISH LOSE NO TIME

"Trade with Russia," was the subject of an address given by Sir Francis Barker (of Messrs. Vickers Limited) at a dinner of the Sales Managers' Association, May 19, 1921.

"My advice to you is to begin to trade with Russia as quickly as you can," said the speaker. "The best way to help our own country and Russia is by helping the trade treaty. The criticism which had been directed against the Government for entering into that treaty is ill-founded. The only hope for a nation is that its trade should prosper; therefore the sooner we get to work the better. Russia is the biggest buyer in the world, and her resources are almost virgin and unequalled by those of any other country in the world. It is in the light of these resources that we should regard the treaty. If we do not get in touch with Russia it will be found that the bulk of her trade will pass into the hands of Germany."

Mr. Brayley Hodgetts, chairman of the Russian section of the London Chamber of Commerce, said it was the duty of civilization to get Russian trade going again. Surely the English trader who had carried trade all over the world was not going to stand aside. To do so would be criminal.—*London Telegraph, May 20, 1921.*

RUSSIAN COMMERCE IN ESTHONIA

The following excerpts from a report of the American Trade Commissioner to the Baltic, on Russian commercial activity in Reval, are taken from the *Commerce Reports* of the United States Department of Commerce, June 14, 1921:

"On approaching Reval and after arrival, I was struck by the greater business activity in comparison to Riga. A number of factories in and about the city were apparently in operation, and considerable shipping activity was noticeable about the port. . . .

"About 80 per cent of the goods coming in through the port of Reval were stated to be for transit to Russia. There were three small German freighters in the harbor, one English freighter, a couple of Swedish boats, one small Bolshevik freighter in a bad state of repair, and two or three other boats of different nationalities, *but no American boats.*" The two German boats had brought in mixed cargo for Russia, including a considerable quantity of farm machinery (mostly plows, with some mowers and hay rakers), which was lying on the docks. There were also about 200 American mowers on the dock, which I was informed were headed to the Bolsheviks. . . . Some of the goods are transported direct from the dock to Russia in Soviet cars sent to Reval for that purpose. It was reported that considerable quantities of goods are stacked up at Narva awaiting forwarding into Russia, the delay being caused by inability of the Bolsheviks to move them, through lack of rolling equipment, etc.

"The big cotton mills at Narva, in Esthonia (in which I was told that both German and English capital is interested), are working on a contract for cotton goods for the Bolsheviks, but are running only on limited schedule. These mills are reported to be among the largest of their kind in Europe, in good running condition, and equipped to turn out goods especially for the Russian market. The wish was expressed that some arrangement might be made with American interests to furnish raw materials for these mills, compensation being taken in kind."

*Italics ours, Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA.

ARRIVAL OF GOODS THROUGH ESTHONIA

From January 1st to May 1st more than 49,180 tons of goods reached Soviet Russia through Yamburg. The shipments included the following goods:

Agricultural machinery and implements, 1,138 cars; food products, 770 cars; paper, 412 cars; shoes, 316 cars; cloth, 203 cars; tires, 199 cars; leather, 127 cars; fertilizers, 96 cars; seeds, 115 cars; rubber shoes, 20 cars.

Pravda, Petrograd, May 31, 1921.

PURCHASE OF RAILWAY SUPPLIES

The Railway Mission, as an institution independent of any other department, was established on November 1, 1920, by order of the Council of People's Commissars, for the purpose of centralizing all orders for railway material, including the repair of Russian locomotives abroad.

At the outset the mission was authorized to contract for: 2,000 freight locomotives (500,000,000 Swedish kronas); locomotive parts for repairs in Russia (60,000,000 kronas); water-station supplies (15,000,000 kronas); the repair of 4,000 to 5,000 locomotives abroad.

With respect to orders for new locomotives the situation is as follows: An order has been placed in Sweden for 1,000 locomotives of Russian model. The first of these locomotives will be ready this summer, and the entire order will be completed in 1925. Similar locomotives were ordered in Germany.

The following shipments of locomotive supplies from Germany to Russia were made from December 1, 1920 to February 1, 1921:

<i>Name of the Firm</i>	
German Smoke Stack Mfg. Syndicate	38,962 smoke stacks
Krupp	2,459 tires
Henschel & Son	889 tires
Swenson Bros.	2,651 expanders
Swenson Bros.	20 pulsometers
A. Karolson	14,791 tons of tin
Munzing & Co.	8,000 meters of belting

Economic Life, April 3, 1921.

THE PORT OF PETROGRAD

A steamer from America, carrying 1,639 tons of flour, is expected at Petrograd. In a few days another American steamer, with 1,100 tons of canned ham and 430 tons of dried vegetables, is also expected at Petrograd. The steamer "Atlia", is due in a few days with 983 tons of flour and six tons of fats. The arrival of a German steamer with 3,000 tons of copper is also expected. The sail boats and barks, recently arrived, have already been unloaded, twenty cars of herring having been shipped to Moscow.

Economic Life, Moscow, June 3, 1921.

IMPORTS INTO SOVIET RUSSIA IN MAY

During the first half of May, 1921, Soviet Russia received from abroad through Yamburg and Sebez, 26,799 tons of goods. The imports through these places for the same period in April were 17,142 tons; and during the latter half of April, 16,770 tons. According to the *Economic Life*, June 7, 1921, the principal shipments during the first half

of May consisted of the following commodities: 15,793 tons of foodstuffs, including herrings, lima-beans, flour, canned meats, fats, animal products and by-products; 5,082 tons of seed potatoes, 3,818 tons other seeds; also pottery, earthenware, fuel, chemicals, asphalt, coal-tar and products; agricultural implements, tires, iron pipe, smoke-stacks, steel cable, spring steel, excavators, etc.; stationery supplies, textiles, wearing apparel, including buttons, beads, trimmings and notions.

FOREIGN TRADE OF SOVIET RUSSIA, APRIL, 1921

According to the Petrograd newspaper *Trud*, No. 74, there was imported into Soviet Russia during April, 1921, merchandise to the amount of 2,113,837 poods (34,094 long tons). Comprised in this were 719,601 poods of foodstuffs (11,606 tons), 596,918 poods of metals and metal goods (9,466 tons), and 111,329 poods of paper (1,796 tons).

Exports during the same month amounted to 551,731 poods (8,999 tons), including 24,079 poods of pine logs (192,632 board feet), 1,436 poods of railroad ties (23 tons), 79,455 poods of flax (1,232 tons), 7,036 poods of hemp (113 tons), 756 poods of potassium (12 tons).

FOREIGN GOODS ARRIVING IN MOSCOW

On June 14 the Russian Telegraph Agency reported the arrival in Moscow of 449 carloads of machines and farming implements, 229 carloads of flax seed and 229 carloads of other goods for agricultural purposes. In the near future there was expected the arrival from foreign ports of 594 carloads of ploughs, 197 carloads of harvesting machines, 195 carloads of threshers, 79 carloads of reapers and spare parts, 70 carloads of chaff cutters and 190 carloads of seed ploughs and accessories. In part payment for these goods the Soviet Government is exporting 495 carloads of flax and hemp, 320 carloads of tobacco and 234 carloads of asbestos.

TRADE WITH THE CRIMEA

During the last two weeks seventeen small vessels carrying medical supplies, coal, wood, dry goods and lemons have arrived at Sebastopol from Constantinople and Anatolia.

During the last few days four small vessels carrying freight of the same nature, including a considerable quantity of cotton thread, arrived in Yevpatoria. The first English vessel that has been permitted to leave Constantinople for Russian ports has arrived in Yevpatoria. This vessel brought returning refugees of the Wrangel army and samples of the goods offered by foreign merchants in exchange for raw material. The representative of a large English firm, who arrived on this vessel, has concluded an agreement with the representative of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade in the Crimea, according to which England is to deliver to Russia within a month and a half 81 tons of coal, 100,000 pairs of shoes and a quantity of shoe findings, and also agricultural machinery, trunks, fishing tackle, etc.

The English yacht "Betsey", with medical supplies, has arrived at Krasnoarmaisk (Yalta). Two freight schooners have arrived at Krasnoarmaisk from Asia Minor.

Pravda, Petrograd, May 31 1921.

NOW STUDY THESE FIGURES

The extraordinary decrease in the foreign commerce of the United States is revealed in the following figures issued by the United States Department of Commerce:

	Month of June		Year Ending June 30	
	1920	1921	1920	1921
Total imports into the United States.....	\$552,605,534	\$198,000,000	\$5,238,352,114	\$3,666,769,537
Total exports from the United States.....	\$629,376,757	\$340,000,000	\$8,108,988,663	\$6,519,365,734

Books Reviewed

REMINISCENCES OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.
By M. Phillips Price. London: George Allen and Unwin.

This is the best history of the Revolution that is yet available in English. Mr. Price, who was a correspondent for *The Manchester Guardian* in Russia, combines the virtues of the historian and the reporter. His account of the progress of events in Russia from March, 1917, to December, 1918, is reasonably complete and well documented. It clears up many points that have remained obscure for lack of reliable and competent information. At the same time the value of the book is enhanced by its abundance of personal impressions. Mr. Price writes of the great scenes and personalities of the Revolution with a degree of fire and vividness that can never be attained by anyone who attempts to describe them on the basis of second-hand material.

It is interesting to trace the author's own evolution as reflected in his despatches to *The Manchester Guardian*. He had gone to Russia, as he tells us, "with no knowledge of the teachings of Marx." He is not altogether converted to the Bolshevik viewpoint after the November Revolution. At this time he favors a Coalition Socialist government and accuses Lenin and Trotsky of attempting to become "cheap editions of Robespierre."

But, as he sees the Soviets struggling manfully to overcome the appalling disorganization created by the war, the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and the sabotage of the bourgeoisie, as he comes to realize more and more clearly that only the Bolsheviks have a programme of reconstruction that it is at once practicable and honestly revolutionary, his attitude gradually changes. When the Czecho-Slovaks, egged on by the French Military Mission at Moscow, strike their treacherous blow, Mr. Price comes out wholeheartedly for the Russian Soviet Republic and against the international bondholders who are trying to destroy it. And, by August, 1918, when the menace of foreign invasion and counter-revolution has assumed dangerous proportions, his enthusiasm has risen to a pitch where he is ready to enlist in the Red Army, and is given a position in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

The book is the best possible justification for the author's ultimate reaction to the Revolution. Without in any way creating the impression of being a controversial or propagandist tract, it meets and decisively refutes all the familiar accusations that are brought against the Bolsheviks and the Soviet regime.

Describing the events in the summer of 1917, he shows how the November Revolution was made inevitable by the land hunger of the peasants, the discontent of the city workers, the incompetence of the Kerensky government, the arrogant reaction of the Cadets and the shameful compromises of the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionist Ministers who entered the various Coalition cabinets. In connection with the charge that Bolshevik propaganda was responsible for the breakdown of the Russian army in the summer of 1917, he cites a statement made by the monarchist General Alexeev, at the Moscow State Conference, to the effect that the Russian army had not been capable of assuming the offensive since the summer of 1916.

This declaration by a military expert of conservative political affiliations is the best possible evidence that Kerensky's offensive in July, 1917 had no military justification. It was a political manoeuvre, designed to assure the Allies, at the trifling cost of some thousands of Russian soldiers' lives, that Russia would pay her debt to the Paris Bourse in blood. The Cadets who ardently supported the offensive also hoped that its success would create an atmosphere of chauvinism in which a counter-revolution could easily be carried out.

Mr. Price's view of Russia is much broader than that of observers who have not gone far outside the city limits

of Moscow and Petrograd. He traveled extensively in the peasant districts; and a trip down the Volga, which took him as far as the steppes east of Orenburg, gives him a fairly adequate conception of the heterogeneous races, with widely varying customs, traditions and economic systems, which lived within the borders of the old Russian Empire. Consequently he is able to give an intelligent account of the reverberations which the class struggle in Moscow and Petrograd excited among the Cossacks of the Don, the Mohammedan tribes of the Northern Caucasus, and the nomadic Tatars of Asiatic Russia.

The author gives the following excellent description of the composition of the three major Socialist parties as they existed in the early summer of 1917:

"The Mensheviks were supported by the brain-workers and by the privileged working class aristocracy, which, however, thanks to the very small development of Craft Unionism in Tsarist Russia, were an almost negligible factor in the land. The Bolsheviks were supported by the greater part of the skilled workers, by the sailors, by that section of the poorest unskilled laborers who were not under the influence of the middle class intellectuals, and by that section of the soldiers who had the courage to stand up against their officers. The Socialist Revolutionaries represented the middle and upper layer of the peasantry, a section of the poor peasantry as far as they were politically conscious at this period of the Revolution, the profiteering middle man, small proprietor, the professional man of the countryside, and the simple careerist."

Of these parties the Bolsheviks alone were destined to prove capable of leading the proletariat to victory. The Mensheviks, justly characterized by Price as "revolutionary only in words", might muster up enough courage to applaud the reading of the Zimmerwald resolutions by a horrified Cadet orator. But, when it was a question of putting these resolutions into practice by overthrowing the Kerensky Government, which blocked the way to peace and revolution, they shrank back in terror. Since the November Revolution they have contributed little but whining negative criticism to the building up of the proletarian republic. Fortunately their incapacity for constructive action, even in the cause of counter-revolution, has limited their capacity for mischief.

The Social-Revolutionists, composed of very divergent elements, soon split into a number of contending groups. The S. R.s of the Right have been implicated in every counter-revolutionist movement, from Kornilov to Kronstadt. Those of the Left participated in the November Revolution and co-operated to some extent with the Bolsheviks afterwards. However, they proved their hopeless political incompetence by indulging in an anti-Soviet revolt for the alleged purpose of stirring up a revolutionary war against Germany in July, 1918, at a time when the Soviet Republic was so hard pressed in all quarters that thought of an offensive war against the most formidable military power on the continent was sheer madness. As Price points out, the breach between the Bolsheviks and the Left S. R.s was largely brought about by the opposition of the latter to the Soviet Government's policy of requisitioning grain from the villages,—a policy which was rendered absolutely necessary by the success of the counter-revolutionists, supported in some cases by the Germans in others by the Allies, in cutting off the cities of northern Russia from the grain supplies of Siberia and the Ukraine.

A thick veil of mystery and silence has always hung over the events which took place in Russia during the summer and autumn of 1918. Most of the friendly foreign observers of Soviet Russia had left at this time; and the Allied censorship, as Price testifies from personal experience, took excellent care that public opinion should be prepared for intervention by permitting only tales of lurid horror to pass through. The author now lifts this

veil, and shows that the months of August and September, while perhaps the darkest, certainly constitute one of the most glorious periods in the history of the Revolution.

Early in September everything seemed lost. The Czechoslovaks had taken Kazan and were marching on Nizhni-Novgorod; Krasnov, the favored agent of the Germans in the international counter-revolution, was in Voronezh; the Allies were moving towards Vologda from the direction of Archangel. Lenin had been shot; and was lying dangerously wounded.

The Revolution was saved by the tremendous energy of some of the less noted Communist leaders, and by the heroism and devotion of the revolutionary Russian proletariat, the Kronstadt sailors, the metal workers of Petrograd and the textile workers of Moscow. The workers flocked into the Red Army; and the sailors, by remarkable exertions, succeeded in transporting some gunboats through the Marinsky Canal from the Neva to the Volga. The Czechoslovaks were driven out of Kazan, and out of Samara as well.

The recapture of Kazan was the Valmy of the Russian Revolution. The Russian workers and peasants were destined to suffer more defeats and more hardships before the counter-revolutionists and their foreign allies were definitely defeated. But things would never again be quite as black as they were in September, 1918. It is a thrilling experience to read Price's narrative of this crisis in the fate of the Revolution. It is as vivid, as dramatic, as would be the story of a sympathetic eyewitness of the great popular uprising that hurled the Allies back from the frontiers of revolutionary France.

Price's period of personal observation in Russia ends with December, 1918. His book includes a brief supplementary account of the campaigns against Kolchak and Denikin. He has made a brilliant and extremely valuable contribution to the history of the Russian Revolution. His descriptive interpretation of the first eighteen months of the movement ranks in perception and insight with the more fragmentary works of Brailsford and Ransom. It is very much to be hoped that Mr. Price's work will soon appear in an American edition.

A. C. F.

MAX BARTHEL: Vom roten Moskau bis zum Schwarzen Meer. Internationaler Jugendverlag, Berlin-Schöneberg, 1921. Paper, 62 pages.

Max Barthel is a German proletarian journalist and poet who went to Russia in 1920 and set down his observations in diary form for *Die Rote Fahne*, Berlin, and for other radical newspapers in Germany. Short fragments from these notes have been printed in SOVIET RUSSIA. The entire collection which was first published in *Die Rote Fahne* as a daily *feuilleton* is now being reprinted in a series of five monthly parts; the monthly publication has been resorted to in order to enable poor workers to buy the collection. The present pamphlet is the first of these instalments; it is dated May, 1921.

After the close of the Second Congress of the Third International, Barthel, together with a large number of other delegates, set out from Moscow to tour the Southern part of Russia (Ukraine). In the course of their journey, they visited Kharkov, Kursk, Kiev, Odessa, and a number of other large and small cities. Typical of Barthel's excellent descriptive method is the account of his story in Odessa, which we print elsewhere in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. He appears to have entered into the activities, at all the places visited, in a real spirit of participation, actually sharing in all the work of the various local bodies, and delivering many speeches on the relations between the working classes of Russia and Germany. In these speeches he never failed to point out the ravages of the German armies in Russia, and to express the chagrin of the German workers that they should have permitted themselves to be misused for such purposes. Everywhere he points out

also the reactionary character of the German population in Soviet Russia (as, for instance, in the article which we reprint in our current issue). He occasionally finds examples, however, of revolutionary zeal among the German workers in Russia, one of which is the reaction of the German Communists in Kharkov, who seem to have been sympathetic with the Revolution even before the retreat of the German army from that city. A reminiscence of this period is contained in the following paragraph, which recalls the moment when the German armies in Russia were already "demoralized" from within by their contact with the Russian Revolution, a process, by the way, which may go much further in explaining the sudden German collapse in the West than any other cause more commonly assigned:

"Kharkov was within the limits of the German occupation. Meetings of Communists were dispersed, many comrades were arrested, and the rule of capital seemed yet unbroken. At this time a red flag was raised over the Kharkov City Hall, but this flag had to be taken down again. In the journal *Die Wahrheit*, issued by the German group of the Communist Party in Kharkov, there was printed, in its first issue, on December 18, 1918, a touching poem on this red flag."

We have not space here for this poem, but the incident is indicative of many contained in Barthel's pages; they are often new, and interesting, and unexpected.

J. W. H.

Литература Востока (Всемирная Литература) — сборник статей (выпуск второй). — The Literature of the East (Universal Literature Series), A Collection of Articles (Second Series). Petersburg, 1920: National Publishing House. 175 pages.

To many persons the ambitious plans of Soviet leaders to improve conditions in Russia appear as so many good intentions only, as fine paper outlines of what these men would like to do—if the necessary resources were at hand. And the great frankness of these Soviet leaders, in their written articles, frequently gives much support to those who claim that while the spirit of Russian leadership may be willing, the flesh—and the resources at hand—are very weak. We confess that we were ourselves misled by the frank admissions, by Soviet authorities, of defective execution of programs, into accepting the notion that while the plan for printing the literary works of all nations, in Russian translations, for the Russian people, might be a magnificent one, the lack of printing facilities, of paper, of labor power difficult to spare from other fields, might make the actual carrying out of the idea a matter of the remote future. But we are glad to admit our mistake. We have recently received a number of volumes from Russia, of which the above is the title of one, that show that the works of Russian scholars are being not only written, but also printed, in good editions, and that the fears expressed by Professor Sergey Oldenburg (in a recent issue of SOVIET RUSSIA), lest the presses be unable to keep pace with the growing productivity of Russian specialists, are likely to be shown as unfounded.

Volume II of the section of the *Universal Literature Series* that deals with Oriental Literatures is the book now before us. It contains the following articles: "Chinese Literature," by V. Alekseyev; "Japanese Literature," by S. Yeliseyev; "Mongolian Literature," by V. Vladimirtsov; "Manchurian Literature," by Vl. Kotvich; "Egyptian Literature," by B. Turayev; "Coptic Literature," by B. Turayev; "Abyssinian Literature," by B. Turayev; "Phoenician Literature," by B. Turayev; an article commemorative of the activities of B. Turayev, by I. Krachkovsky. We understand that Volume I, which we have not seen, of *The Literature of the East Series*, took up Hebrew Literature, Arabic, Sanskrit, and a number of other Oriental literatures.

A glance through the above table of contents will at once suggest to the reader that we are here dealing with articles that may be very simply classified into two groups,

according to the nature of the appeal made by their subjects to the Russian of the present day. There are literatures treated in this volume which are of interest and importance because they are the literatures of peoples with whom Soviet Russia is in closer and more significant contact than is any other nation, by reason of mere geographical contiguity (Japanese, Chinese, Manchurian, Mongolian); there are other literatures that are of interest to scholars only, and are not more important to the Russian than to any other people (Egyptian, Coptic, Abyssinian, Phoenician). But each is treated with the same painstaking care as all the others, and each was assigned to a great specialist to be prepared for its place in the series.

Turning the leaves of this book, the student of literature will find many passages that serve excellently as indications that the history of letters in the Eastern regions has followed a course in many ways similar to its development in Europe. Thus one finds a splendid parallel to the history of the rise of the drama in Western Europe, from the medieval "moralities" and "mysteries", in the process by which Japanese drama arose in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from the dances and songs performed and sung in the temples sacred to the old gods of Japan. And, just as Greek and Roman models were the molding influences under which the literate medieval dramatists of Europe sought to elevate the rude indigenous drama, so masks and rituals brought from India, China, and Corea served as models on which the Japanese composers of the *dengaku* and *sarugaku* built their own works (S. Yeliseyev: "The Literature of Japan," pp. 67-72).

Particularly interesting to those who, like the present reviewer, are not yet initiated in them, are the treatments in this book of those literatures that may hardly be said to have any existence at all in the minds of educated persons in Europe and America. In his treatment of "Mongolian Literature", B. Vladimirtsov is obliged to go to great lengths to prepare the student's mind for accepting the mere existence of a literature of the Mongolian people.

"We do not know when and where language began to be set down in written form among the Mongolians, or which of the Mongolian tribes was the first to use writing for its own vernacular. It is known only that in the days of Genghis-Khan, in other words, in the first half of the

twelfth and in the beginning of the thirteenth century, literature began to be introduced among the Mongolians, adopted from a Turkish tribe, the Uigurs, and a Mongolian literary language began to develop, which even at that early period already differed from the living Mongolian dialects. It is clear that Mongolian writing developed, on the one hand, in answer to the needs of the government, then in process of organization, the Empire of Genghis-Khan, and, on the other hand, the needs of the church, not only the Buddhist Church, but also the Christian Church, and perhaps the Manichee." Again the parallel with the Western European literary languages is apparent: all arose in answer to the needs of a strong secular or clerical authority, increasing in power and forcing its language on less distinguished and less important sections of the population. So it was in Italy, in France, in England, in Spain, in Germany, in Russia. The history of culture and of language seems to have passed through similar stages in most human societies.

The author of the four African literature articles in the series, B. Turayev, has died since writing his contributions, and a few of the words written about him, at the end of the volume, by J. Krachkovsky, are here added:

"Both life and death, in our days, fill up their pages more swiftly than does the machine that sets the type from which we print. The press had hardly turned out the first pages of the Second Series of *The Literature of the East*, than death already turned over the last page in the life of him who was the author of four contributions to the present volume. Boris Aleksandrovich Turayev died July 23 and never saw his work even in the proof sheets. The slowness with which his material went to press in the last few weeks was particularly painful to him. He was a true light of science, one who burned all the brighter for all the fire he had given out. He never felt satisfied when his discoveries, investigations, thoughts, and conclusions were for his own satisfaction only; he was eager to have them clothed as quickly as possible in printed form, so that they might be communicated to all that wanted to have them."

The price of this book, as sold in Russia, is one hundred rubles.

J. W. H.

The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia

The complete official text of the first code of laws of the Soviet Republic, governing Civil Status, Domestic Relations, Marriage, Divorce, Inheritance, Guardianship, etc., is printed in full in a booklet of 85 pages, with introduction. Sent postpaid for 25 cents per copy.

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Vol. V, No. 3



THE RED PLOUGHMAN

This poster was issued by the Russian Soviet Government with the caption: По дикому полю, по обломкам старого барства и капитала вспашем нашу пашенку да соберем добрый урожай счастья; in English: "Over the wild field, over the fragments of base landlordship and capital, let us run our plough, to reap a fair crop of happiness."

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Issued Monthly at 110 W. 40th St., New York. Kenneth Durant, Publisher. Jacob Wittmer Hartmann, Editor. Subscription Rate, \$2.50 per annum. Entered as second-class matter January 29, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

LENIN'S APPEAL

"In several Russian provinces the famine equals that of 1891. This is the severe consequence of Russian economic backwardness and the seven years of war, first the imperialist war and then the civil wars, which were imposed upon the workers and peasants by the landlords and capitalists of all countries.

"Aid is required. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic await this aid from the toiling industrial and agricultural workers of all countries. Though these masses are themselves everywhere oppressed by capitalism and imperialism, we are confident that, despite their own difficult situation, caused by unemployment and high prices, they will respond to our appeal. Those who have experienced capitalist oppression throughout their lives will understand the situation of the Russian workers and peasants, will understand intuitively, as toilers and exploited, the necessity for giving aid to the Soviet Republic which was the first to undertake the welcome but heavy task of overthrowing capitalism. Therefore the capitalists of all countries wreak their vengeance upon Soviet Russia. Therefore they plan against her new interventions and new counter-revolutionary conspiracies. We are convinced, however, that this will cause the workers and small farmers living by their own toil in all countries to aid us with redoubled energy and self-denial."

The Famine

The workers and peasants of Russia appeal to the toilers of the world.

Weeks without rainfall blighted the crops in the rich regions of the Volga. In many provinces the harvest was a total failure, in others only the scantiest gleanings were reaped. The story of the famine is already familiar to our readers. For once, with malicious satisfaction, the capitalist papers have told the truth about Soviet Russia. They have, of course, told more than the truth. They have exaggerated and perverted the facts. With an insolent disregard of history, economics and climate, they have piled mean lies upon the hard truth. But the sufferings of the famished peasants cannot be exaggerated. These sufferings surpass invention.

Famine was a periodic phenomenon in Russia under Tsarist capitalism. The workers of Russia were starving in 1917.

The famine in Russia today, which comes of parched fields and withering crops, is aggravated by the incessant campaign of destruction and oppression waged against the Soviet Republic by its enemies within and without. The transportation system, which might have carried relief from the prospering regions, already inadequate in 1914, was wrecked by the world war and further shattered by the repeated invasions and civil wars of the counter-revolution. Reconstruction was denied by the blockade, which cut off all accustomed sources of supply and repair.

A world of enemies, exulting in the present sufferings of the Russian people, clutches at the wild hope that what intervention, blockade and conspiracy were unable to effect, the famine may accomplish. From the stroggholds of the émigrés rise the voices of dead souls, crying for revenge and restoration.

The Soviet Government is not falling and will not fall. The workers and peasants who have endured three years of hunger and slaughter at the

hands of their enemies, will endure and triumphantly survive the present ills.

The Appeal of the Central Executive Committee

The extent of the calamity is described in the following manifesto "To All Citizens of the R. S. F. S. R.", signed by the Central Executive Committee, and published in the *Izvestia*, July 12:

Throughout a vast region the drought this year has ruined crops and pasturage. Complete disaster has overwhelmed the governments of Astrakhan, Tsaritsyn, Saratov, Samara, Simbirsk, and Ufa, the German colony on the Volga, the Tartar Republic, and the southern portion of Viatka.

In this region no less than ten million people are left without means of subsistence. The population is starving. The peasant population has been left in a critical position; there is not enough grain for seed purposes, there is no fodder for the cattle. This catastrophe, in view of the dimishment in the Government stocks and the serious economic crisis, threatens for a long time to come to dislocate the production of the whole fertile agricultural region, and thus to develop into a national disaster.

The Soviet Government succeeded in rallying together the workers and peasants for the waging of a victorious war within the frontiers and on the confines of the Soviet Republic. The Soviet Government will be able to muster the whole population of the Republic in order successfully to combat the impending catastrophe.

May every citizen of the Russian Soviet Republic grasp the seriousness of the situation, and in the realization of the great power that lies in the union of the forces of the people derive confidence in its successful overcoming.

... Peasants! Your unfortunate brothers expect that by immediate fulfilment of your obligations to the State (the tax in kind and labor dues) you will strengthen the State and give it power to help them out of their wretched plight. . . . And you, the peasants and other citizens of the suffering areas, be assured that there will not be a single honorable inhabitant of the Soviet Republic who will not think of your misfortune and join in the battle against it. Strengthen your local Soviets and Village Committees; unite in co-operatives and supply associations in order that the Soviet Government may find it easier to overcome your distress.

Chicherin's Note

In reply to the flood of misrepresentation and exaggeration which filled the capitalist press of

all countries with the wildest stories and the most fantastic counter-revolutionary hopes based upon the famine, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs issued the following "Circular Note to All Governments," with the request that the various governments should make this information public for the benefit of their respective populations:

"The vast movement of relief for the famine-stricken population of the Eastern provinces of European Russia, which has attracted the most diversified classes and the most varied public bodies in nearly all the countries of Europe and America, is warmly welcomed by the Russian people and their Government of the Workers and Peasants. At the same time, we must observe with regret that these bodies, as well as the press, and even the governments, nearly everywhere display inadequate knowledge of the real state of affairs in Russia and have far from accurate and verified data on the extent of the calamity and its concrete details. The Western European and American press, and also the declarations of statesmen of all countries, frequently contain absolutely false or exaggerated and erroneous ideas regarding the situation in the famine-stricken provinces and even with respect to general conditions in the Russian Republic.

"The Russian Government deems it necessary, therefore, to request the governments of all countries to impart in an official manner to their citizens interested in the famine which has befallen Russia the following precise data on that subject: The Famine Relief Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has recognized a state of distress in ten provinces, namely, Astrakhan, Tsaritsain, Saratov, the German Commune (on the Volga), Samara, Simbirek, in the Tartar Republic, Chuvash Territory, also in the districts of Birk and Belebei in Ufa Province; the districts of Yaransk, Urzhum, Malmzh and Soviusk in Viatka Province; and Serunak and Krasnokokshaisk in Mari Territory. The harvest in these ten provinces is either entirely destroyed by the severe and continuous drought or in places will yield only ten to fifteen per cent of the average crops. In some localities of these provinces the bad harvest will affect only certain kinds of crops.

"These ten provinces are inhabited by approximately 18,000,000 persons, who will require from the outside 41,000,000 poods of food supplies, or 50 per cent of the usual rations, to sustain the rural population, not counting fodder for the cattle, and 18,000,000 poods to feed the urban population. In the localities where the harvest is completely lost, 15,000,000 poods of seeds are required before September 15.

"Lacking exact data on the extent of the harvest in all other parts of Russia, it cannot be determined at present what proportion of the above requirements can be furnished by Russia herself. The famine-stricken provinces have no grain stocks left over from past harvests, and grain deliveries from other provinces can only be extremely limited at present. The immediate distress in these provinces, therefore, is really very great. Yet nowhere have there occurred any of the excesses and disorders falsely rumored in the Western European and American press. In some of the localities which have been hardest hit the despairing population is seeking in part, with the assistance of the Soviet authorities, to move to more prosperous Russian provinces. This movement of the famished inhabitants, however, nowhere assumes any form which presents the slightest menace to public safety and order.

"The Russian Government is taking every available measure to combat the calamity and relieve the sufferers. Russian citizens, irrespective of political views, are manifesting the most ardent desire to help the starving population without any political *arrière pensee*. The Russian toiling masses everywhere show the fullest readiness for self-denial and are imposing privations upon themselves in order to send relief to their fellow citizens in distress. Also, those who before the Revolution belonged to the privileged classes are striving unselfishly to help the

famine-stricken. In addition to the Government Famine Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Government has authorized the formation of an independent Famine Relief Committee, composed of persons outside of Soviet Government spheres. This Committee will itself distribute all the food supplies at its disposal, being a completely independent organization and enjoying the full support of the Soviet authorities in its activities. The delegates of this Committee will shortly go abroad, simultaneously with another delegation which is to be sent to Western Europe by the Central Executive Committee, the Central Trades Union Council and the Central Cooperative Union.

"The information which is received daily, of numerous organizations in all countries which are willing to help the famine-stricken population in Russia is in accord with the wishes of the Russian people's Government and with the urgent need of the famine-stricken provinces for foreign aid. The Russian Government, addressing all governments upon this subject, permits itself to express the hope that the latter will present no obstacles to public-bodies and individual citizens of their countries who desire to help the famine-stricken citizens of Russia. The Russian Government will accept for this purpose any aid, from whatever source it may come, disregarding entirely any political relations. Expressing, on behalf of the Russian people, the warmest gratitude to those foreign organizations and individuals who have manifested such an ardent desire to help the Russian famine sufferers, the Russian Government believes itself entitled to hope that the governments of other countries will present no obstacles or barriers to such desires on the part of their citizens.

"The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
GEORGE CHICHERIN.

"Moscow, August 3, 1921."

Gorky's Appeal

On July 13, Maxim Gorky addressed the following appeal "To All Honest People":

"The conrgrowing steppes are stricken by crop failure, caused by the drought. This calamity threatens starvation to millions of Russian people. Think of the Russian people's exhaustion by the war and revolution, which considerably reduced its resistance to disease and its physical endurance. Gloomy days have come for the country of Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Mendelejev, Pavlov, Mussorgsky, Glinka, and other world-prized men. I venture to trust that the cultured men and women of Europe and America, understanding the tragedy of the Russian people, will immediately succor with bread and medicines. If humanitarian ideals and feelings—faith in whose social import was so shaken by the damnable war and its victors' mercilessness towards the vanquished—if faith in the creative force of these ideals and feelings, I say, must and can be restored, Russia's misfortune offers humanitarians a splendid opportunity to demonstrate the vitality of humanitarianism. I think particularly warm sympathy in succoring the Russian people must be shown by those who, during the ignominious war, so passionately preached fratricidal hatred, thereby withering the educational efficacy of ideas evolved by mankind in the most arduous labors, and so lightly killed by stupidity and cupidity. People who understand the words of agonizing pain will forgive the involuntary bitterness of my words. I ask all honest European and American people for prompt aid to the Russian people. Give bread and medicines."

The All-Russian Relief Committee

Early in July a group of citizens prominent in Russian life before the Revolution approached the Soviet Government with an appeal for the formation of a special non-partisan famine relief committee. Active in this movement were Prokopovich, a minister in the Kerensky Government, Kishkin, a leader of the Cadet Party and member of the former Provisional Government, and Madame

Kuskova, formerly prominent in the cooperative movement. Their appeal was transmitted to the Soviet Government through Maxim Gorky, according to the Moscow *Izvestia*, of July 3, with the suggestion that officials of the Soviet Government should participate in the proposed committee. The Government responded favorably. The subsequent formation of the Committee was described in the following special dispatch to SOVIET RUSSIA from the official Russian Telegraph Agency at Moscow, dated July 24:

"A decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has granted wide powers to the recently organized Non-Partisan Public Famine Relief Committee, which comprises sixty-three representatives of all classes and political parties in Russia. The committee will act under the Red Cross emblem and will enjoy full legal rights and self-government. The committee is authorized to acquire independently Russian and foreign food stuffs, medicines, etc., for the starving population in the famine regions and is empowered to open branches in Russia and in foreign countries and to send commissioners abroad. The committee will distribute relief through its own agencies. The committee is given preference in railway facilities and in the use of vehicles. By the decree, the activity of the committee is not subject to the organs of state control, but reports directly to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The veteran Russian writer Vladimir Korolenko has been appointed Honorary Chairman and Maxim Gorky is being sent abroad as High Commissioner. The committee has elected a non-partisan executive committee comprising the following: Chairman, Kamenev, President of the Moscow Soviet; Rykov, former chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy; Kishkin, a prominent leader of Cadet Party and member of the Provisional Government under Kerensky; Prokopovich, Cabinet Minister in the Former Provisional Government; Korobov, former head of the Russian Cooperatives; and Cherkassov, a well-known non-Communist."

(A later dispatch announced the election of additional members of the Committee, including Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education; Litvinov, Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs; Khinchuk, Chairman of the Cooperatives; the Academician Ipatiev, Professor Rein, the Tolstoyan Chertkov, the Baptist leader Pavlov, and others.)

"The committee held its first meeting on July 20, attended by many prominent Russians of all parties and classes including former members of the Duma and noted literary men. Among those present were: Kamenev, Rykov, Krasin, Head of the Russian Trade Delegation to England; Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education; Theodorovich, former Commissar of Supplies; Yemshanov, Vice-Commissar of Transportation; Smidovich, former President of the Moscow Soviet; Litvinov, Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs; Svidersky, former Commissar of Agriculture; Kishkin, Prokopovich, Kutler, Assistant Minister of Finance under the Tsar; Madame Kuskova, Alexandra Tolstoy, daughter of Leo Tolstoy; Maxim Gorky; Boris Saitsov, prominent writer; Biriukov, the well-known Tolstoyan; Schepkin, former Zemstvo leader; Sabashnikov, physician; Ugrimov, Minister of Agriculture in the Provisional Government; Golovin, President of the Second Duma; Professor Bulgakov, Cadet writer and sociologist; and many other well-known public men and literary figures, including Boyarenko, Dzivigelov, Yuzhin, Sadyrin, Gurevich, Avsarkisov, Classen, Freise, Efros, Korobov, Kukhorarenko.

"The declaration of the initiating groups, which was read to the meeting by Kishkin, pointed out the magnitude of the calamity which had fallen upon Soviet Russia, to combat which the assistance of all classes of the population was required. The necessity for public circles to assist in the relief of the famine had become increasingly urgent. 'This joint meeting of public and government representatives,' continued the declaration, 'was called to outline the conditions for the most successful work.'

Government participation was necessary in any plan for general relief work throughout Russia. A public organization alone, unassisted by the Government, could not achieve its object. The initiative of public thought and will must be reinforced by governmental authority. This undertaking, the declaration emphasized, is neither politics nor mere charity, but an obligation upon both the Government and the public. There should be no animosity with death stalking abroad and the fields transformed into deserts. The relief of the famine must rally everyone in Russia and it must be placed under the peaceful emblem of the Red Cross. The work must be conducted openly under the widest public control and sympathy. The authorities must place the work of the committee and its auxiliaries under conditions favorable to success.

"On behalf of the initiating group, Kishkin expressed the hope that the Government and the public workers would find a way for common endeavor without ulterior motives. 'Famine,' said Kishkin, 'is a fiend which menaces the entire country and people. A great work begins and the path must be trod firmly and with determination.'

"The President of the Moscow Soviet, Kamenev, responding for the Government, emphasized the non-political character of the work. Regarding guarantees which the Government would give to the committee, he said: 'We had to defend our existence under conditions of civil war, and for this purpose we created the dictatorship of the proletariat and this determines the nature of the guarantees which the Government can give. We guarantee to the non-partisan activity of this committee all conditions favorable to success. The purely practical work of the committee will meet with no obstacles from the central government or the local authorities, but rather with assistance at every step. Help is needed from abroad, primarily from the foreign laboring masses, and then from other European and American public groups who understand the necessity for aid, regardless of social differences.'

"The committee,' Kamenev assured the meeting, 'will have independent control of all its funds and supplies and can mobilize all resources to aid the sufferers. If the committee is successful in securing foreign aid, all funds secured from abroad will be controlled solely by the committee. The Government is absolutely certain that by the united efforts of the toiling masses and public-spirited workers all obstacles will be overcome and the world will see that Soviet Russia works for the benefit of the toilers.'

"The Central Executive Committee in its decree, as reported above, fully confirmed the plans and membership of the Public Famine Relief Committee. The central authorities instructed all local authorities and public bodies everywhere to give the utmost assistance to the representatives of the committee."

In a telegram acknowledging his appointment as honorary Chairman of the Relief Committee, Vladimir Korolenko, the aged writer, said:

"I am weak and ailing and lack the necessary strength for my present tasks; yet I am deeply grateful to the comrades for remembering me at this time of unprecedented calamity, and I will do all that my strength will allow."

On August 14 the All-Russian Relief Committee, in order to dispose of all misinterpretation, published a manifesto reiterating its strictly non-political character. Emphasizing the thoroughly neutral political attitude of the committee, the manifesto, signed by Kamenev, Semashko, Kishkin, Korobov, Kutler, Prokopovich, and Cherkassov, concludes, "The united effort of all elements on a relief basis is possible only by the committee maintaining its strictly neutral Red Cross character."

The Fight Against Famine

The energetic measures taken by the Soviet Gov-

ernment, with the devoted cooperation of the workers and peasants to meet the crisis, have been described in a series of special dispatches to SOVIET RUSSIA from the Russian Telegraph Agency, which have been published in the labor press of America. We can only summarize a few of these activities here.

Early in July the All-Russian Trade Union Council, promptly responding to a Government appeal, mobilized the trade union organizers for relief work. The Council also instructed the local unions to grant large quantities of manufactured goods out of the commodity wage funds for the relief of the sufferers. Similar relief campaigns were undertaken by all other organizations and public bodies, in addition to the work of the central and provincial authorities. Communist propagandists throughout the country bent their attention to urging the peasants in the prosperous provinces to give unselfish aid to their afflicted brothers.

Confidence in a ready response to these appeals was expressed by an editorial in *Izvestia* which said:

"The peasants, knowing that the proletarian revolution has benefitted them even more than the proletarians, will give the utmost support to the Soviet Government during the reconstruction period. The Russian peasants, who are now taxed less than ever in their history, will certainly contribute their quota cheerfully to the state granary, thus upsetting all counter-revolutionary speculations." Food tax collectors in the prosperous districts report the intelligent interest shown by the peasantry in the operation of the new economic measures of the Government. The collectors report that the peasants deliver their quotas willingly and fully understand the necessity of supporting the famine provinces and the industrial centers.

By August 1, relief committees were already active in every city and town of the Soviet Federation, with numerous branches in the villages. All classes of the population were participating in the relief work. "Particular self-denial," reports the Russian Telegraph Agency, "is shown by the city workers, the poorer peasants and the Red soldiers, who cheerfully donate their rations and wages to the sufferers."

The evacuation of peasants from the regions most severely hit by the drought has been carried on with remarkable success. By the middle of August the Government had moved more than 235,000 persons from the famine districts into more prosperous provinces. On August 1 two fully equipped sanitary and relief trains left Moscow to care for starving children in the drought stricken regions. Each train was equipped to take care of six thousand children. On August 11 the Commissariat of Health had sixty-two additional trains ready for the evacuation of children and sick. Tribute to the energy and capacity of the Soviet Government in meeting the famine, was paid by a representative of the American Relief Administration, Mr. F. L. Thompson, who recently

traveled from Constantinople to Moscow, and who was reported by the *New York Herald* of August 12 to have been "profoundly impressed by the energy and business capacity with which the Reds are handling the famine."

False Hopes Abroad

The counter-revolutionists of the whole world have gloated shamelessly over the sufferings of the Russian people. Seldom has the cynical ruthlessness of capitalist reaction been more brutally exposed. The international white guard boasts of its intention to march back into Russia over the bodies of the starving peasants.

The blatant Kerensky brags safely in Paris, "I expect to be in Moscow by September," and informs the correspondent of the *New York American* that the American Government is "thoroughly sympathetic" with his pretensions to be the head of a new Russian Government. "It would be immoral," he says (*N. Y. American*, August 6), "for the powers not to take this great opportunity to force the Soviets out of Russia forever. I regard the famine and pestilence as the hand of God." The same correspondent reports that "an emissary of the French Foreign Office" had assured Kerensky that "every effort would be made to seize upon the present misery and starvation as a pretext to overthrow the Communists by threatening to withhold aid if Lenin refused to abdicate." The correspondent of the *New York Tribune* reports from Paris that the Allied Premiers have in mind "an entirely new view of Russia's future," which involves "the death of the Bolshevik Government." "The question of succoring Russia, from the humanitarian standpoint," says this reporter, (*N. Y. Tribune*, August 4), "is admitted in advance of the Supreme Council meeting as merely camouflage, while the real solicitude revolves around the renewed political status of the former empire. . . . France's immediate object will be the recovery of a billion francs in old debts, which the coalition will recognize. Other nations have similar objects." The special correspondent of the *World* reports similarly: "Inquiry among the delegates accredited to the Supreme Council's conclave reveals the fact that greedy governments and unscrupulous commercial interests are already trying to turn to their own advantage Mr. Hoover's plan." "Incidentally, European politicians and economists frankly suspect America of being actuated by the desire to find Russian markets for her surplus product rather than by purely philanthropic motives. . . . But the European powers also want to reap political and commercial advantages from the hapless plight in which the Soviet Republic finds itself, and they are already intriguing to attain their respective ends." (*World*, August 13.)

Confidence in Moscow

How all this obvious intriguing impresses Moscow may be gathered from a few comments contained in our special dispatches.

The Moscow *Pravda*, observing the brutal frankness of the counter-revolutionary press, which demands that relief must be used for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet Government, says: "Such calculations are as stupid as they are criminal, and are naturally foredoomed to failure. The Russian peasants and workers, aroused by the calamity to the utmost exertions, can see through the trickery of the crocodile tears of the émigrés. Friends in need are friends indeed. The Russian toilers recognize their true friends in the international proletarians who share with them their meager means, and they recognize their true enemies in those who wish to profit by the calamity of the famine in order to re-enslave the Russian masses."

Izvestia says: "The toiling masses of Soviet Russia will triumph over the calamity. The entire Republic has united to save the famine-stricken Volga provinces, and relief will be accomplished in spite of all White Guard machinations abroad."

Karl Radek, writing in *Pravda*, points out the palpable sophistry of the attempts in the capitalist and social reformist press to prove that the famine means the bankruptcy of Communism. "In the first place," says Radek, "if the famine proves the bankruptcy of Communism, then world capitalism was born bankrupt. It is necessary only to recall the famine rebellions of the French bourgeois revolution. Secondly, the Russian Revolution, under Tsarism and Capitalism, was hungry even before its birth." In an earlier article Radek pointed out the sinister plans of the foreign imperialists, leagued with the counter-revolutionary émigrés, to use the famine as the background for a new attack against Soviet Russia. "Russia," he wrote, "ought to be ready and will be ready for such a perfidious attack, fully prepared to demonstrate her invincibility to the world's reactionaries."

The hope is cherished in counter-revolutionary circles that the non-partisan famine relief committee may be the instrument of the Soviet's downfall. Kamenev, the President of the Moscow Soviet, who is chairman of the Executive Committee of the relief organization, quickly disposes of these delusions: "The committee," he says, "which is organized under the Red Cross emblem, has a definite task of collecting and distributing relief supplies. This admits of no political interpretation, except that this cooperation by all elements confirms the Communist theory that only active warfare by the bourgeoisie against the proletarian conquests begets civil war. The Soviet regime is sufficiently broad to embrace all active elements of the population who are willing to renounce their old time privileges and assist in the great economic and cultural work inaugurated by the victorious proletarian revolution." Karl Radek also comments on the hopes of the émigrés that a counter-revolutionary force will arise out of bourgeois cooperation in the Soviet relief work. "Such hopes," he points out, "are preposterous. The Government which successfully used aristocratic

military specialists in organizing an army of defence for the proletarian state has nothing to fear from honest participation in relief work by those bourgeois elements who have stayed at home to work in their native country instead of following Milyukov and the rest who went abroad to plot foreign intervention."

Pravda sums it up thus: "The White Guards display their usual political myopia. There is no such catastrophe as they would wish. The united efforts of the workers and peasants will overcome the calamity. He laughs best who laughs last."

APPEAL TO FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS AND EXILES

We have received through the *Russian Telegraph Agency* the following appeal, issued by the Anti-Famine Commission of the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles:

"To All Former Political Prisoners and Exiles Who Fought Against Tsarism:

"The Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles appeals to you to join in the fight against the famine which has befallen many fertile Russian districts. Those who once unstintingly gave all their might to the struggle for liberating Russia from Tsarist thralldom, those who fought under the Socialist banner, cannot pass by the calamity which has fallen upon the Russian people. The Council of the Society of Former Political Exiles and Prisoners, which unites all comrades without regard to parties or political convictions, appeals to all those who were ever confined in Tsarist prisons, irrespective of their political views, to join their ranks in assisting the famine-stricken peasants.

"There were moments in the past when we struggled jointly against the prison yoke, when we asserted ourselves unanimously in the Tsarist prisons, without regard to our political views. And so now, all former political prisoners residing in Soviet Russia and in the independent republics of Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, and Finland, must unite in order to join in the fight against famine.

"The Council of the Society of Former Prisoners expects aid in this work particularly from the comrades now living in Western Europe, America, Asia and Australia, who should give the utmost cooperation in securing help for the famine stricken in Soviet Russia. Comrades, it is your duty to interest in this work the workers and citizens of the countries where you reside, to secure the utmost foreign aid for the famine sufferers. The Council calls upon these comrades to help the famine in every possible way, co-ordinating their work with those organs which are conducting relief in Soviet Russia—namely the Famine Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee.

(Continued on page 96)

Fight the Famine!

"Aid is required."—*Lenin.*

"Give bread and medicines."—*Gorky.*

"The Russian Government will accept aid from whatever source it may come, disregarding entirely any political relations."—*Chicherin.*

Help the
Russian Workers and Peasants
GIVE at once! GIVE direct!

If you belong to an organization which gives direct to the Russian famine sufferers, give through that organization.

But be sure your donations go **DIRECT** to the Russian people.

SOVIET RUSSIA will receive contributions for the All-Russian Non-Partisan Famine Relief Committee of Moscow, the organization and membership of which is described on page 92 of this issue. Send contributions to:

"Famine Relief Fund" Soviet Russia

110 W. 40th St. (Room 304) New York City

All funds received by SOVIET RUSSIA for famine relief will be transmitted promptly and without any deduction for expenses to the All-Russian Non-Partisan Famine Relief Committee.

Those who prefer to give through an American organization with agents in Russia should send their donations to the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pa. This Committee, representing the Quakers, has representatives in Russia, distributing food and medicines with the approval of the Soviet Government. All overhead expenses involved in collection and distri-

bution by this organization are borne by the Committee, and do not come out of the sums contributed.

"The American Friends Service Committee intends to continue its activities in Russia independent of any other agency. All funds entrusted to our care will be distributed solely through our agents."—*Statement by Wilbur K. Thomas, Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee.*

"The Council appeals for the utmost energy in organizing relief committees everywhere. The Council hopes that its appeal will not remain unanswered and trusts that among comrades united by recollections of their common sufferings under Tsarist oppression, there will not be one who is unmindful of the great calamity which has befallen millions of Russian toilers.

"The Council asks all responding to this appeal to send their donations in money or kind to the

'Fund of the Society of Former Political Prisoners, in care of the Central Executive Relief Committee.' All those wishing to participate personally in the anti-famine campaign will please inform the Council of the Society, addressing 21 Sanavaya Fernogriadskaya, corner of Great Kharitonievsky, Moscow.

(Signed) "*The Anti-Famine Commission of the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles.*"

Relief and Reaction

"Washington, August 16.—To-day's meeting of the Cabinet was devoted chiefly to a discussion of measures for relief of starving children and invalids in Russia. Secretary of Commerce Hoover went over the situation in detail and the White House announced later in the day that the plan of the American Relief Administration would be adhered to. The relief work will be conducted along precisely the same lines that have proved efficient in other European countries where the American Relief Administration is at work."—*The N. Y. World, Aug. 17, 1921.*

"COMMUNISM had in him a most thorough and efficient enemy," writes the biographer of Mr. Herbert Hoover. "It was Herbert Hoover in Paris and his man Captain Gregory on the ground who made the counter-revolution in Budapest, made it with their tremendous power of food-control and a skilful handling of the political situation."*

We had planned to let Mr. Hoover's man, Captain Gregory, tell in his own words in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA how he made the counter-revolution in Hungary. We wrote to *The World's Work* for permission to reprint Captain Gregory's story as it appeared in the June, 1921, number of that magazine. *The World's Work* responded with a courteous note stating that they would be "very glad" to allow us to reprint a part of the article entitled "Overthrowing a Red Regime," in accordance with their "usual custom in such cases."

Then something happened. We cannot guess what. *The World's Work* called us on the telephone. It was all a mistake, it seemed. They had not intended to give us permission to reprint Captain Gregory's article. This was an exceptional case in which they could not follow their "usual custom." They would prefer that we should not even quote from Captain Gregory's article.

A second letter followed. The Editor of *The World's Work* writes:

"The form letter authorizing you to use one third of Mr. Gregory's article, 'Overthrowing a Red Regime,' was written under a misapprehension and the permission to quote from that article is hereby withdrawn."

Now we know that at least one other publication has been given permission to reproduce this article. We cannot imagine why the story told by Captain Gregory should be withheld from our readers. It is a story which has special interest for the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA. It is the story

*The Making of Herbert Hoover, by Rose Wilder Lane, The Century Co., New York, 1920, pp. 351, 353.

of how Mr. Hoover's man, Captain Gregory, used the machinery of the American Relief Administration and the Inter-Allied Food Mission to overthrow the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Could anything be more interesting to the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA?

Captain T. T. C. Gregory, a former San Francisco attorney and American Army officer, represented the United States on the Inter-Allied Food Mission to Central Europe, created by Mr. Hoover in February, 1919. In addition, Captain Gregory was the head of the American Relief Administration in Central Europe and, he says, Mr. Hoover's "personal agent". Thus accredited, Captain Gregory set to work with a very clear conception of the job allotted to him. "Way down in my heart," he says, was the knowledge that "we were not only feeding people, but also were fighting Bolshevism." Mr. Hoover, according to Captain Gregory's conception of his chief's purpose, "was feeding and succoring Balkanized Central Europe only as an incident to the fight he was making to throw back the red wave of Bolshevism."

Removal of Bela Kun the Object

In the summer of 1919, it seems, the "salvation of central Europe depended on the immediate ousting of Bela Kun from his position as Bolshevik dictator of Hungary." That was Captain Gregory's task. And Mr. Hoover "required no exhaustive explanation of our situation to spur him on to the most strenuous efforts."

Force was the "obvious method." Marshal Foch promised to turn the trick—with an army of 250,000 men. But the Supreme Council dared not risk it; so Captain Gregory had to do the job alone. To be sure, he was "instructed to keep out of central European politics." Nevertheless, "something had to be done."

According to the Captain's story, the representative of the Hungarian Soviet Government at Vienna, General Boehm, was the readiest tool at

hand. General Boehm was shown an alluring picture of what it would mean if he should organize a counter-revolution in Hungary. "We urged on him," says Captain Gregory, "the opportunity that was offered him to make a deathless figure on history's pages—the hero who struck the bloody hand of Communism from the throat of an exhausted nation. . . . We offered him the enticing plum of glory, fame, honor, and power and a logical scheme for plucking it."

Boehm asked whether the Supreme Council would stand behind the attempt. Captain Gregory and his colleagues "undertook to obtain the most favorable possible pronouncement from Paris." It is not to be imagined that Mr. Hoover's man worked entirely single handed. He took into his confidence Sir Thomas Cunningham, the British Military commissioner, and Prince Borghesi, the Italian diplomatic representative. These gentlemen approved the Captain's plan.

Boehm, of course, was a mere tool. "The real conspiracy we had set afoot," explains the Captain, "was one dominated by the labor-democratic interests in Hungary." Agoston, Gerami, and Haubricht, Hungarian "labor leaders," were the true friends and allies of the American Captain, the English Baronet and the Italian Prince. Behind these three, says the Captain, were the forces of labor—"liberal and democratic in complexion."

A program of a tition and policy was drawn up for the approval of the powers in Paris. "There is no doubt that Mr. Hoover was the principal agency responsible for the quick return we received." The Supreme Council hesitated, but Mr. Hoover insisted that the scheme could do no harm and "might result in the overthrow of the Hungarian Reds." This persuasive argument prevailed, and so, relates the Captain, "my work in the hatching of this plot. . . . was done."

Still the Captain found himself in a tight place. His zeal—"born of my single purpose to feed and aid those unfortunate millions"—had put him in a hole. The bribe in his bargain with the Hungarian "laborites", Agoston, Gerami and Haubricht, was a promise to deliver the food which had been so zealously withheld from Soviet Hungary. But the Captain had no food and he knew it. Moreover he had no funds with which to buy food. Mr. Hoover had wired him that no more funds were forthcoming. How then could he make good on his bargain? There was food to be bought from private packers in Trieste. But no money with which to buy. This did not deter the Captain. He knew where he could get the money.

Several times, it appears, the Assistant Commissar of Food of the Hungarian Soviet Republic had come secretly to Captain Gregory in Vienna, begging to be allowed to buy food for the starving people of Hungary. "I had refused him absolutely," says Mr. Hoover's man, "for there was a blockade on Red Hungary. I had told him from the first that we would have no dealings of any

nature with Bolshevism and that he was wasting his time asking me."

Forty-eight hours before the coup was to be sprung in Budapest, Captain Gregory sent for this Soviet Commissar and told him that he might reconsider his refusal to sell food to the Hungarian people. "He almost cried with joy." But the food must be paid for in cash, stipulated Gregory, a million dollars in cash. The Commissar agreed. "There were tears in his eyes," writes the Captain, "and I knew I could trust him." Next day the money was brought. The Captain took it and placed it in a Vienna vault. Did he then in return deliver food to the Hungarian Soviet Republic from which he had accepted this money? He did not! He closed a deal with the packers and told them to hold the food for instructions.

The coup was sprung in Budapest. The Soviet Government went down. Captain Gregory released the food. "Within a few hours," he relates with a relish, "the people were eating the bread and the fats that the Bolsheviki, all unknowing, and certainly never conscious of the irony of the situation, had bought through me with the money they had stolen from the banks of Budapest."

For the rest of the story you must go to *The World's Work*. But you will not find it all there. What Captain Gregory tells is a mere preface to the history of what happened after he withdrew his philanthropic ministrations—the White Terror, mass executions, floggings, and every conceivable form of torture and oppression applied to enslaved workers by reactionaries drunk with the ecstasy of their return to power.

BOUND VOLUMES of SOVIET RUSSIA

Bound Volume IV of SOVIET RUSSIA containing the issues of January 1 to May 28, 1921, inclusive, is now ready for delivery, and will be sent postpaid upon receipt of price—\$4.00.

This volume contains much data of historical value. Official documents and decrees, and authoritative articles describing reconstruction work in Russia as well as other valuable material is contained in this volume.

Volume III covering the last six months of 1920 will be sent postpaid for \$5.00.

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PROGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

From the Chemical Trade Journal and Chemical Engineer
(English publication) August 6, 1921.

Russia, which before the war was dependent so largely upon foreign countries for their chemicals, was constrained during the three years of blockade to find new ways of satisfying her wants; and this necessity stimulated her initiative. Notwithstanding her difficult situation, these three years have been distinguished by the appearance of a number of new products, and also new methods employed in the Russian chemical industry, which resulted in success. Chemical problems occupy a number of experts in the various laboratories and institutes, such as the L. Ya. Karpoff Institute of Applied Chemistry, the Institute of Chemical Reagents, the Food Scientific and Technical Institute, the Government Paper Testing Station, etc.

In the chemical section of the Supreme Economic Council, a special section for new products has been organized. In respect to basic chemicals, methods have been worked out and are already applied for the production of Nitric Acid and the treatment of Chrome ore derivatives. Methods have been improved for utilizing the Sulphur fumes at the copper smelting factories and various plants have been contrived for the production of Potassium Chlorate and other products.

In the color industry considerable progress has been made in the production of a number of new Sulphur dyestuffs and intermediate products such as Metaphenylene-Diamine, Paranitroaniline, Naphthylamine and Toluidine. In the colors themselves, many new compounds have been manufactured, including basic colors like Methylene Blue and Crystal Violet. The report as quoted by the *Novy Put* says that a method has been discovered for obtaining Sulphur colors in the cold process, effecting thereby considerable economy in fuel.

In the chemical-pharmaceutical sphere, Russia is now producing Iodine; in the government of Archangel, Salicylic preparations, caffeine, morphine, codeine, etc. Other products being produced on a factory scale are Magnesia, Soda, Aluminum, Platinum from "black slimes", Acetic Anhydride, Acetyl Cellulose, Bone meal, and artificial Camphor. Then there are technical Muriatic Acid, iron-free Aluminum sulphate, besides processes for vulcanizing rubber. In the oil department, the production of "masol" edible oils, from the sunflower seed and fresh soap making processes have been worked out.

REPAIR OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY

The People's Commissariat of Agriculture has established depots throughout the country for the centralization of motor agricultural machinery, where spare parts, fuel and mechanics may be obtained and repairs effected. At present depots are in existence at Rostov-on-Don, Petrograd,

Ivano-Voynesensk, Omsk, Kazan, Saratov, Perm, and Nizhni-Novgorod, but in time, when experienced workmen and machinery are more abundant, they will be set up in various other places.

The administration of each depot is in the hands of the local county Soviet. Schools are attached to the depots for training motor instructors and training men to drive and repair tractors and other machinery. Two such schools have already opened in Moscow and one in Rostov-on-Don.

Motor agricultural machinery, both present stocks and those ordered abroad, may be obtained at the depots. It has been decided to place orders abroad for first 1,000 tractors, and later for 1,900.

Russo-British Chamber of Commerce Journal.

RUSSIA ON THE ALAND ISLANDS

To the Governments of Sweden and Finland

The Russian Government has learned that the Swedish Government is taking steps to call a conference of powers interested in the question of neutralization of the Aland Islands.

The Russian Government was surprised that no invitation or even notification on this subject should have been presented to it. Russia, being a sovereign power on the Baltic Sea, is extremely interested in any decision concerning the Aland Islands, whose geographical position imparts to any such decision an importance of particular interest to the working masses of Russia.

The Russian Government has every claim to an unquestioned participation in any international discussion concerning the legal status of the Aland Islands.

If any new solution with regard to their possession is to be considered, the rights of Russia with regard to these islands immediately enters into the question, and no decision concerning their international status may rightly be taken without the participation of Russia. The same is the case in any other international decision concerning these islands.

So long as these islands shall constitute a province of Finland, the Russian Government will not intervene. If this ownership should cease, or if their international status should change in any way, Russia in this case will be obliged to demand that it be permitted to take part in any decision that may be taken on this subject.

(Signed) CHICHERIN.

The Commissar for Foreign Affairs.
Moscow, July 22, 1921.

PHYSICIANS NEEDED

Medical men willing to go to Russia to help fight cholera and other epidemics should communicate with the Central Bureau of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, 47 West 42nd Street, New York, Room 314.

Out of Jail and into Print

By KENNETH DURANT

THE first of the American prisoners to cross the Russian border following the recent jail delivery proved a disappointment to the atrocity mongers in the Baltic. The versatile Mrs. Marguerite E. Harrison supplied poor copy for correspondents eager for the latest detail of Bolshevik frightfulness and the most authoritative prediction of Soviet collapse. The persecutions of Mrs. Harrison had been much advertised. This innocent woman, the reports ran, was cruelly thrust into a vile dungeon by the Bolsheviks and kept on starvation diet. One can only imagine the chagrin of the correspondents. Mrs. Harrison frankly admitted that she had entered Soviet Russia illegally, had carried on communications with the enemies of the Soviet Government and had done other forbidden things, as a result of which she enjoyed a variety of experiences in Soviet prisons. She had even been in solitary confinement for six days. "Not," she says, "in a dungeon, but in a room like a small single room of a hotel. At no time was I in a dungeon, and this was my only solitary confinement in Russia."* As for rations, "generally speaking," said Mrs. Harrison, "they were as good as, or better than, in the Soviet dining rooms outside." In addition to the prison rations she shared in the special food packages received from outside. There were some discomforts, to be sure, but these, it seems, were because she was detained in an "old rooming house" rather than in one of the Tsar's first-class fortresses. Last June Mrs. Harrison was removed to a specially equipped ward for women prisoners, where she remained until released, receiving, in her own words, "every care and attention." To make matters worse, Mrs. Harrison stubbornly persisted in talking about the famine as though it were the result of drought and not, as is well known in Riga, the fault of Trotsky.

Blood and Bandits

Mrs. Harrison passed on to Berlin, and the correspondents hopefully waited for better luck with the next arrivals. They were not disappointed. Came at last Captain Emmett Kilpatrick with a tale to tell. Front page stuff for the *New York Times*, "Copyright by the Chicago Tribune Co."** Kilpatrick, fresh from jail, had the facts about the famine. He had talked with "men from Kuban, Crimea, Omsk, Tomsk, Siberia and other provinces." And these men told the Captain that the Communists made the famine. Banditry, too. "Every night we could hear fusillades in Moscow." And executions! The Captain "could not sleep between two and four in the morning "because of the constant shooting." And blood! "The water runs over the floor constantly to wash away the blood." His wardens thought the poor Captain

demented because he violently attacked his fellow prisoners who refused to open their windows. And for a final paragraph, the horrors of "prisoners captured on the battlefields of the late war, rotting in prisons, all records of them being destroyed."

A Treat in Store

Captain Kilpatrick will write a book. There is no doubt about that. It will tell all about the fallacy of Communism and the brutalities of the Commissars. It will be a book altogether pleasing to the reviewers, who will find it a worthy supplement to the great works of Zucker, Schwartz, Boni and Kalpashnikov. Captain Kilpatrick has romantic and imaginative qualities which pre-destine him to authorship of a book about Russia.

Captain Kilpatrick, soldier and author, may be reassured at once about one thing. The records in his case have not been "destroyed." For the sake of the inevitable forthcoming book and for the sake of history, I shall reproduce some of those records here. Captain Kilpatrick may incorporate them in his book without credit.

The Captain's Record

Exhibit A: On November 10, 1920, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* published the following dispatch from Washington:

"Washington, D. C., Nov. 9.—Reports reached the State Department today that Emmett Kilpatrick had been captured in the Soviet advance in Southern Russia. . . . Kilpatrick, formerly publisher of a country newspaper, served with the American Army in France as Lieutenant of Field Artillery and after the armistice as chief of the Supply Division of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. He obtained his discharge from the army in Paris in September, 1919, and became connected as a civilian with the Peace Commission. When the Commission was dissolved Kilpatrick joined the Lithuanian Army as a Captain, along with a number of other Americans, and saw several months of active service on the Lithuanian-Bolshevik battle front. When the fighting ended, he asked for his discharge and returned to Paris to join the American Red Cross in 1920, and was ordered first to Constantinople and then to Southwest Russia."

I am not a regular reader of the *Chicago Tribune* and I did not see this item at the time of its publication. It was called to my attention several months later by a friend in Moscow. My friend sent me a copy of the item which I have quoted from the *Tribune*, together with a transcript of the interrogation of Captain Kilpatrick by an official in Moscow. It is evident that the Moscow authorities, who read the *Chicago Tribune* so attentively, thought this item of some importance as bearing upon the case of Captain Kilpatrick. Possibly they thought it cast some doubt upon the Captain's strictly humanitarian status in the army of General Wrangel. At any rate, it is on the Captain's record in Moscow that he was a Lieutenant of Field Artillery in the American Army and that he had seen several months of

*New York Herald, August 1, 1921.

**New York Times, August 12, 1921.

active service with the Lithuanian Army fighting against Soviet Russia.

Out of kindness to Captain Kilpatrick I shall not reproduce here the full text of the transcript of his interrogation in Moscow. The Captain said some things which perhaps he would not care to have generally published, and, in at least one instance, he made a charge against a high official of the American Government which the laws of libel will not permit me to reproduce. I shall keep the complete document for Captain Kilpatrick to consult when he writes the book of his Russian experiences. He may then, if he cares, take the responsibility of publishing it in full. Meanwhile, I offer a few excerpts to reassure the Captain that the records in his case have not been destroyed, and also to recommend him to any publisher as an author of delightful imaginative fancy.

"Good Treatment from the Reds"

The Captain explained to his interrogator that he was the head of the Red Cross Mission at Theodosia and that he had received an invitation from one of Wrangel's generals to visit his army. "So," explained the Captain, "I went in to make an investigation, intending equally to help his captured prisoners, the Reds, and his own men. We never helped the army, except the sick. I visited him at his headquarters and visited the army and—was suddenly captured. There were three of us, myself, Mademoiselle, who was the secretary, and this man [*indicating another prisoner*]. The Mademoiselle was returned and she is now in Constantinople." The Captain thought it "rather generous" of the Reds to let the Mademoiselle go, but did not agree that General Wrangel would have hanged her on the spot if she had been his prisoner. "You see, I am neutral," said the Captain. "I tell the facts as I see them. I have received good treatment from the Reds since I have been captured. I could ask for no better treatment." After some inquiry regarding the Captain's movements prior to his capture, his questioner asked pertinently: "Why are you carrying on war against us?"

The Captain Explains

I reproduce from the official record the dialogue which then ensued:

ANSWER. I wish I could explain to you. I tell you the truth. Many Russians have asked me that. I do not understand why they ask it. Wrangel's generals asked me, "Why don't you help us?" The Red Cross goes to every part of Europe where there is war.

QUESTION. You know perfectly well that the American Red Cross has been participating in every war against the Soviet Republic. You were military adviser to Wrangel of the American Government.

A. (Vehemently) In no sense and in no respect whatever.

Q. That is your statement? Then your compatriots are rather badly advised, or else they are damned fools. We have been asked about the welfare of Kilpatrick, American Military Adviser to Wrangel.

A. That is amusing—but I can bring you proof that I am not. I would like to know who sent that telegram and from what source. That is quite incorrect. They were fools. How will I explain to this man that we were

in no way connected with the Army? I wish I could bring proof. I wish I could explain to you this situation. I was on the American staff at the Peace Conference and I had the inside information about these things. I was Assistant Business Manager of the Peace Conference and I knew Major Tyler who had this Russian Bureau in hand. Of course, we recognize none of these governments. We did not send Wrangel anything, I assure you of that. The Red Cross missions were for the civil population. In fact, we tried to come to Russia—but the Allied blockade—you must acknowledge that America is the only country that has ever tried to come in here and help Soviet Russia.

Q. Yes, in order to get in its spies. You know how Col. Robins was treated in America, the only man of your Red Cross gang who ever tried honestly to help Russia.

A. I do not agree with you. I have had my eyes opened wider since I came into Soviet Russia than I ever thought they would be opened. I thought the Bolsheviks were everything bad, but now I have been here I find a wonderful spirit among the people. They have the will to win and they have won. I think of all the countries in the world America has been the one that was willing to help most. Wilson said he would recognize none of these governments. I know all the men in the State Department. But Wilson was misinformed, and, you know, Lloyd George was almost as misinformed.

Q. Is not that perhaps due to the kind of men you had at the head of some of your departments? For instance, George Creel said he didn't know whether the Ukraine was a country or some kind of a musical instrument.

A. Yes, I know Creel. We don't think much of him. [*Libellous statement omitted*]. Of course, he was quite a good propagandist. He was good for winning the war.

Subsequently the Captain delivered himself of the following observations on war and peace:

Wars are usually won by lying. But they haven't taken into consideration that this is a movement of the people. When I was at the Peace Conference there was a representation of men from Kolchak and they proved to them that Kolchak was right and that he represented the real government of Russia and that he represented what the people wanted, and they were very clever in their proof. People sat there and they had to act on what was told them. . . .

My ideas of Soviet Russia have changed very materially since I have been captured. I have been treated very nicely. I have seen the spirit of the people. Let me tell you, Wrangel's army never had spirit. They didn't know what they were fighting for.

Force and Violence

The Captain enlarged upon deficient morale of the Wrangel army and went on to describe the humanitarian work of the Red Cross. Then, quite unsolicited, he made an interesting statement of his own political philosophy. "I am not a Communist myself," said the Captain, "but I am more of a Bolshevik than I ever thought I would be. But there are certain things—I am willing that this terrible speculation that goes on in America should be stopped even if it takes terror to stop it. I do not want to see Communism yet. We may get it in the future, gradually. I don't think we are ready for it yet, but I am willing to see speculation stopped if it takes terror and blood to stop it. But America doesn't need Communism yet because the land is equally divided."

At this point the Captain's description of economic equality in the United States was rudely interrupted by a curt inquiry regarding conditions

in the South. At the mention of the Negroes the Captain's Bolshevism faded to purest white. "I am not a Communist on that point. I hold that the races should not mix—the Black, Yellow and White. The Black will never have social equality because social equality means intermarriage, and that won't do. The Negro is inferior. His brain is smaller. . . One or the other races has got to be dominant, and I am in favor of the White race. I do not think the Negro can ever hope for social equality. The country is not for two peoples. I think the Negro should be transported somewhere else."

As the interview ended the Captain said stalwartly: "I know no fear. The general commanding in your army said that we were neutrals, and he accepted me as a neutral and said certainly we would be returned, and he regretted very much that I had been captured and stripped of my clothes." Soldiers, explained the Captain, had taken his clothes and his gold ring and watch. "But," he added good naturedly, "you would find that in any army. The army that wins is the army that does such things. That is nothing." But still he protested that he did not think it "correct" of the Soviet Government to hold him prisoner. "I think," he said, "we are neutrals."

At the end the Captain confessed why he had really gone to serve with General Wrangel. "I went to the Crimea," he said, "because I thought the climate there would be good for my health."

What the Captain Ate

The Captain was assured that he would be well cared for. "You will get as much as the rest of us are getting. None of us gets much." The record shows that the Soviet Government made good its word. Out of their scanty stocks the prisoner received a regular ration as good as and often better than that which went to the free citizens of Russia. Lewis Gannett reports in *The Nation* (August 17, 1921) that the American prisoners received extra rations regularly through the Czecho-Slovak Prisoners' Exchange Mission and were "almost the best fed people in Moscow." Mr. Gannett saw Captain Kilpatrick's receipt for two week's supplementary supplies, in addition to the regular prison ration, consisting of: "Two cans of corned beef, two of prime beef, one of pork and beans, two pounds of bacon, five pounds of white bread, one of onions, a half pound of butter, a quarter pound of cocoa and as much coffee, one can of sweetened and one of unsweetened milk, salt, vinegar, etc." The Captain's acknowledgment of this donation, reproduced by Mr. Gannett, is characteristic: "I thank you so much in the name of my Government and of the American Red Cross. I beg that in the future you will help me—am very sick and weak. Very truly yours, Emmett Kilpatrick, American Red Cross."

His Health Improves

According to his own statement the Captain was

ill when he was captured. By December 4, after more than a month on Bolshevik prison fare, he was sufficiently improved to write to his brother in America: "Interesting but terrible, was in a cell, but better now; hungry but happy—was very weak, but stronger now, have better food." His convalescence in captivity appears to have been progressive. His fellow prisoners, whom he attacked with his fists in his zeal for fresh air, can no doubt testify to his vigor. His occasional solitary confinement seems to have been a measure taken by his wardens to protect the other prisoners from the Captain's violence.

There is one incident related by Captain Kilpatrick to the correspondents at Reval which I hope will make a chapter in his book. "Practically the entire staff of the Soviet Foreign Office arrived at the prison one day," he says, "Mrs. Louise Bryant was brought to my cell."* Now the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs employs a large staff, most of whom are busy with a multitude of important international affairs. It would be interesting to know why the Captain imagined they should all take a day off to visit his jail. The truth is that the entire visiting body on that day consisted of one official from the Foreign Office, accompanied by Miss Bryant and another newspaper correspondent. It is strange that the former "Assistant Business Manager of the Peace Conference" who knew "all the men in the State Department" should mistake this humble group for the "entire staff of the Soviet Foreign Office."

"The camp where Kilpatrick was imprisoned was once an old monastery," writes Louise Bryant in a letter to the *New York Times*.** "It was a beautiful place and had a lovely old garden. The prisoners were allowed to go about quite freely from room to room. From his own mouth I learned that Captain Kilpatrick was getting much better food and a larger amount than those outside. Also he had fuel, while I lived in an unheated room. . . Personally I regarded Kilpatrick as a 'mamma's boy' who ought never to have ventured so far from home."

The "Times" Exaggerates

Whether or not the Crimea under General Wrangel was an ideal health resort remains open to question. Perhaps Captain Kilpatrick has changed his mind on this point. In any event, the Soviet Government, by detaining the Captain, no doubt thought to make the lure of counter-revolutionary climates less attractive to American military adventurers out of jobs. Who knows, but perhaps for the fate of Captain Kilpatrick, some dashing young American machine-gunner might have picked upon Kronstadt as a pleasant place to spend a spring vacation.

Jails at their best are not comfortable. I am sure that Mrs. Harrison did not entirely enjoy her

*N. Y. Times, August 12, 1921.

**August 15, 1921.

experiences. But she has not whined about them. She gamely confesses that she was caught with the goods and she took her medicine. I recommend her example to Captain Kilpatrick.

I have one more item bearing upon his case which I wish to bring to the Captain's attention. Here it is:

THREE AMERICANS SLAIN IN RED RAID

London, Nov. 9.—Captain Emmett Kilpatrick, representative of the American Red Cross in South Russia, and two men nurses, were brutally murdered during a Bolshevik cavalry raid on Salkevo station, says a Sebastopol dispatch to Reuters, Ltd., tonight. (From the *N. Y. Times*, Nov. 10, 1920.)

In the safety and comfort of his regained freedom let Captain Kilpatrick read that dispatch and reflect. Surely now, Captain, you will not believe everything you read—or write.

SEMASHKO ON THE FAMINE OF 1891

Famines Then and Now

The People's Commissar of Health, Semashko, in a recent article in the *Izvestia*, makes a striking comparison between the position taken by the Soviet Government in the present crisis with that adopted by the Tsar's Government towards the great famine of 1891 and other national calamities. "The Tsar's government," writes Semashko, "officially minimized the extent of the famine and forbade publicity to it and, fearing revolutionary propaganda, did not permit the organization of public relief. Similarly, the Tsar's regime falsified the statistics of epidemics. The Soviet Government, on the other hand, disregarding the possibility of misrepresentations by counter-revolutionists at home and abroad, frankly acknowledges the calamity and invites assistance from cooperative societies, public men of former regimes, and former government ministers. Disregarding its inadequate resources, the Soviet Government shares its stocks with the famine stricken, particularly with the children."

"More than once," concludes Semashko, "we have overcome difficulties by organization, discipline and mass action, and we will do the same now. If the famine was a sledge hammer smashing the Tsarist class structure, it will only harden the steel of the Proletarian Government."

Semashko is not alone in suggesting that the Tsar's Government never gave much encouragement to organizations seeking to give aid to sufferers from famine. The great famine of 1891 has left an interesting stamp on the columns of American newspaper files of those days, and we reprint herewith an important clipping from the *New York Sun* of thirty years ago:

"Terrible accounts of famine in Russia continue to reach English newspapers through indirect channels. Hundreds of thousands of peasants and workers have died by starvation on account of the incredible lack of any food whatsoever. But there is reason to believe that the worst has not and never will be told. That there is much information that the Russian Government desires to with-

hold from the knowledge of the civilized world is beyond doubt. News telegrams are not allowed to be dispatched from the stricken districts, and journalists, especially foreigners, are either excluded altogether or kept to beaten tracks selected by men in authority, and hampered at every turn by outsiders. Offers of help in money and kind have so far been curtly declined or pigeon-holed by bureaucrats in St. Petersburg. Now the appeal is made by private philanthropists who propose, of all things in the world, to distribute the money subscribed through the agency of the British and Foreign Bible Society. This proposal is crazily stupid. Their agents are accused in the sight of the Russian Government and the Orthodox Church. Their proselytizing labors are distinctly illegal and they are only allowed to remain in the country on sufferance. Their protestations of philanthropy would not be believed for a moment. If no better plan than this can be devised, very little European money will find its way to the famine-stricken districts of Russia." Cable from London.—*The N. Y. Sun*, November 15, 1891.

INDUSTRIAL IMMIGRATION FROM AMERICA

The following decree of recent date is of importance to those workers in foreign countries whose intention it is ultimately to go to Russia. We have received the text, with accompanying original, from the Central Bureau of the Technical Aid Society.

1. To recognize as desirable the development of individual or cooperative industrial enterprises by means of leasing them to groups of American workers and industrially developed peasants on specified conditions guaranteeing to them a definite degree of economic autonomy.

2. To instruct to recognize as necessary the regulation of industrial immigration of workers from the border states for the purpose of utilizing them for the raising of the productive forces of the country by means of inducing organized groups of such workers to come to Russia and to lease to them factories and plants on rights and conditions to be formulated and approved in the prescribed order by the Supreme Council of National Economy. Into this category of workers must be included industrial workers of all branches, as well as workers of subsidiary industries, not excluding agricultural, coming to Russia in organized groups, cooperatives, etc. The Supreme Council of National Economy, in consultation with the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions and the People's Commissariat of Labor, is instructed to formulate the modes of organization and detailed conditions for the above regulation.

3. The Supreme Council of National Economy is instructed to enter into communication with the American Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia and to begin at once the task of organizing such industrial groups, specifying to them the kind of material, instruments of production and food supplies they are to bring with them, for enterprises indicated in advance, at their own expense, and for what periods of time. For the supervision of this work it is desirable that the Soviet Government have its representatives in America.

(Signed) *Chairman of the Council of Labor and Defense*

V. ULIANOV (Lenin)

Secretary of the Council of Labor and Defense

L. FOTIEVA.

(True copy) Bogdanova.

Moscow, Kremlin, June 22, 1921.

A WARNING

News reaches us by letter from various cities in the United States that a man, giving a different name in each town, is borrowing money from persons connected with radical and liberal newspapers on the basis of his alleged connection with an important mission of the Soviet Government. Mr. Charles Recht, Attorney, 110 West 40th St., New York, has issued a general warning against alleged agents of the Soviet Government.

The Revival of Petrograd

An Interview with Victor L. Kopp

The Russian daily "Novy Mir", appearing at Berlin, recently had one of its representatives interview Mr. V. L. Kopp, the commercial representative of the Russian Soviet Government in Germany, on his return from a trip to Moscow.

VICTOR L. Kopp, characterizing the condition in Russia as that of a convalescent who is gradually beginning to revive after a lengthy illness,—the war and the various trials and tribulations connected with it—said that now, after but a few months of peace, the increase and enhancement of the country's economic powers are already perceptible.

"I had an opportunity," said Mr. Kopp, "to visit many factories and shops, chiefly in the metal industry. I had the pleasure to note that the material basis for production, the equipment of new plants, was still available. At some places, for example in the Petrograd heavy industry, there are considerable stocks of raw materials. The lowering of the labor supply, observable hitherto, particularly of skilled workers, due to their transfer to the army or to enterprises connected with the problems of revolutionary defence, or to the provinces, has ceased. Enterprises that are ready to resume full operations are again gradually receiving their formal labor staff. But in the factories also in which work has not yet been resumed, or has not yet been in full operation, the mobilization of labor power according to the managers of these enterprises may proceed quite swiftly, for the permanent staff of their former workers was not very much affected. The lack of better than average technical forces is noticeable for these consisted on the one hand of foreigners and on the other hand of persons who had gone over to the Whites. The replacements in these bodies will require the invitation of foreigners, that is of skilled special workers and technical managers, to come to Russia.

"This process will probably be connected with the establishment of a system of concessions. The most important economic problem to which attention was particularly paid in the last session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the improvement of the industry of Petrograd. The gradually beginning to revive after a lengthy illness—important seaports for economic relations between Soviet Russia and the west, makes it necessary to use some other door to Europe. In addition, the port of Petrograd, with which the most important internal waterways of Russia communicate, is suited for constituting a connecting link not only between the western countries and the center of Russia, as well as with the tracts between the Volga and the Caspian Sea, but also between the countries of the west and Baku and Teheran. Industrial Petrograd is in close communication with the lake district, with its deposits of iron in the form of bog iron ore and a great number of water power

sources. Two great electrical turbine stations (at Utkino and on the Volkhov) are about to be constructed.

"The tales of the demoralization of the industry of Petrograd by the evacuations are just as much fabrications as are the reports of the annihilation of the city by the Kronstadt artillery. Not less than seventy per cent of the entire plant of the Petrograd industry—and this applies particularly to the metal industry—is in perfect shape and may immediately take up the work of production. During the first period of the war, up to the end of 1917, the Petrograd industrial production was two or three times as high as that of peace times, and the factories of Petrograd expanded with feverish haste, rapidly accumulating all possible resources, the best and most powerful machines, etc. Owing to these circumstances, many shops and factories in Petrograd, as far as the improvement of their technical plant is concerned, are by no means second to the best establishments abroad.

"The most important question connected with the reestablishment of Petrograd industry is that of coal. Before the war the industry of Petrograd was based on foreign (English) coal. It is clear that Petrograd can even now only be supplied with sufficient quantities of coal by a resort to importation of such fuel. In the future the change to the combustion of Russian naphtha is of course possible, a process which had been begun by the industry of Petrograd even before the war. In addition to coal, Petrograd also needs in order to work properly a supply of foodstuffs from internal Russia, particularly so long as the industry of Petrograd is not in a position to supply the necessary commodities to meet all the needs of the peasants. In the immediate future Petrograd must obtain foodstuffs from abroad, paying for them by increased productivity. In this connection, the hard school of the war and of the blockade has not failed to leave traces on the workers of Petrograd. As is shown by the execution of emergency work, particularly in the case of repairs of locomotives, the worker does not work less well than he did before the war, if he is supplied with sufficient food."

On our representative's question concerning the political tendency in Russia, Mr. Kopp answered:

"The reports of unrest in the country, particularly in Petrograd and the Urals, are invented by newspapers that have nothing else to do. Our alteration of the economic policy has considerably calmed and adjusted the oppositions that seemed about to ensue between the Soviet power and the provinces. In Ukraine the struggle against the

adherents of Makhno has been successfully concluded. The bandit movement is evidently no longer a danger."

"How are the relations between Soviet Russia and the Caucasus?"

"With the Republics situated beyond the Caucasian mountains, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at its last session considerably strengthened the treaty relations, which are of the same type as those binding us to the Ukraine. The internal economic policy of these Republics, particularly of the youngest of them, Georgia, aims at increasing the power of production, which must serve as a basis for their commercial relations with the West. According to reports I have had, the movement of foreign vessels in the port of Batum is particularly active. The Italian flag is almost."

When asked what importance was attributed in Moscow to the Far Eastern adventure, Mr. Kopp answered:

"Politically it is considered, on the basis of the available facts, to be a new attempt on the part of a number of Entente powers to renew the policy of intervention. Militarily it is not dangerous to

Russia. The local forces are fully sufficient to put it down, and it will therefore not divert our attention from the economic reconstruction within the country."

PETROGRAD FACTORIES RESUMING WORK

The machine shops *Aljan*, *Aivaz* and *Nobel* at Petrograd have resumed work after a temporary interruption. Work has also been taken up in the *National Dye Factory*. At first it produced chiefly printing inks, of which it recently delivered 200 poods (over 7,000 pounds). In the second half of July the factory also began to turn its attention to the manufacture of oil paints.

The Novgorod Tver Woodworking Bureau established in the Zubtsov district of Tver Province four factories for the production of tar and pitch.

In Ukraine, the South-Russian Glass Works have been established and window glass is now produced at this establishment as well as various kinds of glass ware for households and apothecaries. The factory has sufficient raw material for two months of production. The fact that it has been able to resume work is due exclusively to the energy and zeal of the workers of the establishment.

Germany and Russia

The following news item taken from the "Handelszeitung" (Commercial Supplement) of the "Berliner Tageblatt" for July 19, 1921, is further evidence of the readiness of business men and students of commerce in foreign countries to look favorably upon a resumption of commercial relations with Russia, and of the manner in which Russian counter-revolutionists (especially intellectuals) abroad are seeking to block this consummation. One of the latter, referred to in the course of the following article, Professor Kaminka, was a leading corporation lawyer in Petrograd before the Revolution.

At the beginning of July a general assembly of the German East European Economic Union took place at Elberfeld, which had been called in order to consider the question of resuming commercial relations with Soviet Russia. The Rhenish-Westphalian industry before the war exported its products in great quantities to Russia. For this reason we may well understand the interest which the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial classes are showing in the matter of resuming such commercial relations with Russia. The Union was anxious to know the opinion of Russian political economists and industrialists on this matter and therefore had invited three Russian specialists to address the session,—Professor Kaminka, Bushansky, and Leites.

Professor Kaminka in his speech pointed out that it was necessary to seek a clear and unmistakable solution of the question as to whether any commercial understandings at all could be reached with the Bolsheviki. Kaminka's opinion is that the Soviet power will sooner or later collapse. Therefore the interests of the future must be placed above the doubtful interests of the present day. To be sure, individual commercial agree-

ments may be possible even now, but the task of economic organization does not consist in concluding fortuitous agreements, but in preparing the ground for a future work in common and for the formation of the necessary organizations.

The same idea was also expressed in the address of Dr. Bushansky, "The Economic Situation of Russia Now and In the Future." According to the speaker no attempts to resume commercial relations with Russia should be made before the collapse of Bolshevism. All such attempts will be foredoomed to failure. Exchange of commodities is impossible, since Russia has nothing to export; selling goods for gold is also impossible, as the Russian gold supply will be exhausted by a few large orders. And for this reason all transactions hitherto have failed and had no practical results. The third speaker, Leites, spoke on the future economic relations of Russia with other countries, particularly Germany. In the opinion of the speaker the question of the economic reconstruction of Russia after the collapse of Bolshevism will be an international problem, as Russia cannot restore its economic life without the aid of foreign capital. Russia must in the first place restore its

transportation and raise the level of its agriculture. According to the speaker, Germany may make essential contributions to the solution of these two problems. The new Russia would be in need not only of foreign capital but also of technical talents and specialists of all kinds, even of skilled workers. In this respect also, Germany would be able to furnish more than other countries.

The last speaker was the Secretary of the Union, Dr. Maier, whose subject was the method of organizing the future commercial relations between Germany and Eastern Europe. He pointed out that the opinions of the Russian speakers who had preceded him must be taken with considerable caution, for the reason that their view of the situation in Russia is manifestly by no means objective enough and this may be understood from their present situation. "The three speakers have based their statements on the fact that the Soviet Government would soon fall. Judging from the many quite reliable data which are now coming from Russia we cannot assume that the Soviet power will soon collapse, and it would therefore be a mistake to take as our point of departure for a consideration of the resumption of commercial relations with Russia the theory that the Soviet power is soon to fall. It would furthermore be very much to the interest of German industry to continue, in so far as that may be permitted by the present conditions, to develop its trade with Russia, in order thus to prepare the ground for a widely diversified and active trade with that country in the near future. And for this reason we must above all be absolutely objective in our studies of what payments in gold or commodities may be expected from Russia."

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA

In an interview given by Krassin to a representative of *Novy Put*, of Riga, he made the following statement:

"The reports that I have made a proposal to the French Government to resume commercial relations are not true. I made no such proposal, although the French Government very well knows, without receiving any such proposals on the matter, that Soviet Russia is ready to give up the present half-belligerent relation between the two countries and turn to regular peaceful communications between them. Representatives of French trade and industry daily visit the Soviet Government's London Delegation and always tell us that the placing of any large or small orders in France will immediately be used by French industrial circles to bring pressure on the French Government in order to move it to resume trade relations. The greater part of the orders we have placed in France were placed there in order to show the French commercial and industrial world that agreements with Soviet Russia are actually being concluded and that the coin which is received on the basis of

these agreements has not a worse ring than that which is obtained in other markets. But at the same time we always inform our French visitors that we shall not give any large orders until our representatives are actually residing in Paris. For a time it seemed that the French Government or at least some of its members had no objection to beginning negotiations with Soviet Russia. As a method of testing the general opinion reports were spread that I had visited Paris incognito in order to confer with Briand. Of course this is untrue. The Soviet Government is ready to undertake negotiations but has no reason to be nervous or to accelerate the matter of resumption of relations with France. We can get all the goods we need without France, and the intelligent French politicians know this very well and also know that France has hesitated altogether too long in resuming its relations and has thus lost much time.

"Equally untrue are the reports, proceeding from the same French sources, that the Soviet Government has made new concessions to the French bourgeoisie. Our position on this point has been clearly and plainly expressed ever since the beginning of 1919, and if reports occasionally appear in the press that the Soviet Government is ready to consider the question of the national debt of Russia at an official peace congress, provided full guarantees of a permanent and true peace, and of assistance in the economic reconstruction of Russia are given, such reports may be interpreted as new surrenders only by those who seek a good excuse for giving up their former irreconcilable attitude toward Soviet Russia."

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THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

Moscow, August 11.—The newspapers have published the text of the official instructions intended to put into effect the new economic policy of the Soviet Government, which have been unanimously adopted by the Council of People's Commissars after exhaustive discussion by the various political and trade union organizations. The text of these instructions, issued on August 9 over the signature of Lenin, fixes the new policy along the following lines:

The State is to manage only a definite number of large and nationally important industries, while leasing minor enterprises to cooperatives, artisans' associations, and individuals. The trade unions are called upon to play the leading role in establishing the working conditions and the standards of living in all details affected by the new industrial principles. Petty industry and small artisan enterprises, the new instructions point out, are considered important adjuncts to the State industries and to agriculture, and all means should be taken to assist and encourage these branches of production. The All-Russian Trades Council is instructed to create a number of commissions to fix the labor conditions in leased enterprises and in the concessions. Wages in kind and collective remuneration, to be distributed by the factory councils among the workers according to their efficiency, are considered important measures intended to increase industrial production. Such measures, however, the instructions state, shall be applied under proper guidance and by the direction of the trades councils. A special conference of the All-Russian Trades Council has already established regulations for workers' control in the national factories leased to private enterprises. The regulations provide that the workers in these factories shall have the same advantages in wages, labor protection, etc., as prevail in the State enterprises.

These are the basic principles, according to the new instructions, which are to guide all measures taken by the trade unions and the Government administrations in the realization of the new economic policy, which is directed to the single purpose of fostering the maximum industrial development and production of commodities.

Moscow, August 14.—The All-Russian Trades Council has issued a manifesto to all trade unions, urging the organized workers to exert their utmost efforts to fulfill the great task entrusted to them by the recently published instructions of the Council of People's Commissars with respect to the new economic policy which places the trade unions at the helm of the nation's industry. All conscious trade unionists, the manifesto urges, must seek the speediest realization of all the Soviet decrees which further this policy, and must keep uppermost in their minds the thought of industrial regeneration.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

NORWEGIAN SALT FISH, HERRING, AND COD LIVER OIL

In connection with Maxim Gorky's appeal for help for the starving children of Russia, the Parliamentary fraction of the Right Wing Socialist Party recently proposed to the Presidium of the Norwegian Storting to bring in a bill for immediate assistance by the Norwegian State to the Russian people in the form of provisions and medicines.

The Presidium of the Storting on Saturday resolved to transmit this proposition to the Government with its unanimous approval.

The Government has now stated its position on the matter and in the Cabinet meeting today, according to Statsraad Mowinckel, in answer to our question on the subject, proposes to appropriate 700,000 crowns as a gift to the Russian people, in the form of salt fish, herring and cod liver oil.

Social-Demokraten, July 21.

AMERICANS FREE TO LEAVE

Moscow, August 12.—The People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs announces that all American citizens resident throughout Russia may freely leave the country if they desire to do so. They need only inform the Anglo-American Department of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, presenting documents of identification, in order to obtain visas for departure, which will be granted immediately.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

RUSSIAN AND SCANDINAVIAN SCHOLARS

An exchange of letters has been published in Norway between a group of Scandinavian scholars consisting of Svante Arrhenius, W. C. Brögger, H. Hildebrandson, Fridtjof Nansen, Carl Störmer, Vilhelm Thomsen, and Olav Broch, who had gotten together in order to give aid to Russian artists and men of science, and People's Commissar for Education Lunacharsky. In April of this year the group of Scandinavians sent a communication to Lunacharsky and requested him to obtain permission from the (Soviet) Government for its artists and men of science, who had been reported to be suffering need in Russia, to travel abroad in order that they might become acquainted with the results of the learning, art and science of the West in the last three years, in which Russia was cut off from the rest of the world. The Committee hoped to secure a numerous delegation of Russian brain workers and had intended to inaugurate a collection to cover the expenses of this group.

Lunacharsky answered among other things the following: "No one in Russia obtains so much assistance from the state as the scholars to whom you make reference. About three thousand are supported by the state and are granted so-called

academic rations. These are the largest rations to be obtained anywhere in the country and are sufficient for the normal sustenance of a man. Certain scholars even receive family rations. We have never placed anything in the way of the men of science who may have wished to travel abroad."

Lunacharsky then enumerates a number of men of learning as well as artists who are at present living abroad at the expense of the Russian state. Arrangements are now being made to give to these trips abroad in the future a more systematic character and, where the scholars are traveling at the public expense, to constitute them as a sort of expedition, choosing the necessary specialists in such manner that the entire Russian world may be made acquainted with the scientific achievements of the West, and vice versa: for Russian science has not been sleeping in this period. But if the foreign colleagues in science should only go so far as to organize a very hospitable reception for these scholars abroad, this would much lighten their situation and decrease the expenses thus incumbent upon the state.

The Scandinavian group answered this letter with the statement that the Russian men of learning might be sure of a hospitable reception in the Scandinavian learned world, but that there could be no promise by this Scandinavian group of lightening the burdens incumbent upon the state.

Social-Demokraten, July 20.

SIBERIANS PROTEST AGAINST USURPERS

The following letter was recently received by mail at the office of SOVIET RUSSIA:

Vladivostok, Siberia, July 21, 1921.

Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA,

The Government of Merkulov, which possessed itself of the power at Vladivostok and Nikol'sk, declares in its official organs that it is supported by the peasants.

Leaving this falsehood to the conscience of the political rascals, represented by the new Primorian Government, I communicate below the text of a resolution of one of the Assemblies of Peasant Representatives (representing 15,000 peasants), which is most characteristic of the present state of mind of the Primorian peasants.

The whole of the peasant population is against the new Government and declares itself to be for the support of Chita (Far Eastern Republic) and of the former Primorian Government of Antonov (part of the Far Eastern Republic).

The resolution reads:

The Assembly of representatives of the peasant population of the villages and farms of the Anuchino military district, composed of the villages; Osinovskaya, Ivanovskaya, Annchinskaya, Chernyshevskaya, Sysoyevskaya, Yakovlevskaya and Chnguyevskaya, together with the representatives of the military troops of Anuchino district, this July 15th heard the report concerning the seizure of power in the Primorian district which was accomplished on May 26 with the assistance of Japan by a group of political adventurers, paid for their intervention, and resolved:

1. To protest against and to hinder in a most decisive way and by all power and means which are at our disposal the seizure of power from the Government elected by the People's Assembly, by the traitors of the Russian Country, headed by the Merkulova, the Smolins, the Semionovs and other valets of the bourgeoisie and Japan, whose wish is to bend anew the head of the people under their yoke, which will undoubtedly lead,—after a short attempt at peaceful life and reconstruction of the country, brought about with such great pains and efforts,—to a new outbreak of civil war, the whole weight of which will fall upon the shoulders of the peasant class.

2. To protest against the further stay of the Japanese troops in the Primorian district and to demand their immediate evacuation—often promised but never carried out—since they are the cause of all the misfortunes of the country, their presence here and the provocation which they spread among the Russian population lead to troubles which do not allow peaceful life to establish itself among the population of the district.

3. We recognize and shall uphold only the power elected by the people represented by the Constituent Assembly of the Far Eastern Republic and shall fulfill only its laws.

Down with intervention, the principal cause of all the troubles of the country!

Down with the hated power of the parasite-traitors!

Long live the Constituent Assembly elected by the people of the Far East!

Long live the power of the peasants and workers!

Resolutions of the same kind were adopted at all the other Assemblies of peasant representatives and by the workers at Vladivostok and Nikol'sk.

Fraternally yours,

K. SALNIN.

RUSSIAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS AIDED ABROAD

Moscow, July 12.—The Soviet Government has handed to the powers the following note:

Official press organs in the various countries report that the Council of the so-called League of Nations has appointed a special commission for the rendering of material aid to Russian émigrés.

In this connection the Governments interested have been requested to make use of the funds of the Russian Government in foreign countries. The Governments constituting the so-called League of Nations apparently intend to make use of sums belonging to the Russian Government, in order to help its enemies, and without previously consulting the Russian Government.

The Government of Russia, to whom these sums in reality belong, energetically protests against this act of violence on the part of the various governments, this arbitrary attempt, without the knowledge and consent of the Russian Government, to utilize funds belonging to it. The working masses of the Russian people, whose will is expressed by the Soviet Government, alone have the right to dispose of funds belonging to them.

The Russian Government therefore declares that it cannot recognize as lawful any appropriation of these funds abroad without an express and official statement of will. Such use of these funds is inadmissible all the more since they apparently are to be used in the pursuit of an object hostile to the

Russian Government. The organizations of the present Russian émigrés are in every case counter-revolutionary institutions, spending the funds at their disposal with the object of provoking attacks against the territory of the Soviet Republic. All assistance received by Russian émigrés through these organizations will unfortunately be in reality an aid to movements that are hostile to the Soviet Republic. Only by negotiations with those organs in foreign countries that are authorized by the Russian Republic may such aid be granted, unless it is to become a weapon for inflicting harm to the security of this republic.

The Russian Government therefore formally protests not only against any use of these funds without its knowledge, but also against the specific use which the powers belonging to the so-called League of Nations intend to make of them, which would constitute a hostile act against the Russian Republic.

(Signed) GEORGE CHICHERIN,
*Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.*

RUSSIA CLOSED TO NORWEGIANS

Kristiansund, July 19.—The representative of the herring trust, Emil Moe, now at Reval, made a number of unsuccessful attempts to secure permission to enter Russia. A merchant now in this city, a party member, also tried to obtain a visa from here. He has just been informed of the arrival of a telegram from Stockholm stating that permission to enter Russia will not be granted to persons residing in Norway until the Norwegian Government has recognized the representatives of Soviet Russia in Norway.

Social-Demokraten, July 20.

TRADE DEVELOPMENTS

Official dispatches to SOVIET RUSSIA confirm the recent reports from Hamburg of the formation of a German-Russian Transport Company in which the Russian Soviet Government and the Hamburg-American Line each hold a half interest. The Russian Government and the German company share equally in the management of the new concern. An official of the Hamburg-American and a representative of the Soviet Government are the directors. Director Huldermann, of the Hamburg-American Line and a Russian representative are members of the board of Trustees. A further member of the board, approved by both contracting parties, is Dr. Carl Melchior, of Messrs. M. M. Warburg & Co., of Germany. We understand on good authority that a prominent American shipping firm, closely allied with these German houses, is seeking a one-third interest in the new company. This proposal, which would give the German-Russian Transport Company, direct connection with America, is under consideration at Moscow.

"A leading member of the Warburg banking

house," interviewed by the Hamburg correspondent of the *Associated Press*, stated that "German commercial interests purposed to take the Moscow regime as it was and as a government in fact." This banker, who is said to "reflect opinions expressed by other leaders of Hamburg's commercial interests," told the *Associated Press* that he failed to understand why the United States ignored the present Soviet Administration in Russia.

The German-Russian Transport Company, it is said, will have a monopoly in carrying the Russo-German trade. The functions of the company, as explained by a director of the Hamburg-American Line, will be to charter vessels and select rail routes and otherwise assist the Russian Commissariat of Foreign Trade to secure the lowest possible freight rates on all commodities, from toys to locomotives, bought in Germany. The Hamburg-American Line has placed its traffic experts at the disposal of the Soviet Government in an advisory capacity. Engineers of the Line were sent to Petrograd to inspect the docks.

Meanwhile, English commercial interests have eagerly pursued the advantage given them by the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement. The English also have sent their marine engineers to inspect the Petrograd port facilities. The following is an official summary of their report:

"Moscow, July 14, 1921.

"Mr. Havelock Case, M. Inst. C. E., and Captain Mail have completed their inspection of the port of Petrograd and its entrance channel. They find the channel quite safe and open for merchant ships drawing 27 feet. There is a lightship off Narva Bay, fitted with wireless, at which station there are ten pilots ready to take ships to Kronstadt. All docks and ships' berths are clear and ready to receive ships drawing from 24 to 26 feet. There is plenty of labor at Petrograd for discharging cargoes free of charge. Shipmasters cannot rely upon procuring provisions or stores at Petrograd. Three berths for discharging colliers drawing 28 feet are ready and fitted with electric conveyors. There is ample and suitable warehouse accommodation on the several quays ready for receiving cargoes.

"(Signed) A. HAVELOCK CASE, M. Inst., C. E.

"DOUGLASS E. MAIL, Marine Surveyor."

The British Trade Delegation opened offices in Moscow on August 6. The Delegation consists of Robert McLeod Hodgson, formerly British Consul at Vladivostok, with Messrs. Peters, Grove and Lee Smith.

It should not escape notice that Sir Philip Lloyd Graeme, the English *Minister for Overseas Trade*, (an official corresponding to the American Secretary of Commerce) is a member of the commission appointed by the British Government to study the possibility of rendering immediate aid to the Russian famine sufferers.

NEXT MONTH'S "SOVIET RUSSIA" will contain a Special Article by one who is well-informed, on the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs of the Soviet Republic.

The Treaty with Turkey

The full text of the treaty signed at Moscow on March 16 by the Governments of Russia and Turkey follows:

THE Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic and the Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, which adhere to the principles of brotherly relations between nations and the self-determination of peoples, and which recognize the solidarity existing between them in the struggle against imperialism as well as the fact that difficulties of any kind affecting one of the two peoples will endanger also the situation of the other, and which are fully and wholly animated by the desire to bring about permanent friendly relations and an unwaveringly upright friendship, based on mutual interest, between the two parties, have decided to conclude a treaty of amity and brotherhood between them, and have appointed for this purpose the following fully empowered representatives:

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic: *George Vasilyevich Chicherin*, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and Member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and *Djilal-Eddin Korkmassov*, Member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and,

The Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey: *Yussuf Kemal Bey*, People's Commissar for National Economy of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, and a delegate from Kastamuni, in the above named Assembly; *Dr. Riza Nur Bey*, People's Commissar for Education of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, delegate from Sinope in the above mentioned Assembly; and *Ali Fuad Pasha*, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, and delegate from Angora to the National Assembly.

The above named representatives, after mutual examination of their credentials, all of which were found to be correct and executed in the proper form, agree upon the following articles:

Article I

Each of the parties to the treaty declares its readiness to refuse to recognize any treaties of peace or other international agreements to which either of the contracting parties may have been obliged by force to put its signature. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic declares its readiness to refrain from recognizing any international documents touching Turkey, which have not been approved by the National Government of Turkey, at present represented by the Great National Assembly.

The name of Turkey is here used as covering the territory included in the National Turkish Agreement of January 28, 1936 (1920), which was elaborated and proclaimed by the Ottoman Chamber of Delegates in Constantinople and published both in the press and to all foreign powers.

The North-Eastern boundary of Turkey is determined by a line beginning at the village of Sark on the Black Sea, passing over the mountain Khedia Mta, and along the ridge of the water-shed of the mountain Shavshet Dsnnidat. Its further course pursues the Northern Administration boundary of the Sandjaks of Ardansk and Karsk, the beds of the river Arpa-Chai and Arax, up to the mouth of the lower Kara-Su (a precise indication of the boundaries and of the questions relating to them will be found in Appendix I, A and B, and on the map signed by both signatory parties).

Article II

Turkey declares its readiness to cede to Georgia sovereignty over the port of the city of Batum as well as over the territory lying to the north of the boundary designated in Article I of this treaty, which was once a portion of the District of Batum, with the condition that

1) The population of the localities mentioned in this article shall enjoy a far-reaching local autonomy in administrative matters, which shall guarantee to each community its cultural and religious rights, and that the population shall have an opportunity to draw up an agrarian law in accordance with its own desires;

2) That Turkey shall be granted free transit facilities for all commodities passing by way of the port of Batum, to or from Turkey, without duty, with no hindrance, and without any impost whatsoever, Turkey also having the privilege of utilizing the port of Batum without making any special payments for such privilege.

Article III

Both contracting parties herewith agree that the territory of Nakhichevan shall constitute, within the boundaries designated in Appendix I (B) of this treaty, an autonomous territory under the protectorate of Azerbaijan, with the condition that Azerbaijan shall not transfer its protectorate to any third state.

In the zone of the district of Nakhichevan having the following boundary of triangular shape: from the bed of the river Arax and the ridge of the Gagna Mountains (3829) to Voli Daag (4121) to Bagarsik (6587) to Kemurlu Dag (6930), the boundary line of the above territory, beginning at Kemu (6930) and passing across the mountain Serai Bulak (8071), and the station of Ararat and ending at the confluence of the Kara-Su and Arax Rivers, to the boundary established by a Commission consisting of delegates of Turkey, Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Article IV

Both contracting parties recognize many points of contact between the movement for national liberation of the peoples of the East and the struggle of the working population of Russia for a new social order and solemnly proclaim the right of these peoples to liberty and independence as well as the right to choose a form of Government that shall be in accordance with their wishes.

Article V

In order to guarantee to all peoples the opening, as well as the freedom of commerce through the Dardanelles, both contracting parties declare their readiness to assign the final drawing up of an international regulation concerning the Black Sea and the Dardanelles to a special conference of delegates of the littoral states, provided that the decisions made by this Commission shall not in any way encroach upon the complete sovereignty of Turkey, nor upon the security of Turkey, or of its capital Constantinople.

Article VI

Both contracting parties recognize that all treaties previously concluded between the two countries have not been in accord with the mutual interests of these countries. They therefore agree to regard these treaties as abrogated and no longer in effect. Especially, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic declares that it considers Turkey to be relieved of all financial and other obligations based upon international agreements formerly concluded between Turkey and the Tsarist Government.

Article VII

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, considering the system of capitulations to be incompatible with a free national development of each country, as well as with a complete realization of the rights of sovereignty of such country, regards all transactions and privileges associated with the system of capitulations as ineffective and annulled.

Article VIII

Both contracting parties herewith agree that they will not suffer the formation or sojourn within their territory, of organizations or groups maintaining that they are Governments of the other country, or of portions of its territory, nor shall they suffer such groups to remain on their territory as may have the purpose of conducting hostilities against the other state. Russia and Turkey mutually undertake the same obligations also with regard to the Soviet republics of the Caucasus.

It is definitely stated that the words "Turkish territory", as used in this article, include all the territory which is under the immediate military and civil control of the Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey.

Article IX

In order to guarantee the continuity of the relations between the two countries, the contracting parties herewith undertake, after mutual consultation, to take all necessary steps for the purpose of maintaining and developing, as rapidly as possible, the railroad, telegraphic, and other means of communication, as well as an unimpeded free circulation of goods and persons between the two countries.

Article X

All rights and privileges arising from the laws of the country in which they may dwell, excepting only the obligations of the national defence, from which they are exempted, shall be extended in full to the citizens of both contracting parties that may be living within the territory of the other party.

Questions of family law, of the law of inheritance, and of the competence of the citizens of both contracting parties, shall likewise constitute an exception to the provisions of this article. Such questions shall be decided by a special agreement.

Article XI

Both contracting parties herewith declare their readiness to apply the principle of the most favored nations clause to those citizens of each of the contracting parties that may be dwelling within the territory of the other party.

This article shall not apply to the rights of citizens of the Soviet Republics allied with Russia, nor to the rights of citizens in the Mohammedan countries allied with Turkey.

Article XII

Each citizen of the territories constituting a portion of Russia up to 1918, and now considered by the Government of the Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, by reason of this treaty, as under Turkish sovereignty, shall have the right to leave Turkey without any interference, as well as to take with him his property or an equivalent thereof. The same right shall apply also to the inhabitants of the territory of Batum. The sovereignty over this territory is ceded by Turkey in this treaty to Georgia.

Article XIII

Russia undertakes to transport back to Turkey, to the north-eastern boundary of that country, at her own expense, all Turkish prisoners of war or civilian prisoners now in Russia, within three months, if they are in European Russia or the Caucasus; within six months, if they are in Asiatic Russia, counting from the day of the signing of this treaty. The details of this repatriation shall be fixed in a special agreement, to be prepared immediately after the signing of this treaty.

Article XIV

Both contracting parties herewith agree to conclude in the near future a convention on the subject of consular representations, and to adopt measures for the purpose of regulating all economic, financial, and other questions, whose regulation may be necessary for bringing about the friendly relations set forth in the introduction to the present treaty.

Article XV

Russia herewith undertakes to secure recognition by the Trans-Caucasian Republics of those articles in the present treaty immediately concerning them.

Article XVI

The present treaty shall be valid after ratification. The exchange of ratifications shall take place at Kars as soon as possible.

The present treaty shall become effective at the moment

of the exchange of the certificates of ratification, with the exception of Article XIII.

In confirmation of the above, the already enumerated representatives of the two countries have hereunto set their signatures and their seals.

Executed in two copies at Moscow on March 16, 1921.

Signed: GEORGE CHICHERIN

DJILAL-EDDIN KORKMASSOV

YUSSUF KEMAL

DR. RIZA NUR

ALI FUAD

Appendix I (A)

The northern boundary line of Turkey shall be drawn as follows: In accordance with the map of the Russian General Staff, Scale 1: 210,000, or 5 versts to one inch.

Beginning with the village of Sarp on the Black Sea, across mountain Kara Shalvar (5014), it crosses the Chorokh north of the village of Maradidi—runs north of the village of Sabur, to the mountain Chedis Mga (7052)—the mountain Kwa-Kibe, the village of Kavtareli—the water-shed line of the mountain Medsibna-Gora Gerat Kessun (6468) again follows the water-shed line of the mountain Korda (7910) and follows the western portion of the mountain ridge Shavshet up to the former treaty border line of the former Artwin District, runs along the ridge of Shavshet to the mountain Ssary Chai (Kara Isal 8478)—attains the Kwiralsk summit and thence proceeds to the former administrative boundary of the former district of Ardoga at Mount Kani-Dag; thence it proceeds to the North, to Tili Mountain (Grmani 8357), and, following the former boundary of Ardagon, reaches the River Poskhov Chai, Northeast of the village of Badjel, and proceeds to the South along this river to a point North of the village of Tshanshakh; there it leaves the river and follows the watershed line to the Mountain Airiljan-Baschi (8512), runs along the Kelle-Tapa Mountains (9709), reaches Mount Kasris-Seri (9681) and follows the River Karamet-Chai to the River Kura. Thence the line runs along the bed of the River Kura to a point lying to the East of the village of Kartanakev, where it leaves the River Kura and follows the watershed line of Mount Kara-Ogly (7259). Thence it proceeds to Height 7580—to Mount Gek-Dag (9152)—runs along the Uch-Tapaljar Mountains (9783)—Taila Kala (9716)—Height 9065, where it leaves the former boundary of Ardagan District and proceeds along the Mountains Ach-Baba (9963)—8828 (8827)—7602—runs to the North of the village of Ibish, reaches Height 7518, and thence goes to Mount Kisil-Dash (7439) (7440)—to the village of Novy Kisil-Dash (Kisil-Dash) and, proceeding to the West of Karamemed, reaches the River Dshembush-Chaif, to the East of the villages of Delaver B. Kimly and Tikhma, proceeds by way of the villages of Vartanly and Bashli, following the above-named river, to the River Arpa-Chai, to the North of Kdjala, continues definitely to follow the bed of the Arpa-Chai until it reaches the River Arax, and then follows the bed of the Arax up to the point where the Nizhny Karass flows into the Arax.

(N. B.—It is understood of course that the boundary line is to run along the water shed line of the above mentioned altitudes).

Appendix I (B)

In view of the fact that the beds of the Rivers Arpa-Chai and Arax, as indicated in Appendix I (A), constitute the boundary line, the Government of the Great National Assembly undertakes to withdraw the block-house line from its present course in the Arpa-Chai region to a distance of four versts from the above mentioned railroad tract in the Arax region. The lines bounding the above mentioned districts are given below for the zone of Arpa-Chai (points A and B of paragraph 1), and for the zone of Arax in Paragraph 2.

1. The Zone of Arpa-Chai

a) The line runs to the southeast from Vartanla, to the east of Usun-Kilissa, across the mountain Boyar (5096),

5082—5047,—to the East of Kirmir-Vank-Uchi-Tan (5578), to the East of Aras-Oglu, to the East of Ani, and reaches Arpa-Chai to the East of Yeni-Kei.

b) Proceeding from Arpa-Chai the line runs to the East of the Height 5019, directly to the Height 5481—four and one half versts to the East of Kysyl-Kula—two versts to the East of Boylala; then along the River Digor-Chai. It runs along this river to the village of Dus-Ketchut and continues on directly to the North of the ruins of Karabag, to Arpa-Chai.

2. The Arax Zone

A straight line between Khraba Alihjan and the village of Suleiman (Disa).

The Government of the National Assembly undertakes the obligation to build no fortifications of any kind in the zones bounded on the west side by the railroad line from Alexandropol to Erivan, and on the other side by lines situated eight or four versts respectively from the above mentioned railroad lines (these limiting lines lie outside of the above described zones), and to maintain no regular troops in these zones. The Government shall, however, reserve the right to retain in the above-mentioned zones such troops as may be necessary for the maintenance of order and security, as well as for administrative purposes.

Signed: GEORGE CHICHERIN
DJILAL KORKMASSOV
YUSSUF KEMAL
DR. RIZA NUR
ALI FUAD

Note to Appendix 1 (B)

The Territory of Nakhichevan

The station of Ararat-Gora Sarai-Bulak (8071) Kemurlu-Dag (6839), (6930)-3080-Sayat-Dag (7868)—the village of Kurt-Kulag (Kyurt-Kulak)—Gamessur-Dag (8160)-Height 8022-Kuri-Dag (10,282) and the Eastern administration line of the former district of Nakhichevan.

Signed: GEORGE CHICHERIN
DJILAL-EDDIN KORKMASSOV
YUSSUF KEMAL
DR. RIZA NUR
ALI FUAD

NORWEGIAN CAPTAIN TO HAVE CHARGE OF RUSSIAN SHIPS

Social Demokraten has already reported that the Anglo-Russian Arcoa Company was formed in England some time ago with the object of carrying on trade with Siberia and Russia. It was the Russian Commercial Delegation in London, headed by Krassin, which formed this company. Recently the Company offered Captain Otto Sverdrup the position of manager of a great commercial expedition to the Yenisei, and we have information to the effect that the Captain has accepted. The expedition is to consist of five ships, four English and one Norwegian, all of which have been purchased by the company for this work. The ships are quite large—3,000 to 4,000 tons each, and their cargo is to consist chiefly of agricultural machinery.

The ships will take the customary route to the north of Norway and along the coast of the Arctic to the mouth of the Yenisei. The natural conditions prevent them from going further up the river. Smaller river steamers will therefore carry the goods southward, while the big ships will be loaded with export goods from Siberia. The start is to be made August 1 and Captain Sverdrup thinks he can return in the fall. It is intended later

to have a larger expedition leave by the same route. The commercial company has bought more than twenty ships in all. Whether Captain Sverdrup is also to conduct the next sailing has not yet been decided.

Shipowner Nils Juul, when asked by us, stated that he was not connected with this company but that he knew of its existence from Russian merchants through whom he had conducted negotiations with the Soviet Government. He also knew that great stocks of goods had been purchased by the company in Stockholm and in England.

"Have you been commissioned to make purchases elsewhere?"

"Yes, I have just closed a contract for the purchase of great quantities of fishing materials. They are to be delivered at Murmansk. I know that the chief products have been agricultural machinery and other operating machinery. Russian export goods will be brought back in the returning cargo."

"Has any business been done in this country?"

"No, none. The commercial agreement has not yet been completed with this country."

Social-Demokraten, July 20.

Gothenburg, July 20.—The Russian Commercial Delegation in Stockholm, according to information received by *Göteborgsposten*, has given a number of orders for Swedish manufactured products, particularly agricultural machinery. The goods purchased are being taken care of at Gothenburg, by one of the city's largest forwarding concerns. Large consignments have already been received, and the forwarding is in progress. The steamer *Brann*, purchased in Norway, is to have a full cargo of such goods.

Social-Demokraten, July 20.

RECENT ITEMS ON RELIEF

(Special to SOVIET RUSSIA)

Moscow, August 21.—The Relief Committee of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee reports that 211 carloads of seeds were sent to the famine area during the early part of August. Relief officials have decided to undertake systematic evacuation of 300,000 starving persons from the famine area to the prosperous regions of Turkestan.

The Petrograd Non-Partisan Relief Committee, of which Maxim Gorky is chairman, announces that it has received 164 tons of fish from abroad, in addition to money and products contributed by the market traders, and 622 tons of wheat which has been sent to the famine area.

A laboratory in Samara reports the discovery of a nutritious bread substitute "Sussak" which grows in the marshes, the supply of which, if utilized, would be sufficient to reduce the famine by fifty per cent.

Locomotives constructed in Sweden for the Soviet Government are expected to arrive shortly in Petrograd. Deliveries of locomotives manufactured in Germany will begin in October.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

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This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

CERTAIN American officials appear to be displeased with the prospect that the assistance about to be given by the American Relief Administration to Soviet Russia may later result in more permanent relations between the two countries. At least so we must infer from the comments printed in afternoon papers of August 20 and morning papers of August 21, on the addresses that were delivered at the signing of the agreement between Maxim Litvinov, for the Soviet Government, and Walter L. Brown, for the American Relief Administration, in the office of the Lettish Foreign Department, at Riga. Addresses were delivered by Mr. Litvinov, Mr. Brown, and Premier Meierovitz, of Latvia. Mr. Litvinov, after gracious references to the good offices of the Lettish Government, and recalling that Riga had been the scene of one important treaty recently signed by the Soviet Government (that with Poland), expressed thanks to Mr. Brown for a conciliatory spirit shown in the negotiations, and concluded with these words:

"I hope this first meeting of representatives of the two great countries will be followed by others. Each fresh meeting will bring us closer together and make us understand that if we have been kept apart it is due to misunderstandings and differences that can be adjusted. With this hope I leave Riga."

"But Mr. Brown," according to Mr. Walter Duranty's news dispatches to *The New York Times*, "was not to be drawn into a reply on the broad lines Mr. Litvinov adopted. He was careful to refer always to the 'negotiations between the Soviet Government and the American Relief Administration.'"

Premier Meierovitz, of Latvia, which by the way has not a Soviet Government at this writing, who followed Mr. Brown, was not so reticent or reserved. That official seems to feel that the renewal of relations between two countries of such importance as the United States and Russia is not only desirable, but that it may also be desirable to express that fact frankly. He accordingly opened his address with these words:

"I thank you personally and on behalf of the Latvian Republic for the kind things M. Litvinov on the Russian side and Mr. Brown as representative of American relief said. It was our agreeable duty to offer our services in this meeting. We are particularly glad of this second international agreement to be signed in Riga. I say international agreement because I hope it will bring about a

closer understanding between the two great nations, an understanding to which the first step is the help now to be accorded."

Mr. Brown, in his address, limits himself to "this one humanitarian end in view," namely, that of saving lives. We hope, in spite of the experience of Hungary, that that is Mr. Brown's object, and that he will succeed in aiding in its accomplishment.

* * *

BUT there is a very general feeling in liberal circles in America that Mr. Hoover's Relief Administration may be pursuing an ulterior motive in going into Russia to succor the starving population. *The Nation*, of August 24, considers the eagerness of Briand's Government in France to take part in the relief work as a very suspicious sign and makes reference to the article in *The World's Work* that is treated elsewhere in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (of Sunday, August 24) prints a brilliant cartoon by Lou Rogers, representing the Secretary of Commerce seated at a table and looking with satisfaction on a loaf of bread, presumably destined for Russia, from which a number of spies, agents, and other pretty little official heads are peering forth. Capitalist newspapers are not very prolific in editorial comment on the famine situation, although Mr. A. J. Sack is quoted by the *Times* as fully aware of the fact that the Soviet Government is in reality responsible for the famine. One newspaper permits the cat to emerge somewhat from the bag when it expresses the hope that the giving of relief may afford an opportunity to spread the truth about the rest of the world in Russia. The newspaper is the *Evening Post* (New York, August 19), which has the following to say in the course of an editorial entitled "End of Non-Intercourse with Russia":

"Some of the effects of this policy are not difficult to foresee. It means not only that people outside Russia will have access to the actual facts in the long-discussed case of 'the truth about Russia,' which is already pretty well known, but also that people inside Russia will begin to get the truth about the rest of the world from which they have been shut off. Russians have been subjected to an intensive propaganda about the vicious nature and intentions of the 'capitalistic nations'. The significant fact which stands out in connection with the relief plans is that, despite economic and political differences, the people of the 'capitalistic nations' stand ready to render aid to people starving under communistic administration."

There is no doubt—to use the words of the *Evening Post*, that "the people of the capitalist nations stand ready to render aid to people starving under communistic administration." For it is a fact that in all capitalistic countries there are many persons who look without disfavor on communistic administration, who hold it, in reality, to be better than any other form of administration. And these persons, together with many others who have no particular interest in Communism, are quite convinced that the present difficulties in dealing with the Russian famine are due in large part to the general breakdown of transportation in Russia, which the wicked blockade for years pre-

vented the Russian people from coping with. And while it is certain that the American people (and other peoples, most of whom are now too poor to give much) would be only too glad to offer what they can to help their brothers in Russia, it would be a mistake to consider the aid about to be given by the American Relief Administration as aid coming from the American people, or offered by the American people. A number of suggestions were made to Secretary Hoover that he raise money directly by collection from the people of the United States, but Secretary Hoover promptly replied that he did not need to raise money in that way, as he had sufficient balances from past work of the Relief Administration to finance the new activities. The *Evening Post* is right: Mr. Hoover could collect great sums of money from the American people for Russia: they are "ready to render aid to people starving under communistic administration," but Mr. Hoover will operate without their assistance. He will give them no opportunity to show how much they are willing to give; how eager many of the workers are to show their love and admiration for their Russian fellow-workers who have been starving for years in order that the rule of the workers may be achieved. If it is Mr. Hoover's intention, in refraining from asking their aid, to withhold from them an opportunity to express their solidarity with their brothers in Russia, he is giving up an easy means of raising money to satisfy a political prejudice of his own. If he is asking no aid because he wants a free hand in the uses to which he will put the funds at his disposal, the case begins to look worse. His man T. T. C. Gregory, who boasts that he overthrew the Hungarian Soviet Government with Hoover's approval, no doubt would need to offer some explanation to the American people if he should conduct a similar counter-revolutionary enterprise in Soviet Russia, and if the money financing such a venture should be obtained by direct soliciting from the American people. There seems to be a desire on the part of Mr. Hoover and the Relief Administration to keep the American people out of the affair, to work without them, the result of which unquestionably would be that fewer persons—if they had not themselves given money for charity to Russia—would feel themselves entitled to ask whether any of their money had been spent in connection with counter-revolutionary activities going on at the same time with the relief work.

All remember the magnificent energy that was put during the war into collection of funds for various purposes, the selling of Liberty Bonds, and other official activities. It is our impression that a drive for funds to help the Russian people, sanctioned by the United States Government, and collected, at the Government's request, by tens of thousands of volunteer workers all over the country, would be one of the greatest spectacles the history of such measures has shown. The American people, feeling that its Government wished to give it an opportunity to show its kindness for a

stricken workers' republic, would go down into their pockets as they never have gone before. And Mr. Hoover must be aware of this. But he does not like the method this time. He prefers to use funds not obtained by direct appeal to the people for the present purpose.

* * *

PRESIDENT HARDING on August 18 addressed a letter to Secretary Hoover, fully coinciding in its expressions of opinion with Secretary Hoover's own views, and asking that there be only one American administration for relief work in Russia, that Americans give only to the work which is carried on by Secretary Hoover's organization. Several reasons—in reality all are the same reason—are assigned for requesting a single head in the administration of the Russian relief work: greater efficiency through unity of effort, and, finally, this:

"It is also of importance that the American people should be protected so far as we can do so from those persons who may wish to thrive on great disasters by creating unnecessary organizations to collect charity."

But the fact is that, contrary to the desire expressed by President Harding, agencies are springing up all over the country with the object of collecting money, food, clothing, medicine, etc., for Russia. And this in spite of the obvious gains that would result from a coordination of efforts under one head. The reason is apparent: there are many persons in America, especially in the working classes, who fear that Mr. Hoover's organization may be inclined to try once more the method applied by Mr. T. T. C. Gregory in Hungary, with such signal success, and who may prefer to have their donations pass through the hands of organizations that are less encumbered by political aims. These persons would perhaps prefer to see aid given in some such spirit as this: "We consider that the Russian people have clearly shown what form of government they want. They overthrew a number of cabinets in 1917 and since then have permitted the Soviet Government to rule. Our aid is to go to Russia on the assumption that the country has a government and that we have no wish to interfere with the work of that Government or to lower its prestige in any way." It is difficult to imagine Mr. Hoover's approaching the problem in such a spirit, and that is why there are many persons in America who will not be inclined to give any contributions to famine relief through his organization.

* * *

PARTICULARLY suspicious is the proposal by the French Government that Soviet Russia pay for the relief that has been promised, by recognizing her obligations to repay the loans made to the Tsar. Again relief appears as merely a subterfuge: it clearly pursues the object of causing alterations in the domestic and foreign policies of the country. But the bearers of relief are to be congratulated on their happy decision not to fly their respective national flags in Russia.

A Great Spectacle in Petrograd

By MAX BARTHEL

We are printing in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA a review of Max Barthel's book "Vom Roten Moskau Bis Zum Schwarzen Meer" as well as, on another page, a selection from it. We are giving below an account of a striking historical pageant performed at Petrograd for the delegates of the Second Congress of the Third International before their departure for the main sessions of the Congress at Moscow, in June, 1920.

After a celebration in the Trade Union Building, in which there were fascinating Russian dances, we drove in the dark over the bridge across the Neva to what once had been the Bourse, in the pillared hall of which a mass spectacle was to be performed. I had seen the rehearsal the day before and was eager for the real performance. At the rehearsal the scenes had been indicated only in outline and my expectations had been fully aroused that splendid things were in store for us. I met Anelovich, head of the Petrograd Trade Unions, also Gorky's handsome wife Andreieva, the woman who manages the Petrograd theatres, who had reported at the rehearsal in a military manner to a Red officer. And then Gorky himself, who was having one of his bad days, and who was moving restlessly over the square, unwilling to talk to anyone. At the end of this rehearsal, in which the collapse of the Paris Commune was represented and the world war was shown crushing peoples, while the Russian workers drove out the Tsar and later the capitalists, a Cossack horse that was being used in this rehearsal, stumbled and fell.

"His thigh is broken," the report ran around, "the horse must be shot." Gorky, who was sitting together with us in the altogether too low school bench that had been set up in honor of the guests became impatient and walked with great strides to the fallen horse, saying: "The horse shall not be shot. I shall take it with me to Tsarskoye Selo and have it healed." A few minutes later, however, he came back and was much relieved, for the horse was still alive and he again sat down on the low bench.

The spectacle which now was displayed before our eyes and which continued until late at night is the heroic representation of the proletarian struggle and victory of the last fifty years, performed by more than five thousand persons, workers and women from the factories, pupils of the Theatrical Sections of the Proletkult and of the clubs, actors and actresses of the Petrograd theatres, sailors, regiments of Red soldiers, and wild sections of Red Cavalry. On the open staircase which descends into the pillared hall of the Bourse, the splendid spectacle of the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is being performed with very little in the form of stage speeches. The capitalist world is represented as a festive dance pavillion, on which the handsome ladies and gentlemen, gaily appareled, are disporting themselves, while at their feet, on the stone

staircase, the oppressed working class is being driven on to labor. From its ranks suddenly an individual arises and raises the red flag, the symbol of revolution, and calls upon the slaves to join them, until he is led away by guards. Another takes up the discarded flag and preaches rebellion. And this repeats itself until the slaves break their chains and break into the merry dancing of the ladies and gentlemen above. They erect the first Commune of the proletariat and sing the Carmagnole, the rebellious song of the rising proletariat. Already the exiles are preparing their return, they come back with their soldiers, conquer Paris and dye the pavements of the streets in bloody red. The rebels are put up against the wall. Volleys crash, and the fine ladies and gentlemen of Versailles are triumphant. Their triumph is accompanied on both sides of the open staircase with black fires of sacrifice, in which the searchlights throw bluish, red and yellowish lights, illuminating the black clouds and flashing across the dead who lie on the broad steps. The game is over, the dance has been danced out, the Comrades have been shot. This pantomimic scene is closed with the funeral march in honor of the fallen revolutionists, which is moaned into the night and dies together with the silver and bluish beams of the searchlights.

The first International died with the Paris Commune, which was a skirmish of the world revolution. The battle continues, the Second International is founded. The first scene of the second act is similar to the former scene. The bourgeoisie is still dancing on the bodies of the proletariat. They still stand above, in the light, and the people are toiling and hungering on the ascending steps. But it is no longer a people weighed down with chains, they have become more powerful and wide awake and many prophets have risen from their ranks. At the head of the seers, at the feet of the bourgeoisie, sit the learned advocates of the Marxian doctrine, Kautsky and Plekhanov, together with the old professors of Socialism, the leaders of the people. The tablets of the law which they hold in their hands are their own books. They sit on the steps full of importance and wisdom and read from their own papers, *Vorwaerts* and *L'Humanite*. The credulous people gather about them and their books, but the idyl is disturbed by the dark clouds of the approaching world war. The professors of Socialism put their heads together and begin desperately to poke their noses into the books. One of them descends from his height, enters among

the people and is at once elevated on their shoulders, whence he delivers a speech against the war. It is Jaures. The shots of assassins cut short his remarks. They echo among the people as a sharp cry from thousands. Professors of Socialism are still reading their books, wrinkling their brows, vacillating and balancing themselves from one leg to another, until they finally have devised the watchword: "Defend the fatherland" and walk over to the side of the bourgeoisie, which is egging on the nations against each other with lies and open violence, arresting the leaders of the people, smiling coldly over weeping women and threatening men, and continuing the gay life of its dancing pavilion, while the proletarians of the entire world are destroying each other.

The Second International also dies.

The last act also begins by once more revealing the dance pavillion of the bourgeoisie. The Tsar, with the double headed eagle above his throne, sits in the uppermost position surrounded by courtiers and lackeys. At the side is seen a military front, with Russian soldiers fraternizing with the German soldiers. The throne, with the Tsar upon it, collapses, and Kerensky intervenes and the

fraternization at the fronts is disturbed by his commands to renew attacks. But rebellion, again represented by a great number of red flags passing without a sound from hand to hand, spreads like flame, and the dance pavillion of the frightened ladies and gentlemen, which remained firm under Kerensky is stormed, and the first shock battallions of Red soldiers and workers erect the Soviets. The working people and the peasants fraternize. On the stage the Red Soviet star arises, and the whole mass of people already arranged in a beautiful pyramid, unfurls peaceful mottoes and symbols of peaceful activity in their hands. The children and the soldiers go through joyful evolutions in front of the pyramid.

The crowd, which had divided and left a free step in front of the dais, raise a great banner bearing a new slogan: "The Soviet Power will avenge the blood of the Hungarian Workers."

This impressive pantomime—for very few words were really spoken, represented the magnificent idea, the splendid and self-confident attitude of the Russian people; the Russian proletariat was creating for itself a new spectacle of many thousands and performing it on a July night in 1920 for their foreign brothers.

"Socialist" Critics of Soviet Russia

By A. C. FREEMAN

Soviet Russia has recently been attacked by two prominent exponents of Socialism, according to the Second International, M. Emile Vandervelde, Minister of Justice in the Cabinet of the bourgeois monarchy of Belgium, and M. T. G. Masaryk, President of the bourgeois republic of Czecho-Slovakia. Neither of these eminent champions of the proletariat seemed to experience any difficulty in securing a forum in the columns of the conservative press. M. Vandervelde's article, which originally appeared in the Belgian paper, *Le Peuple*, was blazoned forth on the front page of a recent issue of *The New York Times Book Review and Magazine*, under the title "Scrapped Promises of Bolshevism." President Masaryk's contribution, written for *La Revue de Geneve* is translated and reprinted in *The Living Age*, with an introductory note to the effect that "President Masaryk is himself a Social-Democrat and possesses an intimate knowledge of revolutionary currents in Europe."

The two articles follow pretty much the same lines, with slight individual divergencies. Both authors wax eloquent in their denunciations of the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. How dead this issue is for Russians may be gauged from the fact that so good a counter-revolutionist as M. Milyukov is in favor of dropping the slogan as hopelessly unpopular. However, it is still used as a propaganda talking point among the "moderate Socialists" of western Europe. M. Vandervelde

exclaims that "for the first time in history universal suffrage had elected a Parliament in which the great majority of the members demanded Socialism."

This statement is quite inaccurate. The Constituent Assembly was dominated by a majority of Right Social-Revolutionists, elected from the more backward peasant districts on the basis of lists prepared several months in advance, before the Kornilov revolt and the other events which drove the more alert and class-conscious city workers so rapidly to the Left. Now Kerensky was a Social-Revolutionist. In his various coalition cabinets he enjoyed the cooperation of Social-Revolutionist and Menshevik ministers. But not even M. Vandervelde ventures to contend that the Kerensky government made any notable advance towards Socialism.

By attempting to give his article a tone of judicial historical fairness the Belgian Minister of Justice involves himself in contradictions and fatally weakens his case against Bolshevism. He makes the following admission:

"In spite of its mistakes, its faults, its crimes, Bolshevism has this redeeming feature: it destroyed to its deepest roots, or finished the destruction of the ancient autocratic regime. Its predecessors undertook, but without success, to give the land to the peasants; where its predecessors failed, Bolshevism succeeded."

Now why did Bolshevism succeed where its pre-

decessors failed? Simply because the Bolsheviki, alone among the revolutionary parties, possessed the courage and integrity to break definitely with both the Russian and the Entente bourgeoisie in carrying out the will of the Russian workers and peasants. In other words, the condition of their success, which Vandervelde admits, was the policy of extremism which he so piously condemns earlier in his article.

Vandervelde does not hesitate to bolster up his cause with outright falsehoods. So he accuses the Soviet government of "conspiring with the Turks and imposing the Soviet regime upon the unfortunate Armenians." Armenia adopted the Soviet regime voluntarily; and the Russian government, far from "conspiring with the Turks", used its diplomatic influence with the Angora government to safeguard the independence of the new Soviet state. If M. Vandervelde had wished to denounce the true betrayers of Armenia he might have pointed to the French generals and diplomats, who have abandoned thousands of Armenians in Cilicia to a miserable death as a result of their vacillating and hypocritical policy. But of course there is a treaty of alliance between France and M. Vandervelde's Belgian government.

Vandervelde accounts it a capital crime of the Bolsheviki that they have erected a statue to Marat, whom he describes as "the obstinate extremist who, to assure the victory of the French Revolution, demanded exactly 260,000 heads." Whether or not Vandervelde is historically accurate in attributing this demand to Marat, the wildest romancers of the counter-revolution would scarcely accuse the Bolsheviki of following his reputed advice, although the figure 260,000 would probably be a modest estimate of the victims of the White Terror all over Russia during the civil war. Reproaches of this kind come with a poor grace from Vandervelde, a prominent member of the Second International, a body which must share with the capitalist powers of the world the responsibility for the millions of lives lost in the World War.

The gist of Vandervelde's contention is that the Bolsheviki have failed to fulfill their three chief promises: peace for the soldiers, land socialization for the peasants, communism for the workers. The facts simply do not bear out this contention. As soon as they came into power the Bolsheviki took steps to liquidate the war with Germany, which Kerensky had permitted to drag on for so many months. Even Vandervelde can scarcely hold the Bolsheviki responsible for the long series of unprovoked attacks which the Allied powers launched against Soviet Russia. The Russian workers and peasants have always shown themselves ready to purchase peace at almost any price,—except that of freedom.

Vandervelde himself admits that the Bolsheviki definitely broke the power of the landowning class, thereby accomplishing an important step in the direction of liberating the peasants. If the program of land socialization has not so far made

greater progress, it is due to the poverty that has followed years of blockade and civil war. The nationalization of the large factories and essential industries is an accomplished fact. The Bolsheviki have never professed to be syndicalists; but the factories are supervised by trade unions and by economic bodies which are made up, for the most part, of workers.

M. Vandervelde's article, evidently considered an admirable piece of anti-Bolshevik propaganda by *The New York Times*, is merely another proof of the extraordinary readiness with which the "moderate Socialist" is apt to interpret the inevitable results of war and blockade as proof of the Russian Soviet Government's inefficiency.

President Masaryk begins by attempting to represent Karl Marx as a reformist. In this connection he conveniently overlooks the fact that Marx heartily approved of the Paris Commune,—certainly an infinitely less practical and successful effort to inaugurate Socialism by means of the armed force of the working class than the November Revolution.

Of course the Constituent Assembly is not forgotten. The Bolsheviki, according to Masaryk, at this juncture "should have been content to form a political party with a program of administrative and educational reform." Unfortunately something more than this peaceful academic prescription was necessary in order to defeat Kolchak and Denikin.

Masaryk then proceeds to read the Bolsheviki a lecture on the sinfulness of violence. "The life of others," he says, "ought to be sacred to us. Men should respect the personality of their fellow men."

And subsequently, with what appears to be an excellently developed sense of humor, he observes:

"They (the Bolsheviki) do not understand that the European nations have reached a state of progress where their moral instincts revolt against violence, and therefore against war and aggressive revolution."

It is interesting to review Masaryk's conduct during the summer of 1918 in the light of these humane and pacific sentiments. At this time a large number of Czecho-Slovak troops, who had been attached to the old Russian army, were in Russia. The Soviet Government was willing and anxious to transport those of them who wished to continue fighting the Germans to the western front by way of Vladivostok. But the Allied diplomats had other uses for them. Masaryk, who was then bargaining for the recognition of Czecho-Slovakia as an independent state, was told that an indispensable condition of this recognition was that he place the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia at the disposal of the Allied powers. He yielded to this infamous demand; and the Czecho-Slovaks, acting under orders from the French Military Mission at Moscow, and cooperating with the Russian counter-revolutionists, suddenly and treacherously attacked the Soviet forces, thereby precipitating a bloody and destructive civil war.

One wonders whether Masaryk was displaying

his sense of the sacredness of human life or his moral revulsion against violence when he deliberately assumed the responsibility for the death of thousands of Russian workers and peasants, and of his own countrymen as well, or whether he was merely advancing his own personal ambitions,

when he allowed the CzechoSlovaks to be used as a part of the conspiracy to strangle Russia's freedom. However this may be, it may safely be assumed that the Bolshevik conscience is too hardened to be much troubled by lectures on morality from such a source as Masaryk.

An Economic Survey of Turkestan for 1920

By M. PAVLOVICH

Economically speaking, Turkestan is under worse conditions than the rest of Soviet Russia. That should be understood. Up till 1920, Turkestan was cut off by the bands of Kolchak and Dutov from the rest of Russia, which had always supplied it with fuel, food and factory products. The Turkestan Republic had to bear the burden of the struggle with the White Guards on her own shoulders, without any outside help. This strongly affected the economic position, which in 1920 was extremely weak. We give below an outline of the economic position of Turkestan in 1920, as quoted in the *Economic Life*.

The year 1920 brought a little improvement in the agricultural life of Turkestan. The area of cultivation was increased, in comparison with 1919, by 25 per cent. Even so it still remained considerably lower than in the pre-war period. The increase in the cultivation was exclusively in food-stuffs and forage. Cotton planting continued to decrease. The area of cultivation of cotton comprised 109,000 dessiatins, i. e., 5 per cent of the total cultivated area. In 1917 it was 15 per cent of the total cultivated area.

Cattle ranching, one of the basic industries of Turkestan, also decreased during the last few years. In 1919 the number of steppe cattle in the country was approximately two and a half millions. In 1920 a gradual revival in cattle breeding began, and everywhere there is evidence of a gradual increase in the number of calves.

Apart from cotton, Turkestan produces wool and silk. The gathering of wool stocks proceeded satisfactorily. The Textile Departments purchased from the planters 236,000 poods, and thus exceeded the amount estimated as possible for the year.

The silk industry was in dire straits. Turkestan had to rely on silk worm larvae from local sources as it was impossible to import any. The general harvest of cocoons was a little over 15,000 poods.

With regard to fuel, the year 1920 commenced under considerable difficulties. There were no imports from outside at all. The railway service was paralyzed. In May some quantities of oil began to arrive from Baku via Krasnovodsk, and the fuel crisis somewhat abated. The consumption of fuel in Turkestan before the war amounted to 22,000,000 poods of oil and 10,000,000 of coal. In 1920 Turkestan received 5,700,000 poods of coal, despatched from the mines, and 7,950,000 poods of oil, despatched from Krasnovodsk. The demand for fuel

was only partly covered, and serious attention was devoted to collecting wood fuel, and stocks were collected of the bush growths of which there are large quantities in the steppes in Turkestan. The output of the coal mines and the oil wells equalled that of 1914. With the receipt of liquid fuel from Baku, railway transport revived, and the locomotives were transferred to oil burning. At the same time the demands for other kinds of fuel were met by the bush growths.

The position of railway transport was better in Turkestan than in the rest of Russia. The repair and output of locomotives and freight cars exceeded the estimated output by 15 per cent for locomotives and by 53 per cent for freight cars. Out of the 627 locomotives on that section of the railway, 292, or 46.5 per cent, were unfit; as is well known the percentage on the central Russian railways was much higher.

The leather industry played a great part in the industries of Turkestan. Owing to its handicraft character the leather factories did not feel the shortage of fuel as much as the other industries. At the same time, Turkestan was abundantly supplied with raw material, with the exception of sole leather, and the preparation of vegetable tannin provided the industry more or less with the chemical material it required. The position with regard to labor power was also relatively favorable. Thanks to these conditions the output of the Central Leather Department was comparatively high; 3,960,000 hides were released during the year, of which 29,500 pieces were of heavy goods.

The chemical industry did not emerge from its handicraft stage during the period under discussion. The existence of many small factories, established by the local Economic Councils, somewhat eased the sharp demand for chemical products. At the same time building operations were commenced on several large factories, upon which great expectations are placed in Turkestan.

With regard to food supply, Turkestan experienced much suffering during 1920. The collection of stocks proceeded very slowly. Throughout the country the corn levy was carried out to the extent of 18 per cent, and the forage levy to 25½ per cent, altogether only half as much as European Russia. As the result of the bad food season, the population suffered from hunger. The Co-operative Societies were all the time in the process

of organization, and played a very inconsiderable part in the economic life of Turkestan.

The economic relations between Turkestan and Central Russia were improved during 1920 and took a more normal turn; 6,415 carloads of cotton,

equaling 3,146,000 poods, were exported to Central Russia; in 1918-19 it was only 2,151 carloads. In addition to this, 470,000 poods of wool and 393,000 poods of silk, and 662,000 raw hides, chiefly from the smaller animals, were exported.

The Fight Against Prostitution

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY
(Conclusion)

In last month's SOVIET RUSSIA we printed the first instalment of this article, which dealt particularly with the causes of prostitution, as well as with erroneous interpretations of it in bourgeois society. In the concluding instalment, which is printed below, the author takes up the specific problem of prostitution in Soviet Russia, as well as the broader questions of marriage and the family in the new society.

Commission to Fight Prostitution

ALREADY last year, at the suggestion of the Central Organ of the People's Commissariat of Social Welfare, there was organized an Inter-departmental Commission to Combat Prostitution.

For a number of reasons, the work of the Commission was temporarily abandoned, but in the autumn of this year the Commission was again formed, and with the active cooperation of Dr. Golman and the Central Organ, this Commission was already beginning an organized activity in accordance with a carefully elaborated plan. In the Inter-departmental Commission there are representatives of the People's Commissariats of Justice, of Health, of Labor, of Social Welfare, Education, of the Working Women's Sections, and the League of Communist Youth. The Commission drew up a set of theses (printed in its Bulletin No. 4), sent out a circular letter to all the provincial sections of the People's Commissariat for Social Welfare, caused the creation of similar commissions in the provinces, which carried on their work under the guidance of the Central Commission, and went about the task of elaborating a number of great measures for a systematic struggle with the sources that feed prostitution.

The Inter-departmental Commission considers that the Women's Sections should show the most active and lively interest in this matter, since prostitution is a scourge which falls chiefly upon the women of the propertyless working class. This is our task, the task of the Women's Sections, to begin a general propaganda concerned with questions connected with prostitution, since it is in our interest to develop the revolution in the domain of the family, to stabilize the relations between the sexes, to approach this question from the interests of the working society. The Inter-departmental Commission, as you surely know from its theses, proceeds from the standpoint that the struggle with prostitution will be waged, in the main, together with the accomplishing of our Soviet policy, in the domain of national economy and the general Soviet structure. We shall dispose definitely of prostitution if we have consolidated the beginnings of Communism. This irrefutable truth is

the axiom on which our work is based. But this fundamental task must be supplemented by another task: the declaration of the norms of a new Communist morality. Both these tasks are closely connected with each other. A new morality is created by the new form of our economy, but the new Communist economy cannot be built without securing a support in the new morality. It is necessary to think clearly and consistently on this question. We must not fear the truth. Communists must openly acknowledge that in the sphere of the relations between the sexes a great, unparalleled revolution is taking place. But this revolution has been brought about by the upheaval in the economic system and in the new role that woman plays in the economic activity of the workers' state. At present, in this difficult transition period, when the old is crumbling and the new has only been partly created, the conjugal relations between the sexes very frequently assume forms that are unhealthy and inadmissible in the interests of the generality. But in all these manifold variety of conjugal forms, found in this changing period, there is nevertheless a healthy kernel.

The task, the obligation of our party and of the Women's Sections in particular, is to find and call attention to this healthy kernel, to point out what forms of the relation between the sexes are helpful to the general task of the revolutionary class, serve to solidify the collective life and its interests, and what forms are harmful to the collective life, and must therefore be discarded and condemned by Communists. It was thus that the Central Organ conceived its task in the Inter-departmental Commission. It felt that it was not only necessary to fight by practical means with the causes that had been handed down to us from the past and that still feed prostitution, not only to support the improvements in housing and to struggle against homelessness, against negligent treatment of children, but also to accelerate the means of a resolute participation, the crystallization of the foundations of the morality of the working class still in process of emergence and formation, since the working class is only now consolidating its dictatorship.

The Inter-departmental Commission makes the statement that in Soviet Russia prostitution appears in two forms: 1) in the form of professional prostitution; and 2) in the form of secret earnings. The first form of prostitution is very little developed among us, and is of very slight extent. In Petrograd, for example, where raids were undertaken against prostitutes, this mode of combating prostitution yielded practically no results. The second form of prostitution, although it is highly developed and extremely extensive in bourgeois capitalistic countries (in Petrograd, for example, there were from 6,000 to 7,000 registered prostitutes before the revolution, whereas as a matter of fact more than 50,000 women were actually practising prostitution), also assumes a great variety of forms in our country. Prostitution is practised by the Soviet office employees, in order to obtain, by the sale of their carcasses, boots that go up to the knee; prostitution is resorted to by mothers of families, working women, peasant women, who are out after flour for their children and sell their bodies to the manager of the rations division in order to obtain from him a full bag of the precious flour. Sometimes the girls in the offices associate with their male superiors not for manifestly material gain, for rations, shoes, etc., but in the hope of advancement in office. And there is an additional form of prostitution — "careerist prostitution"—which is also based in the last analysis, however, on material calculations.

Inadvisability of Legal Penalty

How shall we fight these conditions? There was proposed to the Inter-departmental Commission the question of a *punishment of prostitution by law*. Many of the representatives in the Inter-departmental Commission were inclined to favor the method of subjecting the prostitute to legal prosecution, by reason of the fact that the professional prostitute is a frank deserter from work. A recognition of the culpability of the prostitute logically led to an admission of the legality of the hunts for the prostitutes, of their internment in concentration camps, etc.

The Central Organ came out clearly and resolutely against this conception of the matter. If it is proper to permit hunts for prostitutes, it follows that similar hunts should be made for such lawful wives as are existing on the means of their husbands and are of no use to the state. The latter are just as much deserters from work as are the prostitutes. It is proper and logical to put prostitutes into concentration camps only in cases where lawful wives, not occupied in productive labor, are also interned for similar reasons.

Such was the standpoint of the Central Organ, which was supported by the representatives of the People's Commissariat of Justice. If we take the factor of desertion from labor as the defining element of the crime, we shall have no other

outlet: all the forms of desertion from labor will be rendered equal by the same punishments.

The factor of conjugal relations, of a relation between the sexes is eliminated. That factor cannot serve as the defining element of a crime in the Workers' Republic.

Bourgeois Objections to Prostitution

In bourgeois society the prostitute was branded and persecuted not for the fact that she did not engage in productive and useful labor, and not for selling her kisses (two-thirds of the women in bourgeois society sold themselves) to her lawful husband, but for the informality of her conjugal relationship, for the shortness of its duration.

The basis of marriage in bourgeois society was its *permanence and formality, its registration*. This registration was for the object of securing proper inheritors of property. The absence of formality, the short duration of the relation between the sexes,—that is what was despised by the bourgeoisie in extra-marital relations; it was that which was branded with contempt by all the sanctimonious hypocrites, the standard bearers of the bourgeois morality. Can the short duration, the informality, the freedom of the relation between the sexes be regarded, from the standpoint of working humanity, as a crime, as an act that should be subject to punishment? Of course not. The freedom of relations between the sexes does not contradict the ideology of Communism. The interests of the commonwealth of the workers are not in any way disturbed by the fact that marriage is of a short or prolonged duration, whether its basis is love, passion, or even a transitory physical attraction.

The only thing that is harmful to the workers' collective, and therefore inadmissible, is the element of material calculation between the sexes, whether it be in the form of prostitution, in the form of legal marriage,—the substitution of crassly materialistic calculation for gain, for a free association of the sexes on the basis of mutual attraction.

This factor is harmful, is inadmissible, will cut a breach in the feeling of equality and solidarity between the sexes. And from this standpoint we must condemn prostitution, as a trade, in all its shapes and forms, even that of the legal "wives", who maintain their sad part, so intolerable in the Workers' Republic.

But is this defining element sufficient to make it punishable by law? Can we prosecute before the law, and hold to account, persons engaging in a conjugal relationship if the element of "calculation" enters into the relation, in view of the instability and manifold nature of the forms of association now current and in spite of the absence of any declaration of the new responsible norms of conjugal morality in the working class? Where is the line now to be drawn between prostitution and marriage by calculation. In the Inter-departmental Commission the culpability of prostitutes, for prostitution, that is, for "purchase and sale", was rejected. There remained only to be decided

the point that all persons wandering in the streets and deserting from work should be assigned to the disposition of the Commissariat of Social Welfare, and thence sent out, in accordance with general fundamental considerations, either to the Sections for the Distribution of Labor Power, of the People's Commissariat of Labor, or to courses, sanatoria, hospitals, and only after a repeated desertion by the prostitute, in other words, after evidence of malicious intent to desert, the individual should be subject to forced labor. There is to be no special culpability attached to the prostitutes. They are in no way to be segregated from the other bodies of deserters from work. This is a revolutionary and pregnant step, worthy of the first Workers' Republic of the world.

Punishment for Men Also?

The question of the culpability of the prostitutes was formulated in point fifteen of our theses. When this question was brought up, there was also put before the Commission the other question as to the culpability of the *clients* of prostitution, in other words, of the men. There were advocates of this view in the commission. But this hopeless attempt had to be renounced, as it did not arise logically from our fundamental presuppositions. How shall we define the client of prostitution? And again where is the measure that will define the crime? The purchase and sale of female caresses? For in that case the husband of the most lawful wife might be subject to persecution. Who will undertake to define a client of prostitution? The proposition was put to the Commission, to establish institutions of "Sisters and Brothers of Social Investigation", which was voted down by the majority. The Central Organ came out sharply against this proposition. The representative of the People's Commissariat of Justice stated that as it is not even possible to define precisely the measure of the crime,—the question of the culpability of the clients is automatically precluded. The standpoint of the Central Organ was again victorious. But if the Commission recognized that the clients could not be punished by law, it nevertheless definitely expressed its moral condemnation both of those who desert to prostitution, and to those women who enter this occupation. We have still to point out those purely practical measures which will serve to decrease prostitution, in which the active and entergetic participation of the Women's Sections will be required. There is absolutely no doubt that the poor, insufficient pay returned for female labor continues, in Soviet Russia, to serve as one of the real factors pushing women into prostitution in one or the other of its forms. Under the law, the earnings of the working men and working women are equal, but as a matter of fact the women engaged in work are in the great majority of cases unskilled laborers.

The question of making female labor skilled

labor, of properly formulating this matter, of spreading a network of special courses all over the country, is an extremely urgent matter. The task of the Women's Sections is to influence the national instruction in this direction, to give impetus to the development of the vocational training of working women.

What Women Now Become Prostitutes

The second cause is the political backwardness of women, the absence of wide social points of view among them. Who is it that most frequently falls into the much-trodden path, the conscious working woman who has been organized in trade unions, or the colorless woman who has not been seized by the revolutionary wave, who has not been carried away by the great business of the construction of Communism. Of course it is the latter. The task of the Women's Sections is to accelerate the work among the female proletariat. The best form of struggle against prostitution is to raise the political consciousness of the great masses of women, to attract them to the revolutionary struggle and the constructive work of Communism. Prostitution is also strengthened by the fact that the housing question in Soviet Russia is not yet solved. And in this matter the Women's Sections, together with the Commission for the Struggle against Prostitution, can and must say a decisive word. The Inter-departmental Commission is occupied with the drawing up of propositions for housing communes for the working young people, for an extensive network of houses for the temporary shelter of women arriving in town. But if the Women's Sections and the Commission to Aid Youth do not develop an active initiative and independent work in this matter, the whole thing will remain a mere paper prescription of the Commission, an excellent and beautiful paper set of wishes. But much can be done and much must be done!

The Women's Sections in the provinces also must enter into contact with the national educators, in order to push into the foreground the question of proper provision for sexual enlightenment in the schools. In addition, a number of conversations and lessons must be introduced, of social scientific or scientific hygienic character, as to questions of marriage, the family, the history of the form of the relationship between the sexes, the dependence of these forms, and of sexual morality itself, on purely economic, material causes.

It is time to introduce clearness into the question of the relationship between the sexes. It is time to preach with merciless and rigidly scientific criticism. I have already said that the Inter-departmental Commission has recognized the culpability of professional prostitutes only in so far as we prosecute also all other desertion from labor. Putting the question in this way, the women who have labor books, but who still engage in prostitution as an underground trade, as well as all the

women who are supported by their husbands, are not subject to punishment by law. This is stated in our theses, but does this mean that we are not to carry on a struggle by other means against this condition? Far from it. We know—I have said it several times today—that prostitution is a danger to the worker's commonwealth, corrupting the psychology of men and women, disturbing the feeling of equality, of solidarity between the sexes. Our task is to re-educate the psychology of the working commonwealth, to bring it into correspondence with the economic tasks of the working class. We must without reservation discard our old outlived conceptions, to which we are attached as to a bad habit. Economics have now defined our ideology. Look about you and behold the foundations of the former economic institutions crumbling. With them there go down also the foundations of the earlier form of marriage. And yet we are chained to the early marriage system, to the bourgeois form of the family; we are ready to renounce all the accustomed forms of life, ready to hail the revolution in every field, and yet are afraid to touch the family! Only do not touch the marriage system! Even conscious Communists are afraid to look the truth in the face and wave aside those fundamentals which bear witness to the fact that the former family ties are breaking, as the new economic forms dictate also new forms of association between the sexes. This results in outright abnormalities. The Soviet power has recognized woman as a working unit, valued by national economy, has placed her, as a working, toiling force, on the same footing with man, but in the actual conditions of life we are still maintaining the "old regime", and are ready to acknowledge the normality of marriages based on the material dependence of women on men. But if we wage a struggle against prostitution, we should also introduce clearness into these conjugal relations that are still built on the old principle of "purchase and sale". We must learn to be ruthless, to fear no sentimental outcries as to the fact that "by our criticism, our preaching of scientific truths, we violate the sanctity of family ties".

Is the Family Doomed?

—It is necessary to declare the truth outright: the old form of the family is passing away. The Communist society has no use for it. The bourgeois world celebrated the isolation, the cutting off of the married pair from the collective weal; in the scattered and disjointed individual bourgeois society, full of struggle and destruction, the family was the sole anchor of hope in the storms of life, the peaceful haven in the ocean of hostilities and competitions between persons. The family represented an independent class in the collective unit. There can and must be no such thing in the Communist society. For Communist Society as a whole represents such a fortress of the collective life, precluding any possibility of the existence of an isolated class of family bodies, existing by itself

with its ties of birth, with its female egoism, its love of family honor, its absolute segregation.

New Forms of Social Life

Already ties of blood, of birth, and even of the relationship of conjugal love are weakening in our eyes; in their turn there are growing, spreading and deepening, new ties, ties of the working family, the profound feeling of comradeship, of solidarity, of community of interests, the creation of a collective responsibility, of a belief in the collective welfare as the highest moral-legislative good.

What marriage is to become in the future, or more properly, what are to be the forms of relationship between the sexes in the future, it would be difficult to foretell. But one thing is beyond doubt, that is that under Communism there will be lacking in the conjugal relationship not only all material calculation, all economic dependence of woman on man, but also all the other considerations of "convenience" which frequently characterize present-day marriage. At the basis of the conjugal relation there lies the healthy instinct of reproduction, beautified in the attractive colors of youthful love, in the strong tones of passion, in the delicate tints of spiritual harmony and that of sudden and open outbursts of physiological attraction, which is soon extinguished. All these factors in the conjugal relationship have nothing whatever in common with prostitution. Prostitution is offensive by reason of the fact that it is an act of violence on the part of the woman over herself, brought about by the pressure of fortuitous and external advantages; in prostitution there is no place either for love or for passion, nor is there any healthy instinct for the production of offspring. It is an act of deliberate calculation merely. Where passion or attraction enters, prostitution ceases.

Prostitution under Communism is passing into the domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its place there are growing healthy, joyful, and free relations between the sexes. A new generation is growing up to replace the old, with more developed social feelings, with greater mutual independence, with more freedom, health and courage. A generation for whom the welfare of the whole will stand higher than everything else.

Comrades! Together we have thus far only outlined the foundation for the beautiful building of the Communist future. But it is in our power to accelerate the construction of this magnificent and unprecedented edifice. In order to create Communism, we must strengthen the spirit of solidarity in the working class; in order to strengthen this spirit, we must wage a war against all the conditions that disintegrate the working class and foster a mutual estrangement. Prostitution interferes with the growth of this solidarity, and therefore we call upon the Women's Sections to start an immediate campaign for the eradication of this evil.

Comrades! Our task is to destroy the roots that nourish prostitution. Our task is to wage relentless warfare on the vestiges of individualism, which has hitherto been the moral basis of marriage. Our task is to revolutionize thought in the field of marriage relations and to clear the way for a new, healthy, conjugal morality that shall correspond with the interests of the workers' commonwealth. After it has outlived the morality and conjugal

forms of the present day, the Communist commonwealth will have disposed also of prostitution.

We must all put our shoulders to the wheel, Comrades! In the place of the family which is passing away, the family of the past, there is already arising, solidifying, and spreading, the new family—the great workers' family of the victorious world proletariat.

Proletarian Courts

BY N. PREOBRAZHENSKY

The Courts in Bourgeois Society

TOGETHER with all the other institutions of the bourgeois state that serve to oppress the working masses and betray their interests we must also consider the bourgeois courts.

This time-honored institution is guided in its judgment by laws that have been created in the interest of the exploiting class. Whatever may be the personal composition of the court, the court is thus limited in its decisions by the many volumes of provisions which are the outcome of all the privileges of capital and of the disfranchisement of the masses.

As for the actual organization of bourgeois courts, it corresponds fully with the nature of the bourgeois state. Wherever the bourgeois state is more or less frank, wherever it is obliged to cast aside its hypocrisy in order to force verdicts that are of advantage to the ruling class, the courts are appointed from above; even when they are elected, they are elected by the privileged portion of society. But if the masses are sufficiently trained by capital, are sufficiently obedient to capital, and regard its laws as their own laws, the workers will be permitted to a certain extent to serve as judges themselves, just as they are also permitted to elect their exploiters or the lackeys of their exploiters to the parliaments. This explains the origin and continuance of the jury courts, with whose aid judgments pronounced in the interest of capital may be declared to be verdicts of the people themselves.

Judges Elected by the Workers

In the programs of the Socialists who were represented by the Second International the demand was raised to have judges elected by the people. In the epoch of proletarian dictatorship this demand appears just as reactionary and incapable of execution as the demand for universal suffrage or the universal right to bear arms. If the proletariat assumes power, it cannot permit its class opponents to become its judges. It cannot appoint, as guardians of the laws calculated to eliminate the domination of capital, ex-representatives of capital or of landed property. Finally, in the course of civil and penal cases, the procedure must be in accordance with the spirit of the Socialist society that is to be established.

Therefore the Soviet power has not only abolished the entire old court apparatus which, although serving capital, had hypocritically declared itself to be the voice of the people. But it has also called into life a new court, the class character of which it makes no effort to conceal. In the form of the old court the minority class of exploiters passed judgment on the working majority. The court of the proletarian dictatorship is the court of the working majority passing judgments over the exploiting minority. The structure of this court is of a nature to correspond with this situation. The judges are elected only by the workers, the exploiters retain only the right to be judged.

The Uniform People's Court

In bourgeois society the organization of courts is extremely clumsy. Bourgeois jurists are very proud of the fact that a long series of successive courts assures complete justice and reduces to a minimum the number of errors in the application of justice. But as a matter of fact the passing of cases from one court to the other has always been in the interest of the possessing class. By having at their disposal a whole class of paid lawyers, the rich sections of the population are fully able to bring about decisions favorable to them in the higher courts, while the poor plaintiff is often obliged to desist from pressing his case, as he would find it too expensive to do so. The reference from court to court will produce a "just" decision only in so far as this decision may be in the interest of the exploiting groups.

The Uniform People's Court of the proletarian state reduces to a minimum the period of time elapsing between the inauguration of a case in court and its disposition. The judicial waste of time—the law's delays—is rendered extremely limited, and if there are still such abuses, they are due to the necessary imperfection of all Soviet institutions in the first months and years of the proletarian dictatorship. As a final result, the court will be accessible to all the poor and uneducated sections of the population, and will be even more accessible after the period of the most bitter civil war has been passed and all mutual relations between the citizens of the republic have assumed a more stable character: "During war

time all laws lie dormant," said the Romans. But during the civil war the laws in favor of the workers did not lie dormant; the People's Court still continued working; but unfortunately not all the population has yet had an opportunity to learn the character of the new courts and appreciate all their advantages. The task of the People's Courts in the period during which the old society is being destroyed and the new one built up is an immense one. Soviet legislation must follow life. The laws of the landed noble and bourgeois order are abolished; the laws of the proletarian state have been set down only in the most general terms and will never have been completely recorded. The working class has not the intention to prolong its domination forever and it does not need dozens of volumes of laws of many kinds. Once it has expressed its will in one of its fundamental decrees, it may assign the interpretation and application of these decrees in practice to the people's judges elected by the workers. It is important only that the judgments of these courts shall reflect this complete break with the customs and the psychology of the bourgeois order, that the People's judges shall pronounce their judgments in accordance with their proletarian, socialistic conscience, and not with that of the bourgeoisie. In the endless number of litigations that will arise during the collapse of the old conditions and the inauguration of the proletarian rights, the People's judges have an opportunity to carry out to its conclusion this transformation, which, beginning with the November Revolution in 1917, must be extended to all the mutual relations of the citizens of the Soviet Republic. On the other hand, the People's courts, in disposing of the gigantic number of court cases which arise independently of the condition of the revolutionary epoch, of penal cases of petty bourgeois character, must assume an entirely new attitude on the part of the revolutionary proletariat toward these offenses, and execute a thorough revolution in the character of the punishments imposed.

Revolutionary Tribunals

The People's Court, which is elected and may be recalled by the electors, and in which each worker has the right to exercise his function as judge, this People's court is considered by the Communist Party as a norm for a court in the proletarian state. But in the most savage period of civil war the organization of revolutionary tribunals is also necessary, in addition to the People's Courts. The tasks of revolutionary tribunals consists in passing judgment swiftly and ruthlessly on the enemies of the proletarian revolution. These courts are one of the arms for the suppression of the exploiters and in this sense they are just as much weapons of proletarian offense and defence as the Red Guard, the Red Army, the Extraordinary Commissions. For this reason these revolutionary tribunals are organized on less democratic lines than the People's Courts and are

appointed by the Soviets and not elected directly by the working masses.

Penalties Imposed by the Proletarian Court

In the bloody struggle with capital the working class may not relinquish the most efficient penalty that it can impose upon its open enemies. The abolition of the death penalty is impossible as long as the civil war continues. But any purely objective comparison of the proletarian court with the courts of the bourgeois counter-revolution will show how extraordinarily lenient the worker's courts are, as compared with the hangmen of bourgeois justice. Death sentences are pronounced only in the most extreme cases.* This is particularly characteristic of the court trials in the first months of the proletarian dictatorship. It is sufficient here to point out that the well-known Purishkevich of Petrograd was sentenced by the Revolutionary Tribunal to only two months of imprisonment. We also find in the practice of the proletarian court itself, a reflection of the greater leniency on the part of the advanced sections of society, to whom the future belongs, toward its enemies, as well as of the greater cruelty practiced in their vengeance by the moribund class.

As for the penalties imposed by the proletarian court for crimes not of counter-revolutionary character, these are of entirely different nature than the penalties imposed by the bourgeois courts. And this is as it should be. The overwhelming majority of crimes committed in bourgeois society are either violations of the right of property or crimes connected more or less closely with the institution of private property. It is natural that the bourgeois state should take vengeance on criminals, and the penalties imposed by bourgeois society are nothing else than various forms taken by the vengeance of the angered property-holder. Equally stupid were—and still are—the punishments for crimes of accidental nature or such crimes as were due to the general disorder of bourgeois conditions as a whole (crimes based on the existing family rights, on a certain romantic predisposition, on the foundation of alcoholism and degeneration, of ignorance and stunted development of the social instinct). The proletarian court is obliged to deal with crimes the soil for which was prepared by bourgeois society, crimes that have not yet been completely outlived. The proletarian court has inherited from the old order great hosts of habitual offenders created by this order. The proletarian court knows no thought of revenge. It cannot wreak vengeance on persons for the fact that they were obliged to live in bourgeois society and therefore our courts already now are beginning to express a complete transformation in the imposing of sentences. Suspended sentences are becoming more and more frequent: in other words, a punishment without penalty, the main object of which is to prevent a repetition of

*Efforts have been made however to eliminate the death penalty, which was abolished on two occasions since the revolution of November 1917.—*Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA.*

the offenses. Public censure is frequently pronounced, a measure which will become truly effective only in the classless society, and which is calculated to enhance the social consciousness and the sense of public responsibility. Imprisonment without labor, this compulsory form of parasitism, so frequently practised by Tsarism, is now replaced by public work. The harm done by the criminal to society is to be made good, in general, under the direction of the proletarian court, by an increased labor contribution on the part of those guilty. In cases in which the court is dealing with an habitual offender, whose liberation may be a source of danger to the lives of other citizens even after his serving the penalty, the criminal is isolated from society, thus affording him a full opportunity for a complete moral rebirth.

All the measures enumerated above, constituting a complete transformation of the former means of punishment, have in most cases already been advocated by the best jurists in bourgeois society. But in bourgeois society all these measures necessarily remain only dreams. They could be made a part of real life only by the victorious proletariat.

Future of the Proletarian Court

As for the revolutionary tribunals, this form of the proletarian court has no more prospect of existing in the future than has the Red Army after its victory over the White Army, or the Extraordinary Commissions,—or in short, any of the organs created by the proletariat in the period of the civil war, which is not yet disposed of—none of

these institutions are to endure forever. With the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeois counter-revolution these organs, having become dispensable, will disappear. On the other hand, the proletarian court, as the People's Court, will doubtless survive the end of the civil war and be obliged to aid in cleaning up the leavings of bourgeois society in their numerous manifestations. The abolition of classes does not of itself eliminate the class psychology, which continues to live after the social relations, the class instincts and customs producing it, have passed away. Besides, the process of the elimination of class may be long drawn out. The transformation of the bourgeoisie into a class of laboring beings, in the creators of the Socialist society, will not be achieved all at once. Particularly, the development of the peasants will be a pretty slow one and will be accompanied by much litigation in the courts. Also the period of private property in commodities, which must still intervene before the period of a purely communistic distribution, will still afford many occasions for transgressions and crimes. And finally, crimes against society, the result of the personal egotism of its individual members, and the most varied violations of the common good, will likewise remain for a long time the subject of court transactions. To be sure, the court will change in character. Gradually, as the state dies out, the court will be transformed into an organ for the expression of public opinion, approximating the character of a court of arbitration, whose decisions are not executed by compulsion, but possess only a moral significance.

People's Court of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic

Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets

General Rules of Judicial Procedure

Art. 1. A Peoples Court of judicature, having exclusive jurisdiction within the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, shall be established, consisting of:

- (1) One permanent People's Judge.
- (2) Two or six regularly empaneled People's jurors.

Art. 2. The jurisdiction of the People's Court shall extend over the territory of a Soviet District, County or Municipality.

Art. 3. The number of People's Courts in a separate Soviet District shall be determined by the County or the Municipal Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies, and confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies of the Province. The number of People's Courts in towns where more than one District Soviet exists, shall be determined by the District Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies, and confirmed by the Municipal Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies.

Art. 4. The People's Court shall have jurisdiction, within the limits of the District, of all suits concerning crimes and offenses, of all disputes relative to personal rights and property interests, and of all matters referred to it for adjudication by any of the Departments of the Republic.

Note: Trials of counter-revolutionary acts, rebellion, sabotage, libeling of Soviet authority, and

espionage shall be conducted in the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Revolutionary Tribunal shall have authority to class matters as being non-political, in character and remove same to the Peoples Court.

Art. 5. The People's Court shall consist of:

- (1) One permanent People's Judge.
- (2) One People's Judge and two regularly empaneled jurors.
- (3) One People's Judge and six regularly empaneled People's jurors.

Art. 6. The People's Judge shall sit alone:

- (1) To act upon divorce cases and preferred actions.
- (2) To hold preliminary inquests if required, with the assistance of two jurors, in criminal trials within the jurisdiction of the People's Court.

(3) To certify to the legality and correctness of detention in the jails within his District, and in cases of persons arrested or held illegally, shall have authority to order the release of such persons.

(4) To supervise the making of inquiries by the authorities of the Soviet Militia, confirm and enforce measures directed against the evasion of any inquest taken by such authorities, and in those cases where it shall become necessary to mitigate such measures, he shall bring the same without delay before the People's Court.

Art. 7. The People's Court shall consist of one per-

manent People's Judge and six duly empaneled People's Jurors when acting upon criminal trials, relating to attempts on human life, felonious assault and battery, mayhem, rape, robbery, counterfeiting, forgery, bribery, and speculation in monopolized products or products for consumption having fixed prices.

Art. 8. The People's Court shall consist of one permanent People's Judge and two duly empaneled People's jurors when acting upon all other criminal cases and upon civil suits.

Note: The People's Court last mentioned may refer criminal cases for examination to the Court consisting of the Judge and six jurors.

Art. 9. When acting upon criminal or civil matters, the People's Jurors are during the entire proceedings entitled to the same rights as the permanent People's Judge, determining jointly with him questions relative to fact, punishment, the granting of claims or refusal of same, and all other questions.

Art. 10. Within the council chamber where six empaneled People's Jurors are present, a permanent People's Judge shall preside, or in his absence one of the jurors who shall be selected for that purpose by the staff of the court; in the council chamber consisting of two empaneled People's Jurors, only the permanent People's Judge shall preside.

Art. 11. The People's Judge, when acting upon civil suits requiring expert knowledge, may, at his discretion, invite to the Court session persons capable of giving expert testimony.

Qualifications and Requirements of Judges and Jurors

Art. 12. In order to be eligible to office, the permanent People's Judge must comply with the following requirements:

- (1) He must have the qualifications to elect and be elected to the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies.
- (2) He shall have experience with the political organization and conduct of proletarian organizations of the party, professional unions, workmen's co-operative societies, shop committees.
- (3) He shall be theoretically and practically prepared for the office of Soviet Judge.

The permanent People's Judge must absolutely comply with the first requirement above mentioned, and shall comply with at least one of the other two requirements.

Art. 13. The permanent People's Judge shall be elected in the following manner:

- (1) In cities having District Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies, after careful verification of their eligibility to office. In cities having no District Soviets, the election shall be conducted in the same manner by the general meeting of the Municipal Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies.
- (2) In Counties, including towns which have no Municipal Soviet, the election shall be conducted by the Executive Committee of the County meeting of the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies. The list of candidates shall include all candidates of the Village and Volost Executive Committee of Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies, who conform to the conditions of Article 10.

Note: The permanent People's Judges may at any time be removed by the Soviet of the Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies, or the Executive Committee of the meeting of Soviets by which they were elected.

Art. 14. Only such persons as have the right to elect and be elected into the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies shall be eligible as jurors.

Art. 15. The lists of People's jurors shall be prepared by Workmen's organizations, Volost or Village Soviets of a separate Court District, and shall be submitted for confirmation to the District, Municipal or County Executive Committees of Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies.

Note: In Counties, the list of People's jurors shall

be prepared according to the District of the Soviets of Deputies of the Volost.

Art. 16. The list of People's jurors shall be valid for a period of six months.

Art. 17. Eight jurors (six duly empaneled and two substitutes) shall be elected for each session of the People's Court, to act upon trials as set out in Article 7 of these Regulations.

Three jurors (two regularly empaneled and one substitute) shall be elected to act upon trials and suits as set out in Article 6 of these Regulations.

The method of selection shall be by lot, from the certified list of People's jurors. In cities having Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies, such election shall be conducted by the Presiding Board of the Soviet, together with the College of Permanent Judges of a given Soviet District. In cities and counties having no Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies, such election shall be conducted by the Presiding Board of the Executive Committees of the Municipal and County Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies, together with representatives of the People's Court, or the Council of People's Judges.

Note: These electoral bodies may simultaneously determine several panels of jurors, according to the schedule submitted by the People's Judges.

Art. 18. Each of the jurors shall participate in the session of the People's Court; those receiving no remuneration, as well as those receiving their means of livelihood from professional work or artisanship, shall receive during the session a daily remuneration of not less than the minimum wages determined for the given district, from State funds.

Art. 19. People's jurors shall be notified by summons issued by the permanent People's Judge not later than three days before the beginning of the session, according to their place of residence.

Art. 20. Any citizen chosen and empaneled for jury duty who shall fail to attend, unless excused for a good and sufficient and justifiable reason, shall be punished by a fine not to exceed the sum of one hundred roubles, said fine to be determined by the People's Judge at a regular session of the Court. Such fines shall be paid and added to the revenue of the People's Commissariat of Justice.

General Rules of Procedure

Art. 21. Within the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic proceedings within the Courts may be conducted in the accepted language of any given locality. The language in which proceedings are to be conducted in the given Court District shall be decided upon in a conference held between the Municipal Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies or the executive committee of the District meeting of the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies and the representatives of the People's Courts.

Art. 22. In all actions before the People's Court, the Court shall be bound by the decrees of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, in cases where no decree has been rendered governing the issue involved or the decree is incomplete, the Court shall be guided by its Socialistic conception of justice.

Note: All references to the laws of the de-throned governments in the decisions and judgments of the Court are hereby prohibited.

Art. 23. The People's Court shall determine according to its own discretion, the nature of the punishment and it may discharge the accused on such conditions as it may deem proper.

In all cases where the decree determines the minimum punishment the People's Court may mitigate the punishment or entirely discharge the defendant. In all such cases, however, there shall be a statement rendered by the Court giving fully the reasons for the mitigation of the punishment imposed.

Art. 24. The People's Court shall not be held down to any formal or approved manner of procedure and it

has the right to decide the method of procedure according to the facts and circumstances of the case at bar.

The Court may admit whatever proofs it deems necessary and it may subpoena persons not parties to the suit to appear or to bring evidence to the court. Attendance of persons so subpoenaed shall be obligatory.

Oath shall not be allowed as proof of any facts.

Art. 25. Challenge (demurrer) in civil actions on the ground that the action at bar has been improperly joined or divided or improperly split up shall not be allowed.

Art. 26. The parties to the suit shall be, at any time, during the proceedings allowed to change the ground of the action or to file counter actions as well as to add to the cause of the action new causes; either the plaintiff or the defendant may join as parties to the action, additional parties.

Art. 27. No witnesses shall be required to testify under oath, but all witnesses shall be informed that they will be responsible for rendering false testimony and they may be required to make their statements in writing.

The Inquest

Art. 28. The District of the Municipal Committees of Inquiry shall have charge of the execution of preliminary inquests in the criminal suits which may come before the People's Court where such Court requires the participation of six jurors.

In all criminal actions the People's Court may satisfy itself that the search made by the local Militia or the Court may transfer the case for the execution of the preliminary inquest to the local Committee of Inquiry, or in actions where a postponement or delay will be prejudicial the task of the preliminary inquest shall devolve upon the permanent People's Judge.

Art. 29. The division of the territory of the County or Town into Districts of Inquiry shall be made by the County Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies and shall be formed by the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies of the Province.

In towns, having in addition to the Province Soviets, special Municipal Soviets, the division of the territory of the town into Districts of Inquiry, shall be made by the Municipal Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies.

Art. 30. Each District Committee of Inquiry shall consist of one president and two members who shall be elected by the Municipal Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies or the County Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies.

The President or members of the Committee of Inquiry may be recalled at any time by the Soviet which elected them or by such other or higher authority of the Soviet Government (vide article 62 of the Constitution).

Art. 31. The Chairman and the members of the Committee of Inquiry shall possess the following qualifications:

(1) The qualification of electing and being elected to the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies.

(2) A theoretical and practical preparation for the office of Soviet investigators.

Art. 32. The Committee of Inquiry shall commence the preliminary inquest:

(1) Upon request of citizens.

(2) Upon information furnished to it by the Militia or by civic or other authorities.

(3) Upon request of the People's Court.

(4) Of its own discretion.

Art. 33. The Committee of Inquiry may at any time require and receive the assistance of the Soviet Militia, State or public organizations as well as individual officials or private persons.

Art. 34. Counsel for the defense, appointed by the college of counsels, upon the request of the persons summoned to a preliminary inquest, shall be entitled to admission thereto, but the Committee of Inquiry shall restrict the defense whenever such restriction shall be for public interest and in the interest of justice.

Art. 35. The Committee of Inquiry while in session shall

(1) Decide upon the commencement and the discontinuance of the inquest.

(2) Select the method of charge to abolish same.

(3) Decide upon the method of procedure.

Art. 36. At the conclusion of the inquiry the Committee of Inquiry shall certify, to the People's Court of the District where the crime took place, the entire proceeding of the inquest, from the arraignment to its conclusion. The final determination as to the disposition of the case shall be with the People's Court.

Art. 37. The Committee of Inquiry may at its own discretion separate the tasks connected with the inquest, dividing among the members the functions of hearing the witnesses; the examination of the material proofs, etc.; or it may undertake these functions sitting as a whole.

Art. 38. An appeal from the decision of the Committee of Inquiry must be filed within two weeks. The said appeal may be taken to the People's Court of the district where the alleged crime was committed and the decision of the People's Court therein shall be final.

Art. 39. The Committee of Inquiry at the conclusion of the inquest shall specify reasons for its decision. If said decision shall be considered based on insufficient evidence or reasons the People's Court may direct the Committee of Inquiry to proceed further with the inquiry.

The College of Counsels for the Defense, Prosecuting Attorneys and Representatives of the Parties in Civil Actions

Art. 40. There shall be organized colleges of counsels for the defense, prosecuting attorneys and representatives of the parties in civil actions. These shall be attached to the County Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies (including also the Municipal and County Soviet) and to the governmental Executive Committees of the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies. These colleges shall be of full assistance to the Court in the examination of the facts and the circumstances concerning the accused as well as the protection of the interests of the parties to civil actions.

Art. 41. The members of the colleges mentioned in Article 40 shall be elected by the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies in the manner of the election of officials of the Soviet Republic in accordance with conditions of Article 64 of the Constitution.

Art. 42. The members of the colleges mentioned in Article 40 shall receive salaries as officials of the Soviet Republic, equal to the salaries of the People's Judge, the amount whereof shall be estimated by the People's Commissariat of Justice.

Art. 43. In all the actions tried by the People's Court of six jurors, the defendant upon request shall as a matter of right be entitled to the assistance of counsel. In all other criminal actions the question of allowing a counsel to the defendant shall be decided by the Court while in session.

Note: In all cases, however, wherein the assistance of a prosecuting attorney shall be deemed necessary the defendant is entitled to counsel as a matter of right.

Art. 44. The number of counsellors for the defense, of prosecuting attorneys and of representatives of the parties who are to participate in each separate session in criminal actions shall be determined by the Court.

Art. 45. The presiding judge shall personally appoint all counsels for the defense and prosecuting attorneys from the number of the college of counsels assigned to his Court.

Art. 46. In all civil actions, parties thereto desiring to have at the court hearings, representatives of their interests shall address the request directly to the council of the college of attorneys. Council of the college, upon inquiry and investigation of the nature of the suit may

decline the request for the appointment of such a representative.

In the event that the council shall decline the request for the appointment of the representative as aforesaid an appeal by the party may be taken to the court in which such action is to be heard.

Art. 47. In addition to the parties to the action, counsels for the defense and other members of the college, there may also be admitted:

(a) The relatives of the parties, such as parents, children, husbands or wives, brothers and sisters.

(b) The attorneys of Soviet institutions by appointment of the managing boards of such institutions.

Art. 48. The payment to the members of the college and other disbursements shall be determined upon and paid to the court by the accused or the parties to the action and the same shall be added to the revenue of the Republic and credited to the budget of the People's Court of Justice.

Art. 49. The Council of the College of counsels for the defense, and prosecuting attorneys or representatives of the parties to civil actions shall be charged with the carrying out of the obligations specified herein in Arts. 45 and 46. The said council of the college shall be elected by the members of the college for the term of one year.

Challenge of People's Judges and Jurors

Art. 50. The accused as well as parties to civil actions shall have the right to give notice of their desire to challenge the people's judge as well as the people's jurors.

Art. 51. The declaration of such challenge shall be substantiated by reasons and shall be made at the opening of the session of the court, but shall be passed upon and decided by the court.

Art. 52. The People's Judge and people's jurors shall be deemed as disqualified from the participation in an action on trial when they are directly or indirectly interested in the outcome of the case or stand in personal or other relationship to the parties to the action.

The Proceedings

Art. 53. The sessions of the People's Court shall commence after notice thereof has been given to the citizens, at the request of the executive committee of the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies, of officials, as well as at the direction of the court of a given district where the court is notified of the commission of a crime or the violation of a decree of the Workmen's-Peasants' Government.

Art. 54. The People's Judge may at his own discretion and by a personal order, direct the issuance of a writ for the arrest of any person accused, but he shall certify such writ to the People's Court for confirmation, not later than at the next regular session of the Court.

Art. 55. All actions involving the rights of a person under arrest must be heard at the next session of the Court.

Art. 56. All parties interested in the case shall be asked to attend the session by notice, or a personal notice may be given. All persons notified shall give a written promise that they will appear in court at the appointed term and time. The notification aforementioned shall contain the information whether the person whose attendance is asked shall be required as defendant, complaining witness, witness, as an expert or as a party to a civil action.

Note: Such notice may be sent by either registered mail with a return receipt requested, by messenger or with the assistance of the militia.

Art. 57. All persons notified or summoned to the Court who shall disobey such summons shall be punishable; the punishment to be determined by the decision of the People's Court.

Art. 58. At the opening of each session of the court, the presiding judge shall inform the defendant as well as all persons, parties to the action, of their right to challenge the People's Judge as well as any and all of the empaneled People's jurors.

Execution of Verdicts

Art. 78. Verdicts and decisions of the People's Court shall be put into execution immediately upon the expiration of the term for appeal. In all cases where appeal shall be denied to the parties by the Appellate Court, the verdicts and decisions shall be put into execution before the expiration of the said term.

The filing of an appeal within the stated term shall act as an appeal from the enforcement of the execution until the said appeal shall have been passed upon by the Council of People's Judges.

The People's Court shall, upon the filing of a verdict or a decision, determine what, if any, security shall be filed by the parties or whether security already deposited shall be diminished, increased or abolished.

Art. 79. To the People's Court shall be reserved the right, before the expiration of the term, to forgive the person convicted or to restore him or her to prior rights, upon the personal petition of the party involved or the petition of the relatives of such party or upon the resolution or application of such parties as may be interested in the decision or punishment. The People's Court may issue instructions entirely releasing the party before the expiration of the term.

Art. 80. All verdicts adjudging the defendant to compulsory labor or in other ways depriving defendant of liberty shall be put into execution by organizations of Soviet Militia; the decisions in civil action and the enforcing of money damages shall be delegated to judicial executors.

The Councils of People's Judges

Art. 81. All People's Courts being a part of a province or a corresponding separate territorial unit of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic shall form a given Court District. The cities of Moscow and Petrograd shall constitute separate court districts.

Art. 82. There shall be established within each given court district a Council of People's Judges which shall have charge of the execution of appeals from verdicts and decisions in criminal cases and appeals from decisions in civil actions and it shall have immediate control of the actions and decisions of the People's Judges within the said district.

Art. 83. The Council of People's Judges shall consist of:

(1) The President of the Council of People's Judges and a substitute Vice-President.

(2) Two or five permanent members of the Council.

(3) Such district judges whose term of assignment shall oblige them to participate in the said council.

Art. 84. The President, the Vice-President and the permanent members of the council of People's Judges shall be selected out of the People's Judges within our Government at the general meeting of the People's Judges for the district (except that in the cities of Moscow and Petrograd, in which cities they shall be selected by the general meeting of the judges for the city) and their selection shall be confirmed by the executive committee of the governmental or Municipal Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies; the judges thus selected shall constitute a presiding board of the Council of People's Judges. Every member of such presiding board may be recalled by the executive committee of the Governmental or Municipal Soviet, or by resolution of the Peoples Judges assembled in session.

Art. 85. The Council of People's Judges shall establish criminal and civil departments which shall be under the supervision of the members of the presiding board of the Council of People's Judges.

Art. 86. The Appellate Court of the Council of People's Judges shall consist of five persons; two members of the presiding board of the Council of People's Judges and three People's Judges.

The Appellate Court, however, for the determination of civil actions or appeals against individual actions of People's Courts, shall consist of no less than three members

of the aforementioned court, each of such members being a member of the presiding board of the Council of People's Judges.

The control and supervision of the cases pending in the Appellate Court shall belong to the presiding board and the council of People's Judges.

Art. 87. The conduct of the hearing and determination of each individual appeal before the Council of People's Judges within each department shall be determined upon by the presiding judge who shall be selected for that particular hearing by the members of the court or by the members of the presiding board of the Council of People's Judges.

Art. 88. The council of People's Judges when determining upon the appeal may summon the following persons: the parties involved, the prosecuting witnesses, persons making claim to some of the material proofs involved; non-appearance, however, of some or of all these witnesses shall not suspend the hearing of the appeal unless the said council shall deem their presence necessary.

Art. 89. The Council of People's Judges shall have the right to annul the verdicts and decisions in all cases in which such verdicts or decisions appealed from are against the weight of evidence or otherwise manifestly unjust.

Art. 90. The Council of People's Judges when determining an appeal before it, shall not be bound by the errors enumerated or causes stated in the said appeal.

Art. 91. In all cases of reversal of a decision or a verdict of the People's Court, the Council of People's Judges shall in a statement enumerate the grounds for such reversal, setting forth the instances of misapplication or the violation of the proceeding at law or the reasons for the incompleteness of the inquest upon which the action was based or such other instances of injustice or incorrectness as may appear from the case under consideration.

Art. 92. The Council of People's Judges when reversing a verdict or a decision of the People's Court shall order a new trial before some other People's Court, sitting within the same district; such court to which the said case shall have been sent for rehearing, after reversal, shall be bound by the instructions and the information and opinion of the Appellate Court upon which such reversal shall be based.

Art. 93. In every case in which there shall be a reversal of the verdict or decision, a copy of the said decision of the Council of People's Judges shall be sent to the Court to which the case is referred for a rehearing and also to that People's Court which originally tried to decide the case.

Art. 94. At the commencement of the hearing the Court shall inquire who the parties are, what witnesses or other persons they desire to call and whether they are present at the sessions; and shall thereupon pass on the possibility of hearing the suit at the time the case is called; the non-appearance of the defendant or his witness, unless excused by the court, shall not prevent the court from proceeding with the hearing, unless it should appear during the hearing that the testimony of the defendant was necessary or desirable for the determination of the action. A copy of the verdict or the decision of the court shall, in case of absence of the parties during the hearing, be forwarded to the person accused or to the defendant in a civil action.

The opening of verdicts or judgments taken by default shall not be allowed and an appeal shall lie until put away on an order of cassation, which order must specify errors generally; for the purpose of such appeal the time shall begin to run from the time of the handing down of the verdict or the decision or from the time when the parties shall be notified of the execution, in conformity to the decision of the verdict as issued from the court.

Art. 60. In all cases where parties petition that witnesses be called the request to the court shall specify under what circumstances the parties required become witnesses to the transaction, and the character of the

testimony they are to give, and the court thereupon shall decide whether such witnesses are admissible or non-admissible.

Art. 61. Prior to the hearing of such witnesses the Court shall determine what relationship exists between the parties to the action and the witnesses.

Art. 62. During the trial of the case, experts may also be examined if subpoenaed by the court. In all cases where the examination of material proofs shall become necessary outside of the hearing in the court, such examination and corroboration of testimony shall be conducted under the direction of the court before the date set for the hearing of the case involved.

Art. 63. During the examination or during the session in a hearing all witnesses not testifying shall be excluded.

Art. 64. The sessions of all the courts shall be open to the public but in all cases where it shall be found necessary the court may exclude the general public from the hearing.

Art. 65. In all such actions wherein the preliminary inquest had been held, the hearing shall be commenced upon reading by the People's Judge of the decision and findings of the Committee of Inquiry, relative to the arraignment of the defendant. Thereafter, the presiding judge shall put the defendant to the plea.

Art. 66. In all other criminal as well as civil actions, after the call of the case by the People's Judge, the prosecuting attorney or the plaintiff shall state facts constituting his cause of action. The presiding judge shall, thereafter, formulate the nature of the case or the civil action and shall examine one accusing witness as to the charges or the plaintiff as to the cause of his action. Thereupon the defendant shall state to the court whether or not he admits any of the charges made against him.

Art. 67. In no case shall the court conclude the court session unless or until all of the witnesses or testimony for the accused shall have been adduced; nor shall the court conclude the session unless witnesses essential to the defense shall have been examined.

Art. 68. In all cases where the accused denies the charge he or she shall be examined, thereupon the hearing of the witnesses shall take place and the witnesses shall be led into the court-room one by one. After giving the testimony the witnesses shall be requested to sign a brief record of the minutes of their examination; after that they shall remain within the premises of the court unless excused by the court. If witnesses are illiterate, that fact shall be entered upon the minutes of the trial.

Art. 69. In all actions, which in the opinion of the court, can be terminated by conciliation, the parties shall be asked at the outset if they desire to conciliate their dispute.

Art. 70. Upon the conclusion of the testimony or after it is decided that sufficient testimony had been adduced to clarify the issue, a brief summing up shall be had by the parties provided, however, that the last person to sum up shall be the defendant or the accused, his counsel or both, thereupon the court shall retire to its chambers for the purpose of promulgating the decision and the verdict.

Art. 71. During the conference of the court in chambers pending the decision, no strangers shall be admitted therein.

Art. 72. The verdict or the decision of the court shall be according to the majority of the votes. Any number of the court, however, dissenting from the decision or the verdict may file a dissenting opinion which shall be spread on the minutes of the court.

Art. 73. All verdicts and decisions of the court shall summarize the nature of the action and the reasons for the verdict or the decision.

Art. 74. All verdicts and decisions of the People's Court shall be considered final and not subject to appeal in any way except as hereinafter provided.

Art. 75. Verdicts in criminal cases as well as decisions in civil actions shall be appealable upon an order of cassation to the council of People's Judges.

Note: Verdicts shall be subject to appeal by the accused person or by the persons or institutions who shall have instituted the criminal inquest or by the local executive committee of the Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies.

Art. 76. An order of cassation to the Appellate Court shall be submitted to the Council of People's Judges either through the People's Court in which the case was tried, or the verdict or decision rendered shall be presented by the People's Judge who presided at the action together with the minutes and records of the entire case not later than three days after the beginning of the term; or the same may be directly submitted by the parties to the said Council of People's Judges.

Art. 77. The time of submitting the order of cassation for appeal shall be limited to 30 days from the date of the handing down of the verdict or decision.

Art. 94. On all civil actions pending in the People's Court the following tax shall be collectable as filing fees and stamp duty to be attached to papers; 1 per cent in cases where the amount of the suit involved shall not exceed 500 roubles; 3 per cent on all actions up to and inclusive of 3,000 roubles; 5 per cent on all actions up to and inclusive of 10,000 roubles; 10 per cent on all actions exceeding 10,000 roubles. Stamp duty amounting to 1, 3, 5 and 10 roubles shall be collectable on all actions where the matter is not subject to valuation.

In actions where the amount involved cannot be ascertained either at the time of the commencement of the action or upon the determination, a fee amounting to 10 roubles and a stamp duty on papers filed amounting to

3 roubles per paper filed shall be collectable. Every paper filed or submitted in court in all actions, civil as well as criminal, shall be stamped.

Note: The following papers shall be free of stamp duty: copies of decisions of the Committee of Inquiry and copies of decisions and verdicts served or to be served upon the accused.

Art. 95. In those cases whether the party to the litigation shall be so indigent that he or she is unable to pay the duties or stamp taxes the court may either defer the payment or free the party from the obligation of paying such duties or fees.

Art. 96. In all judgments of the People's Court, the party against whom the action was decided adversely shall pay to the party who prevails in the said action all fees for filing of papers, stamp duties, remuneration to counsel as well as so much or all of the expenses as shall be awarded by the court.

The Court may likewise decide in criminal actions that the complaining witness pay all of the expenses and losses incurred by the party against whom complaint was made upon the acquittal of the said party.

Art. 97. In criminal cases the People's Court may direct that the defendant pay all the expenses and losses incurred by the complaining witness in connection with the action.

Art. 98. In all cases pending in the Court of Appeals filing fees and stamp duties shall be collected in accordance with the general rules relative to the amount involved in the action; in those actions where the appeal shall be sustained by the Council of People's Judges the taxation of the amount of expenses, duty, etc. shall be according to Articles 96 and 97 herein.

Conversation with Madam Gorky

By V. S.

MAXIM Gorky's wife, the celebrated Russian actress M. F. Andreyeva, recently arrived in Stockholm, from Berlin. As she is travelling in Europe as a private individual, she hardly ever grants any interviews. But being an old acquaintance of Mrs. Andreyeva, whom I have known for many years from her sojourns in Finland, I had no difficulty in conversing with her, and am now taking the liberty to set down a few of the extremely interesting things she told me.

Our conversation turned particularly to the "sensational" reports of her alleged arrest at the Finnish border—or some other border—where according to a number of newspapers she was held by the Soviet authorities, together with a great quantity of diamonds which she was reported to be trying to smuggle over the boundary. The whole story of course is a complete invention.

"I have no valuables with me at all; it is not possible to take any diamonds out of Russia, and no one stopped me at the boundary," Mrs. Andreyeva said, smiling. "I have not been in Finland for a long time. I left Petrograd about the middle of April, then spent some time in Latvia and later went to Germany.

"Equally untrue is the statement ascribed to me by several newspapers, to the effect that the Soviet Government would not permit Shaliapin to leave Russia, and as a matter of fact he has already been abroad since then and given concerts in Esthonia. Nor have any objections been raised to

Gorky's going abroad. In Russia there is the greatest solicitude for the Russian men of learning and they are supplied with foodstuffs and with everything else they need, both for their maintenance as well as for their learned work, for which there are a special *Scholars' Home* and *Artists' Home*."

Every artist, every person who is occupied in intellectual work, finds it absolutely necessary to be in contact with the outer world. The war and the blockade have isolated the Russian artists and actors from all the rest of the world. Therefore it is quite natural that Mrs. Andreyeva at the very first opportunity should seek to become acquainted with everything that is new in the world outside in the domain of art, as she believes that technical methods have been much improved in Western Europe and that it would be quite important for the Russian artists to become acquainted with the new methods in their work. She is interested in the theatre, music, the moving pictures, painting and sculpture.

"Is it true that you intend to appear as a moving picture actress in Stockholm as the *Dagens Nyheter* says?"

"It is the first time I hear of it," was the answer. "It is true that I appeared for the moving pictures a number of times in Russia. I am interested and fascinated by the art of the film but have no intention to appear in the movies in Sweden. It would be very interesting to me to see how the Swedish

actors play, for judging by the Swedish films I have seen the art stands at a very high level in Sweden and has produced extraordinary talents. Unfortunately I did not know that the art life of Sweden absolutely subsides during the summer."

"Where are you going from Stockholm?"

"I am going to Germany to become fully acquainted with the moving pictures there, for the production of films is said to be particularly good in Germany now."

Now our conversation turned to art in Soviet Russia. "While we have been isolated from the art of Western Europe, Western Europe also has been deprived of any idea as to the development of art in Soviet Russia," said Mrs. Andreyeva. "Dramatic art, for example, is now very highly developed in Petrograd and Moscow. All the good theatres of the old days continue to exist and a great number of new theatres, with very high standards of acting and stage management, have been established."

"Is it true that all the best actors and artists have left Russia, as people have so often said and written?"

"It always amuses me very much to read or hear such statements. For all the great painters, almost without exception, have remained in Russia—the two brothers Bandis, Dobushinsky, Shchuko, Gratar, Altman,—to mention only the best known—continue their artistic activity in Russia. Shaliapin, Yermolenko, Yugin, Nezhdanova, Ershov—all these still sing in Russia. Although Katyalov, Mrs. Kniper, and Germanova are appearing at Prague, the Art Theatre continues to play in Moscow. The Chamber Theatre with its famous trio of actors—Tairov, Koonen, Tseretelli—is also doing its regular work at Moscow.

"The Marinsky Opera is playing in Petrograd and the so-called Little Theatre at Moscow. Yermolenko, Yushin and Pravdin continue their appearances.

"A number of new theatres, as I have said, have been established under the Soviet power. They are of all sizes. The great Dramatic Theatre at Petrograd, with its exclusively classic repertoire, continues to stand at the high level it always held, and its performances may be described as splendid.

"The opera company playing in the People's House in Petrograd, which was well known even in the old days, is now playing Rubinstein's opera *The Maccabees*, and everyone in Petrograd says, when speaking of its stage management and of the famous singer Mezhdchnik, that if this opera had been performed in Western Europe the press would unanimously have declared the performance to be an event in the history of art.

"I have been told that the excellent order prevailing in our national museums and in our rich collections has already been spoken of in the foreign press, and I can assure you that the excellent management of these institutions is now a

matter of course to us, and no longer produces any surprise in Russia."

BOURGEOIS HYPOCRISY

(Special to SOVIET RUSSIA)

Moscow, August 20.—The editor of *Izvestia*, Steklov, in a leading article, comments on the hypocrisy of the Allied Supreme Council and the oscillation of the French Government regarding participation in the famine relief conference of the International Red Cross at Geneva: "Soviet Russia," writes Steklov, "has frankly announced the necessity of accepting aid from the capitalist governments in the difficult situation created by the wars, blockade and the drought. We quite understand that aid to the famine-stricken Russians can be expected from the bourgeois governments only because of Russia's economic importance to the world's bourgeoisie. The Russian people, however, will accept this aid only under reasonable conditions which do not jeopardize their sovereignty nor their right to self-determination."

A message from Tashkent reports the cordial reception accorded the representative of Soviet Russia, Raskolnikov, in a ceremonial banquet in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Kabul in Afghanistan, at which the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, Makhmut Tarsi, expressed sincere friendship for Soviet Russia, which was the first country to recognize the independence of Afghanistan.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

In Next Month's

Soviet Russia

NATIONALITIES IN SOVIET RUSSIA:

Theses proposed by Stalin to the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, and accepted by the party. Propounds a broad policy for cooperation between national and racial groups under Communism.

DETRACTORS OF THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION, by Max Strypyansky. Our contributor treats Walling, Vandervelde, and Masaryk from a new angle.

FIGHTING THE FAMINE: Further details of the steps taken inside Russia, as well as abroad, to combat the ravages of hunger.

Books Reviewed

FROM MARX TO LENIN, by Morris Hillquit. Published by the Hanford Press, New York. 155 pp.

There are different planes from which the November Revolution is criticized. On "moral" grounds by the bourgeoisie, which feels itself attacked in its parasitic existence; and on "scientific" grounds by the representatives of the traditional Social Democracy, or let us say international Menshevism, who are disturbed in the bourgeois safety and comfort that was afforded them by the old pre-November methods. The chief exponent of this kind of criticism was and remains Karl Kautsky, whose learned and temperamental "refutations" of the methods of the Russian proletarian revolution have become the text-books of counter-revolutionary "Socialism". The book of Mr. Hillquit, who for some time was legal adviser of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York, is not quite on the same plane as the usual productions of Menshevik criticism. As the author says: "My attempted analysis of the specific institutions of the Russian Revolution and the policies of the Soviet Government is not intended as 'criticism'. The new social forms of Soviet Russia have been shaped by the inherent forces of the conditions and events which have given birth to the first Socialist Republic. Its policies are still in the making. History has not yet recorded its final verdict upon their merits, and judged by the pragmatic test of immediate success, Communist Russia has had the best of the argument up to the present. Mistakes and excesses have undoubtedly been committed, but these are inevitable in great revolutions and of comparative insignificance in the long run. The Russian Communists have preserved and stabilized the Russian Revolution. Perhaps this could have been accomplished in the same way or better by other and less painful methods. But the latter is speculation, while the former is fact."

What Mr. Hillquit is mainly concerned with is to prove that Lenin's and more especially Bukharin's writings are not quite in keeping with the classical conception of Marxism as to social evolution and revolution. And he stresses this point by quoting as a motto to the whole book—and this is so to speak his *leitmotiv*—two passages from Marx and Lenin that are apparently in sharp contradiction. "The country that is more developed industrially only shows to the lesser developed the image of its own future," from Marx, is opposed by Lenin's "We must abandon scientific prejudices to the effect that each country must absolutely pass through capitalist exploitation. The Soviet system, when there is a powerful proletariat uprising on a world scale, can be established in those countries in which the capitalist development has not attained any serious proportions." Mr. Hillquit is in the rather unpleasant position of having proved too much. For if in this case there is a contradiction between Marx and Lenin, then there also exists a contradiction between the Marx who, in the preface to *Capital*, wrote the above quoted sentence, and the Marx who fifteen years later, in 1882—in his preface to the Russian edition of the "Communist Manifesto"—asserted that "if the Russian revolution will give the signal to a working class revolution in the West, so that both may supplement each other, then it is possible that Russian collective land ownership may prove the starting point of communist development" (quoted by Hillquit on p. 26). A sentence that is practically an anticipation of Lenin's "heresy" and the contention of the Russian Communists that a Communist Europe is a *conditio sine qua non* for the preservation of the Socialist character of the Russian revolution. The present "strategical retreat" of Russian Communism, the resurrection of many elements of capitalist economy, is only a logical consequence of the failure of the working class revolution in Western Europe. But as a matter of fact there is not necessarily a contradiction between these two sayings of Karl Marx. The earlier saying obviously holds only for epochs of peaceful development. In times of international

revolution the national boundaries become meaningless, all countries become so to speak one country, and an industrially backward part of the continent is drawn into the whirl of the general socialist reconstruction, just as much as the agricultural part of an industrial country like Germany would share the fate of her industrial regime.

When speaking about the compromises which the Soviet Government is compelled to make in its external as well as its internal relations, Mr. Hillquit tries to be as unaggressive as possible. He rather takes the patronizing attitude of a wise well-intentioned uncle who is sorry for the excesses and the subsequent *katzenjammer* of a prodigal nephew. "The Soviet regime of Russia undertook a jump beyond the limits of physical possibility. It has had to pay a heavy penalty for the levity of its youthful enthusiasm and to take a fresh and harder start at more realistic beginnings." (124). The Soviet regime has really had to pay a heavy penalty "for the levity of its youthful enthusiasm"—it had not foreseen the tremendous power and energy that the Socialist parties all over the world would unfold in betraying and crippling the revolution in Europe. But as to that—they certainly could not find any indications in Marx's writings. . . .

The book contains a very good criticism of bourgeois democracy (58, 59, 75, etc.) and gives also a very clear description of the Soviet electoral system and the workings of the Communist dictatorship. The last chapters are concerned with the policy of the Communist International. Mr. Hillquit, as previous indications had already led one to believe, does not like the 21 points.

M. S.

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS. By Samuel Gompers, with the collaboration of William English Walling. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company.

THE VOICE OF RUSSIA. By M. Alexander Schwartz. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company.

A protest recently issued by the Foreign Minister in Moscow against certain misrepresentations of fact by the Latvian Minister bore the vigorous heading: "Lie, but recognize a limit." This plainspoken if undiplomatic piece of advice might profitably have been taken to heart by Mr. Gompers and Mr. Walling before they published their present extraordinary volume. For, in their ignorance and fanaticism, they overshoot the mark of discreet falsification so far as to render themselves ridiculous and their joint work a curiosity even in the prolific literature of anti-Bolshevik propaganda.

In the first place the nature of the book does not in the least correspond with the promise of its title. It purports to be "a revelation and an indictment of Sovietism," based upon material drawn from Bolshevik sources. Here are a few of the "Bolshevik sources" quoted by Mr. Gompers and Mr. Walling: Mr. Hughes, Mr. Hoover, Mr. Gompers, Mr. Colby, *The New Statesman*, *The London Daily News*, Mr. Crispin (leader of the Right Wing of the "German Independent Socialists,") M. Merrheim (a strongly anti-Bolshevik French labor leader), Mr. Martov. Various violent criticisms of the Soviet Government by Menshevik and Social Revolutionist spokesmen are also cited. Of course these voluminous quotations from anti-Bolshevik individuals and publications may be accounted for by the authors' propensity for "seeing red" everywhere. Mr. Albert Boni is "a radical American Socialist"; and *The New York Globe* is "a pro-Soviet newspaper." This last accusation seems a trifle ungrateful, in view of the fact that the regular reviewer of *The Globe* gave a long complimentary notice to the Gompers-Walling effusion and described Mr. Walling's equally stupid diatribe of last year, "Sovietism", as "the most telling argument that has thus far appeared against the Bolshevists."

The book is crowded with loose statements, for which the authors do not even attempt to adduce any documentary evidence. So Mr. Gompers, in his foreword, asserts

that "so closely identical are the anti-labor-union policies of the Bolsheviks and reactionaries that a number of instances have already arisen of deliberate co-operation to destroy organized labor." This charge is so untrue as to be simply silly. Mr. Gompers, however, has never displayed any reluctance to co-operate with the reactionary gentlemen of the National Civic Federation in attacking the world's first workers' republic. Again we are told of "the huge bulk of pro-Bolshevik matter put out—by thousands of publications", during the recent American presidential campaign. If put to the test of actual fact, it is doubtful if Mr. Gompers or Mr. Walling could name a dozen American publications which have even been fair in their policy toward Soviet Russia.

The similarity of the present volume in style and substance to Mr. Walling's "Sovietism" is so unmistakable

This exclusion of representatives of three specified parties is quite different from Mr. Walling's sweeping proscription of "all other labor parties and non-party members." And there was a definite reason for this exclusion. Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists had participated in the Yaroslav uprising and in other revolts against the Soviet state. To take an analogous situation in American history, Mr. Walling would probably admit that the Northern Congress would have been perfectly justified in excluding representatives of the Confederacy from its deliberations.

On page III occurs the statement: "It was then (in 1919) that the Soviets decided to put still more terror into their actions and to give their requisitions a new name. In order to be able to seize plausibly all grain under all circumstances they declared grain and certain other food products the monopoly of the state."

The author's knowledge of Russian revolutionary history may be measured by the fact that the grain monopoly was first introduced under the Tsar's regime, and was reaffirmed by the Provisional Government after the March Revolution.

We find the assertion (p. 117) that "the Soviets refused a large relief expedition by the Entente powers for the sole reason that it was proposed to put these supplies in the hands of the real co-operatives." We are left in complete ignorance of the time, occasion and other details of this mythical offer.

The book contains the statement (p. 143) that "the Soviet regime has not overlooked a single opportunity to assault a weakened neighbor, as we see from the attack on Poland, August, 1920."

Mr. Walling finds it convenient to forget that the Soviet Government made a most generous peace offer to the Poles in the spring of 1920, an offer to which the Poles replied by launching a treacherous and unprovoked attack and occupying Kiev. The "attack on Poland" was, of course, merely a defense of Soviet Russia against the assaults of these subsidized agents of French imperialism. Again, on page 145, we are informed that "the Bolshevik authorities made repeated declarations of their purpose to set up a Soviet government in Poland by force of arms." No such statements were ever made; and Mr. Walling does not even possess enough ingenuity to invent a source for his baseless accusation.

On the same page he calls Trotsky "the President of the Soviets." No such office exists under the provisions of the Soviet Constitution.

On page 158 the author declares that "their (the Soviets') complicity in the German revolutionary movement of March, 1921, is proved by the open assertions of the Moscow Communist organ in Berlin, *Die Rote Fahne*."

This statement fairly bristles with inaccuracies. *Die Rote Fahne* is not a Moscow Communist organ; but a paper directed and controlled by the German Communist Party. No specimens of its "open assertions" are given. As against the workings of Mr. Walling's somewhat unreliable imagination we have categorical statements from officials of the Soviet Government, from representatives of the Third International, and of the German Communists, that the March uprising was due to the provocation of the German government and the spontaneous resentment of the German workers.

On page 188 the statement is made "Lenin, in the summer of 1920, abandoned his policy of excluding all persons from Russia who were not Bolsheviks."

The chief factor in excluding visitors from Russia prior



WORKER AND PEASANT

(See Review on page 135)

Р р Рабочему крестьянини друг.
В обмен на хлеб получит плуг.

"Worker and peasant are friends, you know,
One gives the grain; the other gives the plough."

as to make the supposition reasonable that he is the real author of most of the work. There is the same constant reiteration of hysterical abuse, the same pitiful effort to make out a documentary case by detaching passages from alleged statements of Soviet leaders from their context and subjecting them to strained and falsified interpretations, the same ignorant and prejudiced commentary. To correct all of Mr. Walling's strange flights of fancy would take us far beyond the limits of the present review. The general character of the work will be sufficiently indicated by pointing out a few of its more glaring and outrageous blunders and misstatements of fact.

On page 47 we are assured that "Not only are all other labor parties and non-party members declared to be non-labor or bourgeois, but, whenever they assume any importance, they are definitely excluded from the Soviets, as we see from the following decree:"

Then follows a decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, dated June 14, 1918, excluding from its membership representatives of the Mensheviks and of the Social Revolutionists of the Right and Centre.

to the summer of 1920 was the Allied blockade. Before this time the Bolsheviks admitted to Russia Arthur Ransome, Professor Goode, Colonel Cecil L'Estrange Malone and George Lansbury, none of whom could be called Bolsheviks in any literal or exact sense of the word. The author's ire is roused by *The New Republic's* critique of the Russian news as presented by *The New York Times*. He complains (p. 209) that "a few foolish rumors are taken from thousands of substantiated dispatches and reproduced as giving a fair picture of the American press on Russia." This is a most inaccurate description of the method followed by *The New Republic's* investigators. A large number of dispatches were examined; and *The Times* was criticized not on the basis of "a few foolish rumors," but on the well established ground that its treatment of Russian news showed persistent and deliberate bias.

On page 225 we find the startling information that "the so-called liberals of America have fallen victim to a mania for mysticism and Moscow is the small end of the cornucopia from which is emitted the great haze—the great narcotic supply of all the conglomeration of mental morphia addicts." It is difficult to escape the suspicion that the author of this confused and maundering passage is suffering from a bad dose of mental morphia himself,—a circumstance which may go far to explain the numerous peculiarities of the book.

Mr. Gompers is not willing to be outdone by his collaborator in feats of inventive imagination. The first appendix to the book reprints a cablegram sent by Mr. Gompers, in the name of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets on March 12, 1918. The comment is carefully added that "this cablegram was sent before the full news of the overthrow of the Constituent Assembly had reached America."

Now *The New York Times*, of January 21, carried on the first page an Associated Press despatch, fully describing the dissolution of the Assembly, with the headline: "Lenin Dissolves Russian Assembly." The whole history of the Assembly and its relations with the Soviet Government was told in great detail in further despatches by Arthur Ransome and Harold Williams. Without in any way wishing to embarrass Mr. Gompers, it would be interesting to know just what further "news" of the dissolution of the Assembly reached him after March 12 and caused him to modify his viewpoint so profoundly.

Mr. Schwartz's book can be dismissed in a few sentences. He obviously does not possess the viewpoint of a Communist, or even of a moderate Socialist, although he claims to have worked in the labor movement in America. So, describing one of the villas which had been socialized by the Soviet Government, he observes that a capitalist was responsible for its beauty. Mr. Schwartz and his wife went to Russia in the summer of 1920. By his own account he was a former Tsarist officer; and he seems to have derived his impressions of the Soviet Republic largely from association with speculators and with discontented officers of the old regime. The fact that he entered Russia without declaring a sum of gold in his possession, together with the circumstance that there were two names on his passport, exposed him to suspicion (it must be remembered that the Polish campaign was at its height and that the Russian Government was compelled to be on the lookout for foreign spies). This suspicion was enhanced by Schwartz's conduct and speeches, which,



PLEASURES AND PAINS OF THE RUSSIAN CLERGY

(See Review on page 135)

П П Попы льют слезы в три ручья —
Нет больше сладкого жжтя!
"Loud moan the priests with voices drear,
Gone are the feasts they hold so dear!"

by his own admission, were decidedly imprudent. Eventually he was arrested and detained for three or four months, when he was released with his wife and sent across the border to Esthonia. His indictment of the Soviet regime does not contain any intelligent criticism of Soviet economic and political policies and institutions. It consists almost entirely of accounts of cases of individual hardship which he encountered, together with the usual crop of atrocity stories, heard at second, third or fourth hand. Mr. Schwartz's work may have subjective interest as the self-revelation of another type of "disillusioned radical"; but it contributes nothing of serious or permanent value to our understanding of the Russian Revolution. A. C. F.

P. O. W. PO STRONIE REWOLUCJI.—Nakladem Grupy Mlodziy Rewolucyjnej. — Warszawa, 1921. — The Polish Intelligence Service in Favor of the Revolution. —Published by a Group of Revolutionary Young People.—Warsaw, 1921.

For over one hundred years the independence of Poland was so to speak the common postulate of revolutionary European democracy. Marx and Engels emphasized its necessity over and over again—as a bulwark of European democracy against Russian despotism. It was on this question that Alexander Hertzgen staked and lost his popularity with his "liberal" admirers in Russia, and his friend Michael Bakunin actively participated in the Polish insurrection of 1863. The Second International of pre-war times (1889-1914) also officially indorsed the postulate of an independent Poland by admitting the Polish delegates from Austria, Germany and Russia as a separate nation. And among the well-known names of that period Bebel and Ledebour of the German Social Democracy repeatedly expressed their sympathies for the program of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) which had placed the "Independence of Poland" at the head of its platform.

It was in vain that Rosa Luxemburg, assisted by the still very young Karl Radek, protested against this oppressed-nation sentimentality — which might have been politically justified in the middle of the nineteenth century, when there was not yet any revolutionary or labor movement in Russia — but which was out of place under the changed conditions. In vain did they point out that it was not the business of the working class to create new bourgeois states, and that Daszynski and Pilsudski, etc., were pure and simple nationalists using Socialist slogans as a bait to catch the proletarian fish with their patriotic hook. Their protests were of no avail. The International of the social-bourgeois had no objections to these strange "Socialists".

Then came the year 1914. Daszynski, Socialist member of the Austrian parliament, and Pilsudski, refugee from Russian Poland, offered their services to the Austrian government. While the former spoke in the Vienna parliament of the "sentimental attachment of the Polish people to the Habsburg dynasty", Pilsudski was organizing volunteers to invade Russian Poland, with the intention of starting a national insurrection against Russia. He was not very successful in raising a big national army—for the Poles did not take kindly to his propaganda, taking a "passivistic" stand, as they realized that the bone two dogs were contending for had no special reasons for taking sides in the conflict. But while the hulk of the population stood aloof, a great part of the progressive youth, high school and college students, as well as many "class-conscious" workers who had swallowed the social-patriotic gospel, joined the ranks of Pilsudski's "activists", and were dying under the common banner of Polish Independence, "Socialism" and—William II, forming an active part of the army of the Central powers.

Then came the Russian Revolution and the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, when it became perfectly clear that, far from becoming an independent country, Poland was to be partitioned again—this time between Austria and Germany alone. And so Pilsudski and his crowd decided to change their masters, and from lackeys of the Central powers they became mercenaries of the Entente, especially as Tsarist Russia, the ally of France, and the main enemy of all Polish national aspirations, had been disposed of by the revolution.

Their role in this capacity since the end of 1918; their predatory attacks against Soviet Russia—the first Russian government that had fully recognized their independence—for Kerensky never recognized or intended to recognize Poland—is a matter of general knowledge. It is also well known how deeply they have deprived a great part of the Polish working class, which, during the last war against Soviet Russia, constituted whole regiments of "Socialists" fighting actually under the red banner for a Poland "from sea to sea."

But fortunately they did not succeed in cheating and blinding the whole working population. The farm-hands everywhere showed "a deplorable lack of public spirit," according to the official Polish reports, which means to say that they were actually joining the Russian Red Army and dispossessing the big land-holders. And in the big coal-mining basin of Dombrows-Gornicza, the Polish working population greeted the Russian Red war prisoners with much more kindness than their own wounded soldiers—as was reported by Paderewski's paper "Rzeczpospolita."

And now a little pamphlet reaches us that was published secretly in Warsaw this year and bears the strange



CLERICAL HOAXES EXPOSED

(See Review on page 135)

М М Монахи что-й-то стали тощи,
Торговли нет, — раскрыты мощи!
"Hear the priestly sighs and groans!
Exposed are all their holy bones!"

title "The Polish Intelligence Service in favor of the Revolution"—Published by a Group of Revolutionary Young People. This booklet shows that the glamor of the Russian workers' revolution has penetrated even the hearts of those who were least expected to be receptive in this respect—the flower of the social-patriotic intelligentsia, the picked "pure-blooded" (no Jews among them!) university youth for whom Poland was Allah and Pilsudski her Mahomet, and who at the very beginning of the Polish-Russian war were sent behind the Russian lines for special "intelligence", i. e., spying service.

After acquainting themselves with the situation, these young men, and especially the chief of the whole service, Lieutenant Ignace Dobrzynski, went over to the "enemy" and published a number of appeals addressed to their countrymen, and particularly to their fellow-"intelligencers" and pointing out to them the infamous role played by their leaders—mercenary tools of French imperialism.

This conversion of Pilsudski's favorite adherents is all the more significant as it occurred in the first period of the war, when the Poles were still in the ascendant and penetrating Russian or Ukrainian territory.

The rage of Pilsudski and his henchmen may be imagined. They sent a group of picked fighters to Russia with the express order to murder the "traitors"—but to the great disappointment of their commanders the would-be executioners themselves went over to the "traitors".

This booklet and the proclamations contained therein are at least a partial confirmation of the famous saying of Lincoln. Sooner or later predatory imperialism, overreaching itself, is bound to open the eyes of many of its honest though misguided adherents. The same is now the case in Italy, where the infamies of the Fascisti have caused a great part of D'Annunzio's *arditi*, who originally were associated with them—to go over to the other camp and form the *arditi del popolo*, the nucleus of the future Red Army of Italy.

The coming Polish Soviet Republic will class these "traitors" among the noblest fighters for the emancipation of the working class.

M. S.

ИВАН УЛЬЯНОВ. — Славные страницы трудового казачества в истории гражданской войны. — Ivan Ulyanov: Glorious Pages of the Toiling Cossacks in the History of the Civil War.—State Publishing House, Moscow, 1920.

A vivid description of the role played by the Cossacks since the November Revolution throughout the course of the civil war. It dispels the common misunderstanding which makes all the Cossacks indiscriminately enemies of the workers and peasants and has all fighting in the ranks of Kornilov, Kolchak, and Denikin. In some places it is a gruesome picture of the internecine struggle between the revolutionary and the reactionary Cossacks, within their own settlements, when rich and poor, and often even fathers and sons, the old and the young generation, were fighting each other arms in hand—the struggles often ending with the complete extermination of the defeated side. Very interesting is the account of the brilliant deeds of the Red Cossacks of the brothers Kashirin, of Comrades Dumenko and Budenny, all of which read almost like a Napoleonic epic. The author of the booklet, Ivan Ulyanov, Soviet Premier of Crimea, is the brother of Vladimir Ulyanov (Nikolai Lenin).

АЗБУКА КРАСНОАРМЕЙЦА. — Написал и нарисовал Д. Моор. Отдел военной литературы при революционном военном совете республики. Государственное издательство, Москва, 1921. — The Red Army Man's Primer, drawn and versified by D. Moor.—Section of Military Literature, The Revolutionary War Council of the Republic. State Publishing House, Moscow, 1921. 28 pages, paper.

This pamphlet, a primer following the traditional lines of such books, is beautifully executed in five colors, a plate accompanying each letter of the alphabet, which is further illustrated by a rhymed couplet. The Russian alphabet has been slightly reduced by the Commissariat of Education, which has abolished the unnecessary letters—at least one indignant foreigner returning from Soviet Russia included this step in a list of other "atrocities" perpetrated by the Soviet Government, and apparently considered it very bad—and this, together with the impossibility of writing a verse to illustrate the use of the hard and soft signs, accounts for the fact that twenty-eight pages could accommodate all the necessary letters—one to each page. To give our readers some idea of the spirit and manner of the pictures, we have reproduced three of them in the pages of our book reviews this month. Of course they give but an inadequate notion of the effect of the brilliantly colored and somewhat larger originals.

The Entente has the place of honor; it heads off the alphabet, as the Russian approximation of the French pronunciation of this word begins with an A:—

Антанта точит длинный нож,
Да нас пожем не проберешь!

Freely rendered into English:

The Allies grind their battle-axe
But shall not find us weak or lax.

B of course stands for *Bourgeois*.

Буржуй мече сдержать не мог.
Теперь ползет у наших ног.
To fight the bourgeois had no power
And now you see him cringe and cower.

And the great, bloated, silk-hatted animal is pictured surmounted by armed workers. The next picture shows a deserter moving on all fours, and bearing on his back the jubilant counter-revolutionists, Denikin, the Burzhui, and other enemies of the working class, with the inscription:

В'езжают будто на коне,
На дезертировой спине.
They come riding on a horse
The deserter succors them of course.

A blazing sphere, showing European countries consumed by revolutionary fires, has under it the words:

Горит пожаром шар земной,
Зажжен рабочей рукой.
A fire rages in all lands
The torch applied by workers' hands.

Under a plain log-cabin, marked "Soviet", a kulak is digging a hole:

Для кулака противен свет,
Лазейку роет под совет.
The kulak is discontented yet
And digs a hole for our Soviet.

School structures of many kinds invite the children, who are tramping through the snow to get instruction:

Есть доступ всем теперь к науке!
Вери букварь скорее в руки!
The road to knowledge now is free!
Take your book and come with me!

Fat peasants pursued by a Red Army man with a gun:

Железной сиюю штыком
Мы победили кулаков.
Bayonets in soldiers' hands
Routed all the kulaks' hands.

An ugly serpent holds the factories and their chimneys in its coils; the serpent is imperialism, and workers are trying to loosen its hold:

Змей пышет злобой без конца,
Штыком под ребра подлеца.
Still snorts and flames the serpent beast
Go stick the brute and spoil his feast.

The kindly and shrewd Lenin is energetically sweeping the parasitic riffraff off the streets (generals, bourgeois, officials, etc.):

Ильич железною метлой
Сметает сволоч с мостовой.
Ilyich with his iron broom
Sweeps the rabble to their doom.

Touching, by its simplicity and vigor, is a picture of two armed workers walking forth, while hosts of children with glad faces, are pouring into the public dining halls, schools, kindergartens, theatres, etc. The words accompanying this picture are:

Любовь сильнее всего на свете:
В крови отцы, в довольстве дети.
Love's tribute to the ones of tender years:
The fathers bleed, but children know no fears.

A golden calf is being undermined by workers with picks and axes:

Народ восставший рунить стал
Международный капитал.
The risen people prepare the fall
Of international capital.

Hiding in the bushes is a deserter; in the background a fierce monster, crouching over burning houses, and named "Kolchak-Denikin-Yudenich", is devouring people and destroying their lands:

Опомнись, подлый дезертир,
Враги вершат кровавый пир!..
Deserter vile, remember this:
The monster's flames already hiss!

Graciously performing to the pipes played by two peasants the black-clad bourgeois twists and turns his watch-chain, his high hat, his fat stomach, and his other charms, to the gaze of the onlooker:

Слыхали мы твою погудку,
Пляши, буржуй, под нашу дудку!
To play for us is now your chance
We give the tune and you must dance.

Space forbids us from reprinting all these amusing verses, but there are still two that we should like to point out.

A group of dispossessed characters, a former general, a priest, a silk-hatted bourgeois, and a peasant, are marching in step, bearing brooms, and illustrating the fact that the former exploiting classes are now obliged to work:

Хорош запас у нас в тылу,
Мобилизован под метлу!
Our good "reserves" bring up the rear
Marching with broom to work so dear!

The alphabet ends with Я, a letter not found in the English alphabet; it goes with a picture of a red-smocked worker, bearing hammer and sickle in one hand, while the other holds aloft the banner with the device: "Proletarians of All Lands, Unite!" The accompanying couplet reads:

Явился новый человек!
Да здравствует коммуна век!
Behold a new man now arisen!
To hail the Commune's Paradise!

No price is printed on the back cover of the book—although that is now the universal practice with books printed in Russia—and it may therefore be assumed that the Primer is intended for free distribution to the soldiers of the Red Army.

J. W. H.

КРАСНАЯ КНИГА. — Сборник дипломатических документов о русско-польских отношениях с 1918 по 1920 г. Народный Комиссариат Иностранных Дел. Москва, 1920. —Red Book: Collection of Diplomatic Papers concerning Russo-Polish Relations, 1918-1920. Moscow, Government Printing Office, 1920. Paper, 112 pages.

LIVRE ROUGE: Recueil des Documents diplomatiques relatifs aux relations entre la Russie et la Pologne, 1918-1920. Edition d'Etat, Moscow, 1920. Paper, 112 pages.

It is probable that this book has been issued in other

languages also, but we have received only the Russian and French editions. Of course, the documents are now no longer new, the last being dated May 7, 1920, but all tell the same story: the eagerness of the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic to be allowed to develop the resources of Russia and turn them to uses that could benefit the workers of the country, without any interference from abroad, in this case from a Poland managed and incited to hostility by France and other powers. Fortunately, the negotiations recorded in this volume were effective; they led finally to the signing of peace between the two countries (the text of which was printed in part in SOVIET RUSSIA for May 14, 1921). For the eagerness of French capitalists to keep Polish peasants and workers fighting in the Polish armies against Russian peasants and workers was not a sufficiently powerful motive to force the Polish people to do the will of the foreign master; the Polish Government finally found itself obliged to yield to the desire for peace expressed by their people, and to accept the reasonable peace conditions proposed by the Soviet Government. It is now to be hoped that the Polish Government may not again be subjected to French and other foreign pressure, to wage war once again on Soviet Russia. The conjuncture might appear to be a favorable one to foreign capitalist governments, and it is therefore not impossible that while the over-eager famine relief organizations insinuate their various sorts of agents into the interior of Russia, armies from the border-states may once more be driven by Western masters to fight the people of Soviet Russia. We shall see what we shall see.

The book has a preface clearly formulating the peace policy of the Soviet Government, by Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. It is not offered for sale in America: the price in Russia is 65 rubles.

J. W. H.

The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia

This booklet of 85 pages, contains the complete official text of the Laws of Soviet Russia governing civil status and domestic relations, the forms of marriage, divorce, rights and duties of husbands and wives and of children, property rights of children and parents, guardianship, inheritance, etc. Copies of this booklet will be sent postpaid at 25 cents each.

The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia

The full official text of the laws adopted by the Workers' and Peasants' Republic of Russia is given in this booklet of 80 pages. Such important matters as the right to work, unemployment, labor distribution, compulsory labor, working hours, etc., are set forth in detail in this code of laws. In addition, the booklet contains a supplement on the protection of labor in Soviet Russia, by S. Kaplun of the Commissariat of Labor. Sent postpaid for 25 cents per copy. Address orders and remittances to

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This is the appeal from Russia

to

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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The Famine

The following report on the famine is compiled from the most recent authoritative information, chiefly drawn from official Soviet Government sources. We do not attempt here to make an emotional appeal by pictures of individual human suffering. This is being done impressively by many of the correspondents now travelling through the stricken regions. Our purpose is rather to supplement their stories, which must be familiar to all our readers, with an accurate account of the origin and nature of this great calamity.

Some idea of the intensity of the drought which produced the famine can be gained by the following figures:

The average rainfall for the ten previous years in the provinces concerned, during the nine months October 1 to June 30 was approximately 14 inches. During this period in 1920-1921—the period in which the growth of the winter crop is determined—the total rainfall, including snow, amounted to no more than 2.75 inches, most of which fell before the crops showed above ground. The unusually early thaw, followed by an almost complete absence of rain during the period of growth, completed the calamity.

Many consider the crop failure of this year to be worse than that of 1891, and compare it with the disaster of 1873, although conditions in the regions outside the drought area are infinitely better this year than in the famine years of 1891 and 1873.

Russian harvests have always been subject to violent fluctuation from year to year. In 1911 the harvest in Samara province amounted to 500,000 tons, and in 1913 the yield was 2,800,000 tons, giving an exportable surplus of over 2,300,000 tons. The crops failed in Samara in 1891, 1901, 1908 and 1911. The crop of 1920 was also much below the average, which prevented any accumulation of reserves.

The first news of the bad harvest in the Volga was conveyed to the public in a speech by Lenin on June 20, when he announced that the crops had failed and that the country would lack many millions of poods of corn.

On June 29 a general summary of the position was published in the *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, based on a statement made by Popov, Director of the Department of Statistics. It was evident that, while increased sowings might have improved this year's harvest as compared with last year's by close on 1000 million poods of grain, practically all the increase had been swallowed up by the devastation of the drought in the Volga provinces. A net balance remained of some 50 million poods. But unless the harvest of the Ukraine (600-650 million poods) and of Siberia (300-325 million poods) could be successfully gathered and transported, the position would be "very gloomy." A week later an article by Sereda, late People's Commissary for Agriculture, described the situation as "a terrible disaster". It soon became clear that out of the 150 million poods of grain required to feed the population in the famine area, not more than 30 million poods would be available.

Early in July the news of the panic which this situation, unprecedented in many respects since the great famine of 1873, was creating in the stricken provinces, called for energetic measures. It became known that millions of people were leaving their homes in desperation, spreading misery, and in some areas cholera, along the roads to the east, southeast and south.

Statistics of the Famine

The normal pre-war agricultural production of the territory of the R. S. F. S. R. and the Ukraine was 4,200 million poods. In 1920 this was diminished by the decrease in sowings by 1,200 million poods, and by the bad harvest by 900 million poods. A harvest of 2,100 million poods was left.

In 1921, in spite of the total loss of the harvest in the Volga area, conditions are improved, thanks to increased sowings (2,250 million poods).^{*} The real problem is to secure the grain from the Ukraine (600-650 million poods) and Siberia (300-320 million poods).

The Soviet Republic requires:

For the towns at a minimum ration of	10 poods of grain per person—160 million poods
For the laboring population, the army, the village population engaged on public work, and the village population of the consuming areas—	200-250 million poods
	Total—360-410 million poods

Of this, 240 million poods were to have been collected in the form of the food tax; the remainder was to be obtained by the exchange of goods with the peasants, or by imports.

The failure of the harvest in the Volga area means a decrease in the total product of the food tax of 60 million poods, reducing the total food tax to 180 millions. The Government, therefore, will have to collect by exchange of goods with the peasants in other parts of Russia (or by imports), an additional 180-230 million poods for the towns and other categories named above.

The failure of the Volga harvests means that it will be essential to collect from the other provinces (whose productivity, except for the Ukraine, is relatively low) nearly double the amount previously estimated. Assistance from abroad in the shape of materials, tools, etc., for the restoration of Russia's industrial production and transport, (or financial assistance and credits for the pur-

^{*}For a detailed report on increased sowings in 1921 see table on page 173.

chase of these things) will be of immense importance for the collection of grain by means of exchange with the peasants in the provinces with relatively good harvests. The collection and exchange from these provinces must inevitably be a lengthy process, and any immediate help from this source to the famine-stricken area must therefore be a negligible quantity. The food situation in the famine area must be considered by itself as an immediate and urgent problem.

Requirements of the Famine Area

The Soviet Government, in a decree of July 21, 1921, recognized the following provinces as constituting the famine area:

Astrakhan, Samara, Simbirsk, Saratov, Tsaritsyn, Ufa (Beleyev and Birsk counties), Viatka (Yaran, Soviet, Urzhum, and Malmyzh counties), the German Commune of the Volga, the Tartar Republic, the Chuvash area, the Mari area (Sericumsk and Krasnokokshaisk cantons). From north to south this area covers some 800 miles, from east to west 300 miles.*

The population involved is approximately 18,000,000. Even after making allowances for such of the harvest as has been saved (in some localities only certain crops are destroyed) the requirements are officially estimated, on the basis of supplying the population with 50 per cent of the usual rations, as follows:

For the rural population, excluding cattle	41,000,000 poods
For the urban population....	18,000,000 poods

Total food requirements 59,000,000 poods

In addition, 15,000,000 poods were required for sowing before September 15th. Of this the Soviet estates undertook to provide 1,600,000 poods** and there was estimated to be a further 5,120,000 poods available for this purpose from repayments by the peasants of prosperous provinces of seeds advanced last winter by the Government. This would provide a total of 6,720,000 poods from Russian sources for winter sowing; the balance of 8,280,000 to be secured from abroad.

Transport Facilities

The famine area is well served by railways. Simbirsk, Ufa, Samara, Saratov, Tsaritsyn, and Astrakhan are all connected directly with Mos-

*At a meeting of the Famine Relief Committee of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on August 10, it was decided, on the basis of reports received, to recognize the following provinces in the Kirghiz Republic as included in the famine area: Uralsk, Bukeievsk. Aktubinsk, Orenburg and Kustanaisk.

**This was the first estimate of the supply available from this source. Subsequently an arrangement was made whereby the Food Commissariat was to release 2,500,000 poods of the food tax fund on these estates, which would be used at once for seed in the famine provinces, the estates to repay this amount into the tax fund in the winter. In this way the supply of seeds from the Soviet estates and communal farms would amount in all to 4,100,000 poods, or about 68,000 tons.

cow, and Viatka with Petrograd, (a line from Moscow meeting this line at Vologda). Lateral communication is provided a little to the west, by the Kazan-Voronezh-Crimea line.

The state of Russian transport is not all that it might be, but the fantastic pictures dating from 1918 must be set aside. It must not be forgotten that this particular system played a great part in the successful strategic transportation of the two or three million troops involved in the operations against Poland and General Wrangel only twelve months ago.

The maintenance and improvement of the locomotive service, which numbers about 8,000, is itself being adversely affected by the food crisis. While the monthly program of work for the railway repair depots of the republic provided for an output of 845 repaired locomotives per month, 762 were turned out in May and 660 in June. This was due primarily to the food situation, particularly on the starving eastern railways, where in many places up to 80 per cent of the workers abandoned the repair shops in search of food; and secondly, to lack of spare parts and certain raw materials. The supply of food is of vital importance, the question of spare parts, etc., while prominent, being not so pressing. At the same time, there can be no question at all of a breakdown or great inadequacy of transport.

Water transport is the natural method of north-to-south communication in the famine areas, along the Volga, Kama, Don and Dnieper Rivers. The situation here is also complicated, primarily by the food shortage and secondarily by the destruction and loss of shipping during the civil wars. In 1918 scores of vessels were sunk on these rivers which were the principal theatre of military operations. The Soviet Government, however, has made considerable efforts to restore the river fleets, with the result that while shipping assistance—from Black Sea or other sources—would be extremely valuable, it is not absolutely indispensable to insure the transport of foodstuffs and other cargoes by this means.*

The work of the Volga fleet is carried on under extremely difficult conditions. The chief of these is the lack of food, the workers sometimes going several days without rations. Thus, for example, the Kasan area Water Transport Department for a period during July was without bread. The dock workers did not get food for three or four days at a time, and then received a portion of oatmeal, 95 per cent of which was straw or chaff. The workers were so enfeebled that some no longer went to work, while the remainder, according to a responsible official, took three days to hoist an anchor to a ship. In Simbirsk, according to an official report, the workers failed to receive at least 70 per cent of the rations allotted to them. At a number of other places, owing to

*For detailed report on the repair of the river fleets see table on page 173.

starvation rations, absenteeism has greatly increased while productivity has fallen rapidly as a consequence. All water transport departments report an extreme shortage of labor power, and a tendency (which in some cases becomes a mass movement) of their employees to seek employment in other institutions. In some places the absenteeism amounted to 50 or even 75 per cent of the normal staff.

A Report from the Volga Region

Izvestia of August 12 publishes a letter from a member of the special delegation which was sent by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to report on the actual conditions in the famine area. The writer of the letter, which is dated Kazan, August 7, reached the famine area on June 30, and during the following month visited about 70 villages, 18 towns and 26 river wharves. Without trying to minimize the extent of the disaster which has overtaken the Volga region, he notes the prevalence of fantastic rumors which remind one of the wild reports that used to come from the war fronts. As an illustration, he mentions the stories that are circulated about the state of things at Sizran. At the Sizran railway station, they were told, thousands of emigrants were besieging the trains. Bodies of men who had died of starvation were lying about, and coffins could not be manufactured quickly enough in view of the shortage of wood and labor. The whole peasant population of the Samara province was said to be on the move, with men pulling the carts, as the horses and even their skins had been eaten. The people were dying, the crops were completely destroyed, the rodents ate what was left of the crops, and the men ate the rodents. Such was the story spread by rumors. The reality, as it revealed itself to the delegates on their arrival at Sizran, was this: At the station there was a mixed crowd of passengers, numbering about 250 and including a noticeable sprinkling of food speculators. There were only three groups of peasants, consisting of five persons each, bound for Tashkent. The remaining passengers were going to Moscow and other central provinces for ordinary private or business purposes. The rest of the story proved a complete fabrication.

Nevertheless, the actual situation is very grave. The whole middle Volga region suffered badly from the drought.

Despite the critical position, however, the peasants in many places ploughed for the winter sowing of rye up to 60 per cent and in some districts (the Chuvash province) up to 90 per cent of last year's sowing. The shortage of fodder and the fear that the cattle may not survive the coming winter, induced the peasants to increase the autumn sowings as much as possible. There was also noticeable an inclination to extend potato growing as less liable to damage from drought.

The number of people who emigrated from the famine area up to the end of July is estimated

at about 3 per cent of the population, and of these only a small proportion had long associations with those provinces.

Mixing flour with grass in making bread, the letter to the *Izvestia* reports, began to be practiced as early as May, and in some parts even April, the admixture amounting to from 25 to 50 per cent, though in some cases substitutes alone were used. About 40 per cent of the agricultural population has been feeding on such substitutes. From the middle of July, however, with the gathering in of the new crops, the food used has somewhat improved, though the peasants continue to collect stocks of substitutes for the winter.

It was difficult to say whether cases of death from hunger had then actually occurred. The delegates did not come across any such cases confirmed by medical certificates. On the other hand, there had been cases of death caused by stomach and intestinal disorders as the result of feeding on substitutes. One should note the general tendency among the people to attribute every case of death to the famine conditions.

The above communication to the *Izvestia* concludes with the statement, "If September shows that the yield from the spring sowings is under the average, then in December the famine will assume the most menacing proportions."

Reports from Outside the Famine Area

According to official reports in *Pravda*, August 14, the condition of the crops in the Ukraine was as follows:

"In five provinces (Volyn, Podol, Kiev, Chernigov and Poltava) the yield was expected to be above the average.

"In six other provinces (Donets, Ekaterinoslav, Zaporozhskaia; Kremenchug—most of the counties; Nikolaev; Kharkov—three counties—the crop is poor. In thirteen counties of these provinces it is completely ruined, and food will actually have to be supplied to these thirteen counties."

In April, when the food tax assessment was being made, the Ukraine was estimated to produce from 850 to 900 million poods of grain, and the tax was fixed at 117 million poods. But the actual production, according to the later estimate, will fall short of the above figure by 200 million poods, so that the result of the food tax will be much lower than the estimate.

E. Preobrazhenski, writing in *Pravda*, August 13, stated that there would be a good harvest in Orel province. He had just returned from a general tour of inspection in that area, where he visited the towns and heard the official reports, and also went to a number of villages and heard what the peasants themselves thought of the position. He puts the average rye harvest in the province at about 800 lbs. per acre; there were a few districts where not more than 450 to 500 lbs. yield was expected; on the other hand, there were many districts where the peasants were confident of harvesting 1,000 and even 1,300 lbs. per

acre. Oats will produce an even better yield; and millet (which was sown over an unusually large area this year, as other seed was not available), has also done excellently, in many districts promising as much as 1,300 lbs. per acre. The peasants summed up the position in the statement, "We shall have porridge this year". Even the grass has been revived by the good rains in July.

Information about the areas to be sown for next year's harvest shows that preparations are being made to increase the area, even above the last sowings, which represented a great increase on the previous year. Preobrazhenski notes that this applies not only to the Orel province, but to the north and centre of Russia generally, and remarks that, should no calamity befall next year's harvest, Russia's food situation will be nearly normal, and her industrial production will consequently be able to go forward.

The province of Petrograd has an almost unprecedented harvest this year, giving it the unusual position of one of the most fruitful grain-

growing provinces of Russia. The rye crops are expected to yield from 800 to 900 lbs. per acre and in some localities as much as 1,300 lbs. an acre is expected. The loan of 8,000 tons of seed, which the province received last autumn and spring, will easily be repaid out of this year's harvest.

Locomotives for Southern Russia

In connection with the transport of provisions and other relief stores to the famine areas, it is interesting to note that, under contracts made by the Soviet Government, 125 locomotives from abroad are due for delivery at Black Sea ports during November and December; and a further 165 locomotives in January and February. At present the main difficulty is to make arrangements to land these locomotives, as the only Black Sea ports equipped with sufficiently large cranes are Sebastopol and Nikolayev. The latter port freezes up about December or January, and plans are therefore being made to transfer the Nikolayev cranes to Odessa.

Hunger and War

By A. BRUSILOV

On August 7 there appeared at Petrograd a special "one-day" paper, called "For the Volga Peasants". It was issued for famine relief purposes by the "Union of Printers, with the Co-operation of the Journalists on Petrograd Newspapers". All proceeds go to the starving Volga peasants. A large-type inscription reads: "Man is a wolf to man—so deems the bourgeoisie, when it speculates on hunger. Man is a brother to man—says the Proletariat, summoning all to fight against hunger." The following article by the former general appeared in this paper, the first page of which is reprinted in facsimile in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA (page 143).

WAR and hunger are two of the most terrible plagues of man. But it seems to me that of these two horrors, hunger is unquestionably the more terrible.

War brings about chiefly a diminution of the strongest and youngest and healthiest portion of the population, more specifically that part of it which is called to military service, but the rising generation of their juniors quickly fills the place of those that have been killed.

But hunger does not select, it embraces the whole population.

The almost uninterrupted war of seven years, by whatever name we may call its phases, international, external, internal, civil, internecine, guerilla, and so on, did not destroy Russia, and our Soviet Government, with all the republics federated with it, is indisputably still in the saddle.

Hunger, now following directly upon the war and upon the bad crops of last year, and now assuming a most threatening form, has brought Russia to the brink of ruin.

In view of the gigantic proportions of this natural phenomenon with which we are now dealing, we must fear not only the dying out, with the most awful tortures, of a vast number of

people, both now and in the immediate future, but the actual wiping out of the nation and a resulting inevitable misery for the whole people, even in the remotest future, unless we resolve, and execute most vigorously, extraordinary measures of exceptional character, which cannot be enumerated here.

The elemental migration of the starving people, which we behold everywhere, who abandon their possessions to the caprice of fate, will bring in its train not only the complete ruin and the immediate death of the majority of those who desert their homes, but also, in the year that is to come, will mean the same hunger or even worse hunger, as the fields of these starving people will not be worked, and the quantity of grain yielded will be even less.

Hunger is horrible by reason of the fact that it is inevitably accompanied, for reasons that are perfectly clear, by cholera, hunger-typhus, scurvy, and various other diseases of epidemic character, which will aggravate the serious condition of the suffering nation and will spread even to such places as, to one or another extent, may have been spared a visitation by the hunger conditions.

We must furthermore also consider that the

keeping of domestic animals, which in all its ramifications constitutes the main and most necessary resource of the farming population, particularly the keeping of horses, without which there can be no plowing of the land and no transporting of products, will be irrevocably and ineluctably ruined because of the hunger of their owners, as well as the absence of food for the animals, which the peasant is driven, against his will, to consume as food. This sad project paints in still more gloomy colors the future that is immediately before us. Of course the Soviet Government has taken all measures within its power for alleviating the terrible impending plight, and has attached to itself social workers of various political colors

for a collective effort. But is this enough?

Only with the most resolute effort of all citizens without exception, without reservation, in the most unselfish welfare for humanity, may we hope to save our people from destruction.

When a steamer on the boundless ocean is in danger, it is not a time for starting quarrels as to this principle or that, or to seek the numerous causes for the fact that our 'ship of state' may have emerged on an unfavorable sea, on the open stormy ocean of international life; but it is our duty immediately to exert all our thoughts and forces in order to save the crew from death and the vessel from destruction and bring both back to port with the smallest possible losses.

General Brusilov's Activities

(An Interview in a Riga Paper)

The insinuations in the "New York Times" of September 9 to the effect that General Brusilov is dead and therefore cannot possibly have been the author of an article in the special famine newspaper printed at Petrograd are meeting with some obstacles. Not only is Brusilov alive, as the reader may judge from the interview reprinted below from "Novy Put" of Riga, but really did contribute to the famine newspaper an article, which we reprint in facsimile and in translation in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

THE representative of *Novy Put* first asked Brusilov to give him some information as to his life since the time he left the army.

"With the greatest of pleasure," said Brusilov. "I shall tell you what I have done since I was recalled from the army in the field by Kerensky, when he was at the head of the government. I went straight back from the front to my family at Moscow, where, not receiving any instructions, I lived in retirement.

"I scrupulously avoided any public appearance because I was firmly convinced that Kornilov's appointment as Commander-in-Chief would necessarily involve grave consequences for the situation of the Republic.

"I was not taken by surprise by the November Revolution. I was convinced that this revolution was inevitable, for a revolution will go its historic course, with certain culminating periods, and such a period was the November Revolution."

In the street fighting Brusilov was wounded by an exploding hand-grenade, after which he was in bed for eight months.

"It is impossible to speak of any participation in political life as far as I am concerned," continued Brusilov. "But during this time I heard the most incredible rumors concerning myself: Sometimes they made me Commander-in-Chief of the Red Armies, sometimes of the White; often I was stated as living in several places at the same time.

"In August, 1918, I was arrested and taken to the Kremlin where I remained for two months. But since my wound had not yet healed, I obtained permission to live with my family. Let me point

out that during my stay of two months in the Kremlin I had no occasion whatever of complaint of my treatment; on the contrary, the soldiers of the Red Army treated me very well indeed. Meanwhile any number of reports were circulating, to the effect that I had been shot, and no one considered it possible that I might be still among the living.

"I remained in my home under arrest for four months and may say that I had every opportunity to move about freely. All who wished to see me were admitted, and I was even allowed to leave the house when I wished, without being accompanied by any guard, and without being questioned as to where I was going."

When Poland declared war on Russia and Brusilov learned that the Soviet Government wanted to convoke a conference of experienced military men to organize the communications in the rear of the Red Army, he applied to Rattel, then head of the All-Russian General Staff, pointing out the desirability of holding such a conference during the war with Poland, with the understanding that this conference would under no circumstances meddle with the actual operations or in any way obstruct the High Military Command, Brusilov further stated:

"I consider it my duty to express my opinion on the so-called White Guard operations of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, and finally, Wrangel. I have never concealed and do not conceal now that I not only do not think their conduct has been

General Brusilov's article, "War and Famine", appears in Russian on opposite page (bottom third column of facsimile).

any advantage for Russia, but consider it to have been an absolute harm.

"While the three first-named made a number of strategic, tactical and above all political mistakes, they nevertheless had reason to count on the possibility of success. But as for Wrangel, his attack was so miserably organized, and operated with means so absolutely incompatible with the requirements, that he could not hope to attain anything but a complete destruction of the army at the head of which he stood. And he furthermore accompanied a particularly unpatriotic thing: he helped the Poles, and I consider him a criminal toward Russia, and can find no justification for his acts."

In addition to the military activities which have engaged Brusilov's attention throughout his life, he had also specialized in another work: the breeding and training of horses. He had paid considerable attention to these two occupations and is now still engaged in them, in the service of his country.

"At the invitation of the head of the Universal

Military Training, Podvoisky," continued Brusilov, "I have accepted the position of chairman of two commissions which are occupied in the preparatory work for the transition to a militia system."

When asked about the possibility of intervention, Brusilov answered:

"I have no facts on which to base a judgment in this matter, and may therefore express myself from the theoretical standpoint only. For the present I consider intervention hardly probable. We are already in August and the winter is approaching."

Finally Brusilov said a few words on his relations with the Soviet power in general:

"I submit to the will of the people; it has the right to have any government it likes. While it may be that I do not approve of the various provisions and tactics of the Soviet Government, I nevertheless recognize its sound basic principles, which have every chance to survive, and therefore am glad to dedicate my forces to my much-loved fatherland."

Moscow Impressions

By B. ROUSTAM BEK

ONLY one who has visited Moscow can appreciate the stability of the Soviet Government in Russia. I reached the old Russian capital early one clear morning, after fifteen hours' travel from Petrograd in a most comfortable train. The city was full of life and activity as ever. The characteristic sounds of the church bells filled the air. Electric tramways and numerous motor cars ran in every direction. The streets, though naturally in need of considerable repair, were bright and full of crowds. Some shops were open and several market places were very active. It was evident that profiteers were hastening to take advantage of the changed conditions, as they will continue to do until the cooperatives are ready to undertake their important functions in the exchange of commodities. Large posters on the walls advertised daily performances in the theatres, with concerts and all sorts of meetings. The perfect order which rules everywhere was a surprise to the numerous foreign visitors who were in Moscow attending the various congresses. Museums, such as the Rumyantsev or the famous Tretyakov Gallery, are always filled with visitors, among them many of these foreign guests, who are astonished to find them in such perfect state.

The Government offices are hard at work. Here one finds an intense vitality. It is as though this were the center of the globe, where the workers of all the world had really united. You can see here working-people of all races, speaking all tongues, dressed in every national costume, and all embracing a common principle. And when you see them and understand the importance of

what is going on here for the sake of the whole working world, then you appreciate the magnitude of this elemental movement.

In Moscow one feels the gigantic power of the Russian proletariat. A parade of the Moscow garrison is a never to be forgotten sight as I saw it when Trotsky reviewed the troops on the opening day of the Congress of the Third International. Imagine, if you can, at the head of this garrison 40,000 Communist troopers, fully armed and perfectly uniformed, with brilliant regiments of cavalry and artillery, with the finest military bands playing the International as they marched through Moscow. Their commanders were young fellows, most of whom had been several times wounded in their struggles against Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, Wrangel and others. Many of them wore on their breasts the order of the Red Banner. They all bore on their caps one common badge—the Red Star of the Workers' and Peasants' Army. This spectacle was most impressive to our foreign guests. They now have some conception of the real military strength of Proletarian Russia. They have seen the Revolutionary Army.

I found the Red Army as I had imagined it while in America, when I tried to depict it for the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA, though I never guessed that it could be as brilliant and powerful as it is in reality. And yet I have found not the slightest "militarism," in the perilous sense of that word, in the whole military organization of Soviet Russia. In the Supreme Military Council of the Republic, as well as in the other departments of

the War Office, I found extreme simplicity and perfect organization. I can say without hesitation that the military apparatus of the Soviet Republic is one of the most perfect in every respect. With such an organization we need not fear any surprise which we may have to meet in the future. And yet, with all this immense military power, Soviet Russia is the only country in the world which is sincerely ready, if circumstances would allow it, to lay down its arms. If there could be a movement for disarmament which was not a mere expression of imperialist hypocrisy, the Russian proletariat would be the first to say: Down with armed force! Long live the hammer and sickle!

Military Journals

Intellectual life in Moscow is highly developed. Books are published in great numbers and there are in circulation many monthly and weekly magazines which are most instructive and interesting and some of which have great artistic merit. Humorous literature is not lacking, and you may even see journals which publish amusing satirical cartoons and articles about Lenin, Trotsky and other leaders. I believe that the military literature of the Soviet Republic is the most extensive in the world. The Department of Military Literature of the Supreme Military Council has several branches in the most important centers. In the one at Petrograd, for instance, famous teachers of the old staff college and other prominent military scientists are at work. The result is a quantity of important periodicals and books, all of them published by the State, and all obtainable by anyone who does any work. Even in Tashkent, the capital of the Turkestan Republic, there is a state publishing house for various publications, among which I have seen an important journal, *Military Thought*, which contains, in addition to military information, many political and economic articles of great significance, with reference to Central Asia, India, Afghanistan, etc. In Petrograd, in addition to the *Red Commander* and other journals for every branch of military and naval affairs, we have also the *Review of Militia*, an interesting fortnightly magazine to which the foremost military writers contribute, in which I had the honor of publishing several articles. The editor of this journal is a distinguished young Communist Red Soldier, V. P. Georgadze, and on the editorial board are a group of military professors and highly trained specialists who are devotedly and sincerely working for the new Republic.

Famine Worse than Intervention

On my return from Moscow I traveled by day and was able to admire the beautiful scenery of the summer landscape lying along the route to Petrograd. At each station the village boys and girls brought different kinds of berries to the train. The peasant women sold fresh milk, eggs

and mushrooms. There was a lack only of bread. The harvest in the Petrograd region, as well as in the Ukraine, was good. There had been rain in these districts and fruits and berries were in abundance. It was very different on the Volga, where the situation of the peasants is disastrous. The new enemy of Russia is more dangerous than all the hostility of foreign armed imperialism. The Russian proletariat has now to fight famine, and in this struggle the citizens of Soviet Russia have united with extraordinary unanimity to support their government in its difficult task. The spirit of the people has again risen in adversity, as it did when foreign foes threatened the Soviet Republic. There is no doubt that this new enemy in its turn will be vanquished, as recently the menace of cholera was overcome. The defeat of cholera was a remarkable achievement. When this plague threatened during the summer, I observed that there suddenly appeared on all the streets special posters, warning the citizens of the approaching danger, and advising anti-cholera inoculations and other sanitary measures.* The medical personnel was mobilized in the campaign, and special sanitary precautions were taken. The people were urged to drink only boiled water and the sale of raw fruit was temporarily prohibited. The citizens read the posters attentively and followed their instructions. There was not the slightest panic and consequently there was no serious infection of cholera either in Petrograd or in Moscow, or in any other of the important centers of European Russia. I was greatly impressed, returning to Russia after fifteen years absence, to observe in this respect and in others the immense intellectual progress which the Russian people had made in that time. Among the peasants especially I note a new consciousness and a discipline which has made the administration of the country possible, in spite of the most unfavorable conditions imposed by seven years of constant fighting and blockade.

To-day (August 7) a special newspaper entitled "For the Volga Peasants" has appeared throughout all Russia. Only one issue was printed, which is sold for one thousand rubles, the proceeds going to famine relief. Lenin's appeal is printed along with an article by A. Brusilov, the former general.**

In the presence of this new enemy Soviet Russia acts with an energy which insures victory. We hope that in our fight against this new foe, which is indirectly in alliance with our capitalistic enemies, the American workers will not leave us unaided. Let the workers of the world unite in this struggle.

*See page 147.

**The first page of this newspaper is reproduced in facsimile on page 143 of this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. Brusilov's article appears in translation on page 141. Lenin's appeal was published in SOVIET RUSSIA last month.

The Struggle with Disease

By AAGE JÖRGENSEN

A Danish Delegate to one of the congresses recently held in Moscow writes from that city, under date of July 25 and 26, to "Folkets Dagblad Politiken," Stockholm, two communications which we reprint below because of the important material they contain on sanitary conditions in Soviet Russia.

Moscow, July 25.

IN a handsome five-story building at 17 Petrovka Street, the People's Commissariat of Public Health has its central office for all Russia. The staircase leading to this office is bustling with people seeking advice and assistance from the many sections of the Commissariat, for the times are hard. Not only famine, but diseases also, many of them, afflict the struggling and suffering Russian people; the Commissariat of Public Health is, therefore, the chief citadel from which the people draw their strength.

Short Visit to Semashko

The chief of the Commissariat of Public Health is Semashko, known and worshipped by every child in Russia. I met him on the fifth story, in a little office, with furnishings of Spartan simplicity. Semashko speaks with warmth and enthusiasm not only of the outright struggle with disease, but also of the great prophylactic tasks that are being met by the children's homes, the children's colonies, summer-schools, and sport clubs of various kinds. He then picks up a number of photographs presenting a beautiful prospect of a world of health, sun, light, youth, and pleasure. Semashko proudly points out, in connection with the pictures, that the peasants also are beginning to understand the great significance of public hygiene, that they are in many cases themselves leading in the work of organizing cleanliness and the health service.

Semashko then expressed his heartfelt thanks to the foreign workers—including those of Scandinavia—who are holding out a helping hand to the Russian working population in these hard times, in their struggle against pestilence and disease.

A genuine campaign against disease, which had been strengthened by the famine, has been inaugurated all over Russia, but the prerequisite of a favorable outcome of this struggle—which for the present is being waged against the unhappy triumvirate: cholera, typhus of the stomach, and dysentery—is a sufficient supply of medicines. Before the war almost all medicines were imported, but the blockade, so thoroughly carried out during the revolution, until the most recent date prevented all importation of medicines. The quantities now coming over the boundaries are still so small as compared with the needs that they are by no means sufficient for the population.

On my asking him what were the medicines needed most at this moment, Semashko handed me a list of the following sixteen substances: Aspirin, Atropin Sulphate, Bismuth Subnitrate, Camphor,

Quinine, Codein pure, Caffein pure, Digitalis Leaves, Iodine pure, Potassium Iodide, Morphinum muriaticum, Sodium Bromide, Neosalvarsan, Pilcarpine Mur., Ipecac Roots, Hydrochloric Acid.

These medicaments must be provided at the earliest possible moment in the largest possible quantities.

The short conversation is over and Semashko tells me that Dr. Kalina can give me further details. I leave Semashko with an expression of hope that the workers of all countries may understand the seriousness of the situation and exert all their powers to help their Russian brothers by sending gifts of medicines.

An Interview with Kalina

Moscow, July 26.

Work in the People's Commissariat for Health is proceeding at great speed, and this is especially the case in the Foreign Information Bureau, the energetic head of which is Dr. S. Kalina. Like all Communists in responsible positions, Dr. Kalina also has a schedule from 10 to 1 at the hospital as a practicing physician, with gynecology as his specialty, followed by a period of work in the Commissariat, from 1 to 5 in the afternoon, and finally, his whole evening is occupied partly by work on various committees of the Moscow Soviet, partly in party work, in which Dr. Kalina has been active for eighteen years, in other words, from his earliest youth. Of course the conversation with Dr. Kalina is concerned chiefly with the general conditions of the life and work of the physicians.

In the first four or five weeks of the Soviet power, practically all the physicians were carrying on an absolute sabotage. But later, when they saw that the Soviet was gaining in strength day by day, they somewhat reluctantly returned to their work. All the clinics, polyclinics, sanatoriums, laboratories and apothecaries passed at once, as the reader will recall, into the hands of the Soviets, and the physicians engaged in them had to conduct their work under the supervision and control of the Soviets. On the other hand, private practice by physicians was never prohibited, nor were the instruments that were the private property of the physicians ever taken away from them.

But of course all medical activity is conducted under a special control, particularly the delivery of medicines by the physician which is conducted on a card system. In this manner speculation in medicaments and unnecessary delivery of alcohol is prevented. If the physician, in spite of these



A CHOLERA POSTER

An official Soviet Government poster, typical of those mentioned by Col. Bek in his account of the anti-plague propaganda (see page 145). The word in large letters is "Cholera". The original bears the inscription: "Citizens! Have yourselves vaccinated against cholera. Death is powerless against vaccination only!" Like many others, this poster bears a little note (omitted in our reproduction): "Anyone pasting over or tearing down this poster is guilty of a counter-revolutionary act!"

precautions, abuses his privilege for prescribing alcohol or other medicines, his right to practice is withdrawn. But this took place in only a few cases, and the prohibition of alcohol has been so completely carried out, that alcohol may now be said practically to have ceased to be a substance that is drunk for pleasure, and to have passed entirely into the status of a medicine.

In a circular the Commissariat recently called attention to the fact that physicians should, as far as possible, be freed from all economic cares, so that they might devote themselves entirely to the great tasks now to be solved. The circular also provided at the same time for a further safeguarding of the sanitary-medicinal apparatus.

The physician looks after his occupational and economic interests through the trade union, membership in which is obligatory for all physicians. All occupations in the health service are included in an All-Russian Medical-Sanitary Trade Union, the so-called *Vsemeditsantrud*. This great trade union combination endows the physician with the same rights and duties as the nurse, the army doctor (*feldsher*) and the assistants. All are equally regarded as workers in the great army of the health service, even though their degree of responsibility may be very different in the various positions.

Of course, infinite demands are made, and rightly so, of the physician during the present period, if only for the reason that the whole system has been almost absolutely changed. His work has been shifted to a great extent from the consultation room to the sick-room. Formerly it was the patient that came to see the doctor, now it is more common to have the doctor come to see the patient, whether it be in the latter's private home, or, as is more commonly the case, in the hospital or clinic.

It goes without saying that the medical fraternity is not satisfied with the existing conditions of work, particularly when we remember that there are only a few Communists among the physicians. Dr. Kalina himself is the only Communist among the physicians of the great hospital in which he works, and of the 5,000 workers in the Commissariat of Health at Moscow, only 160 (of which number about 80 are physicians) have been organized in the basic Communist units, the so-called "cells".

But as time passes, an increasingly large number of the intelligentsia are gradually imbued with the thought that the future and the rising generation belong to Communism. And for this reason there is a marked growth in the organized health work. Concerning this I shall speak in a later article.

As the people of Russia of all political tendencies are now in full cooperation to solve the great problems of provisioning and public health, the universal pressure of opinion in other countries should result in a gigantic collection for the purchase of food supplies and medicaments for Soviet

Russia. As early as possible every trade union should take up the question as to how this collection should best be organized. The more promptly the medicaments can be supplied, the greater will be the number of valuable lives that may be saved, and the fuller will be the expression of the international solidarity of the workers in the form of living acts.

The Russian Health Service at Work

As a result of the November revolution, Dr. Kalina told me, the Russian health service was directed into entirely new channels; all sanatoriums, watering places and clinics were opened to the workers, who were to have a permanent right to occupy 65 per cent of all sanatorium accommodation throughout Russia, the rest going to the intellectual workers, the Soviet officials, artists, men of science, etc. In each single city district, the so-called *rayons*, clinics were established, in which all may have free advice from many specialists, and practically every street in Moscow has its information bureau, where mothers may obtain assistance in the care of children, as well as the necessary foodstuffs, particularly milk, for this purpose. Those who have visited both Germany and Russia have observed that the Russian children are happier and better fed than the German—not to speak of the Austrian children—in spite of the fact that Russia has had much greater difficulties to fight than any other country, owing to the terrible blockade.

The systematic instruction, through special courses, of a rapidly increasing staff of nurses, as well as the splendidly developed protection of motherhood, has done its share in saving the lives of babies. For two months before and after confinement, the mother is exempt from work, and receives full pay and greater rations than otherwise, as well as free medicines and free maintenance in the lying-in home—almost all children in Moscow are now born in such lying-in homes,—and complete layettes are also provided gratis in these places.

The Extent of Abortion

As to the frequently discussed privilege of interrupting pregnancy (abortion) by permitting surgical interference with it, this privilege extends over the first two months of pregnancy only, and may be made use of only on the operating table in certain hospitals. Violations of this provision are severely punished.

Such interference with pregnancy is permitted, as is well known, in Western Europe also, in case any of the following five diseases is present in the parents: syphilis, tuberculosis, kidney disease, heart trouble, insanity.

In the present epoch of crisis, all forces have been exerted to hold back the disease percentage, which has a tendency to increase because of famine and the heat of summer. Great work has been done in cleaning up the cities; for instance, in

Moscow for two weeks (June 20 to July 3) all refuse was removed, the sewage and water supply systems cleaned and repaired. Everywhere you could see posters on the walls of houses calling upon the people in vigorous words to observe cleanliness and take due care of their persons. All the district soviets and trade unions are very active in this tremendous task.

Famine is the best ally of disease. The terrible drought, last year and this, in the Volga district, has forced the peasants to emigrate to Siberia and the Caucasus in great numbers. Twelve to fifteen million people in twelve governments are tormented by hunger and many are doomed to die unless

speedy and energetic assistance is forthcoming. The hospitals are filling up with sick people who require medicine. Dysentery, cholera, and typhus of the stomach are spreading more and more, and yet, as Dr. Kalina says, the situation is much better than in 1919, when the typhus epidemic killed millions of people.

Dr. Kalina also thanked me for the assistance of the workers abroad. As we descended the steps after the conclusion of our conversation, we vowed that we should do all we could to obtain assistance, not only from the workers of Scandinavia, but from all the other countries of Western Europe.

Alexander Blok

By VICTOR SERGE

Petrograd, August 8, 1921.

THE greatest of contemporary Russian poets, one of the magicians of the word and of the thought, he who best knew how to set forth the deeper meaning of the revolution, has died. Alexander Blok died at Petrograd on Sunday morning, August 7, 1921. Russian literary men will long celebrate his memory, for he was incontestably one of the three or four great lyric poets conferred by nature each century on specially favored races. For many years, furthermore, and without having had any official laureateship conferred upon him, he was nevertheless the first, the most admired, the most beloved of the musicians of the Russian word.

He leaves behind him an extensive and permanent contribution, almost all of which is of a lyric nature. His best appreciated books are called: *Verses to Evoke the Wonderous Lady*, *Joys Unfelt*, *The Mask of Snow*, *The Earth Under the Snow*, titles untranslatable, it would seem, themselves involving much fantasy, very musical, both charming and mystical, whose essential symbols were also permanently embodied in *The Rose and the Cross*,—full of joy, flowers sublimated by a noble suffering,—a martyrdom crowned by the most beautiful and fragrant of flowers.

His work is mystical, and its inspiration absolutely original, hostile to any religious or conventional symbolism, but always determined to disclose among its passing forms and images, in minor, faint, hesitant chords, or in vague, iridescent touches, the intangible, inexpressible soul, which is love—painfully—and dreams of the rapture of the “unknown” to the stars. Although his mastery of the Russian language was almost perfect, he was never a virtuoso in verse, nor, in the proper sense of the word, a poet by trade. We shall find in his books not a single patriotic song or cantata, nor a didactic or “thesis” poem—like those to which the academicians and poet laureates of occidental countries are unfortunately addicted.

Alexander Blok was simply a lyric poet, a very great lyric poet, who lived like a poet, at the whim of the hours, of his personal emotions, or his dreams. And perhaps that is why it has been given to him to bestow upon the revolutionary Russia of Red November two poems which are masterpieces, because they sum up, set forth, and splendidly proclaim the revolution: *The Twelve*, and *The Scythians*.

A French translation of *The Twelve* recently appeared in *La Vie Ouvriere*.^{*} But the poet, the musician of *The Rose and the Cross*, is in reality very untractable in translation. *The Twelve* are twelve red guards of November 1917, dressed in torn boots, armed with Austrian rifles, who are tramping in the black night, over the white snow.—Above their heads a banner flaps in the wind, with the inscription: “All Power to the Constituent Assembly,” partly visible in the dark.—They pass on. The reports of their rifles echoing in the night inexorably dispel the great shadows of the past. They are poor men, rough, impetuous, suffering. One of them slays with a bullet from his gun his sweetheart of former days, whom he sees moving by in the arms of an officer.—And behind them on the snow remains the bloodstain: “But as they walk with mighty stride” followed by a poor famished beast, the twelve do not know that “they are preceded, under the bloody flag, by the form of Jesus Christ—invisible in the storm—inulnerable under the flying balls, moving softly over the snow, surrounded by fluffy flakes and glittering diamonds, crowned by white roses.” They do not know that they are the twelve obscure bearers of a new gospel, and that the ideal they are striving for is—unknown to them—inulnerable to their own assaults. In this poem, in which each word strikes home, because it is living, because it is a word of the street, there are verses which the revolution has practically taken as mottoes, in-

^{*}An English translation appeared in *The Freeman*, New York, September 8, 1920, and later as a pamphlet published by B. W. Huebsch.

scribing them on the walls of its capitals: "To the great grief of all bourgeois, we shall bring on the world conflagration." The poem also contains a double vision, moving and powerful, of the ideal revolution and the real revolution.

In the rhythm of their march and in their enthusiasm, the vehement strophes of *The Scythians* recall certain passages of Victor Hugo's *Chatiments* and Barbier's *Iambes*. Millions and millions of barbarous and eager Scythians bursting with life and with a burning and devouring love ("Yes, for long, none of you has been able to love as our blood knows to love!") appear on the threshold of the future and address to the old world a fraternal appeal, which sounds like a defiance:

For the last time, old world, brace up!
For the last time the lyre of the barbarians
Summons you to the bright repast, the
fraternal feast
Of labor and of peace!

For if old Europe cannot understand the immense hopes and the immense love that blossoms in the breasts of the Scythians of the Ural and the Volga, these Scythians will turn to Asia—and then woe to old Europe!

In Alexander Blok's tragic admonition there is a profound meaning. Europe has not responded to the brusque and magnificent appeal of the "barbarians" — proletarians and muzhiks — who have made the revolution. And now these "barbarians" are calling upon the people of the Orient. If old bourgeois Europe were able to grasp even in the slightest degree the immensity of the consequences of the awakening of the Orient, what frightful disturbances must she feel at the faintest murmurs in India and Iran?

The author of *The Twelve* and *The Scythians* was attached by his sympathies to the Socialist-Revolutionary Party of the Left, which adhered to the Soviets after the November Revolution, and whose legal organization, surviving many aberrations, is to-day making efforts to constitute itself as a "loyal opposition." As a matter of fact, Alexander Blok, little versed in political affairs, understood the revolution as a poet—and understood it admirably.

He did not cease his work at Petrograd. I believe he had been engaged for some time in an office in the Theatrical Section of the Commissariat of Public Instruction. He was a member of the Bureau of the Authors' Union and one of the founders of the Poets' Union, which has taken upon itself the defence of the interests of poets, who are considered as having a function in the Republic, a trade comparable in every respect with other trades. He was much interested in the House of Arts, one of the centres of intellectual life in Petrograd. There you might often meet him. A dashing figure, well jointed, he had the elegant correctness and bearing of an Anglo-Saxon gentleman. His elongated face, smooth shaven, with its firm features, flushing faintly at the slight

emotion, his eyes of the blue of the ocean, further strengthened this first impression, somewhat unexpected in the most lyrical and most Russian of our contemporary poets. None of those that have met him, however little, will forget his calm and warm voice, always appearing to restrain an emotion, and his blue, timid, distant, sweet glance.

At the age of forty-one he succumbed to heart trouble, complicated, they tell me, by an incipient scurvy* and by a breakdown of a constitution that had been slowly undermined by years of privation. If the conditions of existence of the circle to which he belonged were somewhat better than those of the rest of the population, in these days of civil war, of blockade and of permanent famine, they are none the less hard conditions indeed, and the noblest natures are not always those that adapt themselves best to the new conditions of the struggle for life. It has very often been the case in Red Russia during the civil war and the famine, that the best of revolutionaries went off to be killed at the front or on the barricades, while others were lying low—and that the best of artists and scholars stoically suffered the severest privations, while dubious "intellectuals", skilled at sabotage in all the Soviet institutions, were "muddling through" rather well.

In this unfortunate and inverse selection, the war that has been waged and is still being waged more insidiously, against Red Russia, has been more responsible than any other cause for the repeated murders of the elect. The artists, the learned, the children—the elements that humanity necessarily considers to be the promise of its future—have suffered most in this process. Poets die young in the country of the revolution, and hundreds of thousands of Russian children are a prey to famine at the very moment when the eyes of Alexander Blok have closed in death.

The peoples who initiate the great social transformations are called upon to pay this cruel ransom for the future of all races.

*The Russian Telegraph Agency announced that Blok died of cancer, from which disease, as is well known to his friends, he had suffered for many years.

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The French Plot Against Russia

Perhaps the facts here given may throw some light on the present French strikes.

The misery which now exists over a large area of Russia as a result of drought, blockade and civil war has been the signal for redoubled energies on the part of foreign imperialistic enemies of the Workers' Republic, acting in co-operation with the more fanatical émigrés, such as Savinkov and Burtsev. Now, when the organization of the Red Army is being devoted to the work of famine relief, the French bankers apparently feel that the time is opportune to strike a new blow at Russia through the instrumentality of their Polish and Rumanian vassals. Throughout July and August the French Communist paper *L'Humanité* printed article after article containing specific allegations about shipments of large quantities of munitions and war material to Poland and Rumania. Day after day it has reprinted its "standing accusation": a list of firms and arsenals which are manufacturing munitions for the use of the Polish and Rumanian armies. The essential facts about the new French conspiracy against Soviet Russia are summed up in the following article by Bernard Lecache, which appeared in *L'Humanité* on August 7:

The Plot Against Russia

"What will the working class do against the French shipments of munitions to Poland and Rumania? Will it finally take the attitude that is expected? Will it rise with sufficient force before the government which is leading it without striking a blow into the next last war?"

"The first duty of the workers' organization has not been fulfilled. After our revelations—they are not official but they are, we flatter ourselves, irrefragable—it was agreed to stop immediately the daily shipments of men and arms for the next assailants of the Russian Revolution. This has not yet been done. We shall regret it to-morrow. To-day we can attempt to reassert ourselves, we can prove to the ruling power that the proletariat will not allow a whole people, which has already been decimated by famine, to be assassinated without defense.

"The cause of the metal workers is disquieting. We continue to point out by name, as we have been doing, some of the firms which assume the responsibility of making munitions. We publish almost daily the list of houses and firms which contract, at a high price, to send shells to the Poles. The working men and women are therefore very definitely warned, and, on the other hand, we know that the metal trusts have acted in accordance with their obligations to their shareholders.

The Workers' Responsibility

"How is it that from this time the making of munitions has continued? We know that among the producers are only trade unionists. But do the trade unionists who are there clearly realize the situation? If they do not perceive the infamous role which they are playing, so much the worse for them and for us.

"At Fort d'Aubervilliers, about a hundred women have been called for the manufacture of asphyxiating gases, about fifty adult women for the repairing of gas masks.

"There may be among them widows of the war. And then?"

"Let us now come to the railway workers. Three-fourths of them are enlisted for the policies—if it be not to use too big a word—of revolutionary syndicalism. We ask

of some tens of thousands of members of the Federation of Railway Workers whether they will persist in allowing trains of munitions for Poland and Rumania to depart.

"There are, finally, maritime workers and dockers. Will they continue to permit steamers loaded with war material to sail every third day from Marseilles, from Lorient, Rochefort, Brest, Havre and Dunkirk, bound either for the Baltic or the Black Sea? In conclusion, we beg of all to consult the following list, expressive in its conciseness, which suffices to explain the plot against starving Russia, fomented by little Barthou, brother of a deserter who returned by favor of an amnesty.

Our Standing Accusation

"Will they remain unmoved when we maintain these charges, without fearing any contradiction:

"The despatch of munition trains for Poland and Rumania twice a day.

"The general recruiting in the factories of the West, of Creusot, of the Centre.

"The manufacture, day and night, in these factories, of mitrailleuses, cannon, shells, balls, airplanes.

"The despatch, on the pretext of reinforcements for Upper Silesia, or Poland, of about 20,000 poilus of the classes of 1920 and 1921.

"The preparation to send new troop reinforcements for Poland.

"The sending to the port of Danzig of a French steamer, loaded with war material, among other things 38 cannon and 608 tons of munitions.

"The recruiting, at Fort d'Audervilliers, of 150 women for the immediate manufacture of asphyxiating gas and gas masks for the Polish army.

"The making, at Baudet and Donon and Argenteuil, of tractors for heavy artillery on the railroad (destined for Poland).

"The manufacture at Breguet of airplanes equipped for war for Poland and Rumania. Each airplane costs 58,000 francs.

"The manufacture, in Levaaseur, of military airplanes for Poland.

"The sending, by L'E. S. A., No. 2, to Nanterre of 40 cases full of complete airplanes, equipped for war, destined for Rumania.

"On each of these cases one can read the following inscription:

"Shipment of special store of aviation material.

"The Minister of War of France to the Minister of War of Rumania.

"Naval arsenal of Lorient.

"From this same station trains have already left filled with mitrailleuses for airplanes, as well as airplane motors and equipment for landing.

"The sending, through the Independent Society of T. S. F. (S. I. F) (place of meeting, 66 Rue de la Bôétie, Paris) by way of Chatillon to Montrouge of saddlery for Rumania.

"About two months ago Rumanian soldiers came to be instructed in the use of the equipment. The manufacture, by the S. O. M. M. A., at Farcot factory, Clichy, of 88 cannon of 155 range, of 60s, 70s and of mountain 65s for Poland or Rumania.

"The manufacture of airplanes for Rumania by the sheet metal factory at Colombes, on the Boulevard de Havre.

"The manufacture of cannon at the Schneider factory (formerly maison Farcot), Avenue de la Gare, at Saint-Ouen. For whom?"

"The manufacture at Delsunay, Belleville and Saint-Denis, of rifles, cartridges, 75s and anti-aircraft guns.

"The making of barbed wire at the Mouton factory, Plaine Saint-Denis. The whole stock is sent to Poland."

Protest Against Conspirators in Poland

The following is the text of a note sent on July 4 by People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, to the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Skirmont. To accompany this note, which shows how Poland is aiding counter-revolutionary agents, we are printing opposite an official Soviet Government poster with the inscription: "The departing shlahkta (Polish nobles) in their impotent rage blow up cities with the dynamite of the Entente and destroy the population." Below are the words: "Curses and death upon the hired murderers!" The names Kiev and Borissov—cities sacked by the Poles over a year ago—appear over the burning houses in the distance. The poster evidently dates from that period.

Already on April 11 the Russian Government felt itself obliged to call the attention of the Polish Government to the constant violations of the Riga treaty by Polish forces, who were aiding in every possible way the bands hostile to the Soviet Government, in their raids on the territories of the Soviet Republics. On May 3, the Russian Government, to its great regret, was obliged to declare to the Polish Government that the explanation contained in the latter's note of April 19 could not be considered as in any way satisfactory. In this new declaration, the Russian Government adduced a number of instances of aid given by Polish forces to the organizations of Savinkov, Balakhovich and Peremykin, whose object it was to invade the Soviet Republics and overthrow their governments. In its radio telegram of May 26, the Polish Government resolutely denied all facts that were incriminating to it.

With profound regret the Russian Government some time ago recognized that so far as the violations by the Polish Government of its treaty obligations with regard to Russia were concerned, the facts far exceeded everything that has been stated by the Russian Government in its former declarations. In Article 5 of the Riga Treaty, both contracting parties accepted the obligation to refrain from all interference in the internal affairs of the other side, from agitation, propaganda and intervention of any kind, as well as from any support to such activities. They bind themselves not to recognize or support organizations having as their object an armed struggle with the other contracting party, either in order to encroach upon its territorial integrity, or to prepare for the overthrow of its governmental or social system by force, as well as in organizations alleging themselves to be a government of the other party, or of portions of its territory.

Both sides bind themselves not to tolerate the presence on their territory of such organizations, their official or other representatives, or other organs, to prevent recruiting on their own territory, as well as the entrance into their territory of armed forces, weapons, or supplies, munitions, or war materials of any kind, destined for such organizations.

The Russian Government declares that all these provisions have been violated by the Polish Government from the very outset to the present time. More than that. Polish forces have most actively participated in actions which it was the duty of the Polish Government to oppose, in accordance with this article of the treaty. The principal one of the organizations hostile to the Russian Government—which not only has its seat at Warsaw, but which there enjoys the full encouragement of the highest organs of the Polish Government—is the so-called "Russian Political Committee," headed by Savinkov, the author of the well-known statement that he was "ready to go with anyone, if the purpose be only to fight the Soviet Government." Sometimes this Political Committee acted through central organs created by it, hostile to the Soviet Government; at one time it created the Russian Evacuation Committee, which in reality had undertaken the organization on Polish territory of forces hostile to Soviet Russia. Shortly thereafter it established a Liquidation Commission for the affairs of the Evacuation Committee, which, however, did not wind up any of its activities. Within the last few months, the Russian Political Committee acted quite openly and officially. With its official approval, the leaders of the conspiracies and uprisings directed against the Soviet Government have been crossing the Polish border, while, on the basis of its approval, the highest authorities of the Polish Government are giving out to these same agents

official Polish certificates, necessary for their work on Polish territory and for their passage over the border. The Political Committee, this great centre of all activities abroad hostile to the Russian Government, is in such close contact with the Polish Government, that its declarations and official documents have for the Polish Government full official significance.

This same Russian Political Committee is the actual initiator and manager of the great conspiracy that was prepared on Polish territory with the object of bringing about an overthrow of the Government in Russia, which is now revealed, thanks to the watchfulness of the Soviet power. On Polish territory and with the full cooperation of the Polish Government, the Russian Political Committee was preparing uprisings both in the cities and the rural districts of Soviet Russia, as well as the disorganization of the transportation system, the destruction of factories, fuel, etc., and an attack from the outside from Polish territory, where for this purpose the necessary forces had been recruited and armed. For this latter purpose use was made of the former armies of Savinkov, Balakhovich and Peremykin, who had first been interned and then liberated as the result of an understanding between the Political Committee and the Polish Government. For the same purpose, with the active support of the Polish authorities, recruiting was carried on among Russian citizens with the object of filling up the ranks that were being gotten ready for an assault on the Soviet Republic. The Russian Political Committee recognized the so-called "People's Union for the Defence of the Fatherland and Liberty", to take charge of the carrying out of this program. This Committee was an organization working directly on the realization of a wide plan of conspiracy, covering both the capitals of Soviet Russia and its provincial cities, as well as the railroads and the rural population. The agents of the People's Union for the Defense of the Fatherland and Liberty stood at the head of the bandit uprising in the Western provinces. While the operation of disposing of the bandit system, now fortunately completed, was under way, it became clear that all the meshes of this movement almost invariably led back to the People's Union for the Defense of the Fatherland and Liberty, that is, to an organization operating at Warsaw with the full cooperation of the Polish Government. Similar connection was found to exist between this Union and the conspiracy now exposed at Petrograd, which turned out to be a component part of the same plan that had been liquidated by the Soviet Power. The principal role in the carrying out of this plan had been assigned to the divisions formed on Polish territory, which were to attack the Soviet Republic from without, simultaneously with organized uprisings within. Under the form of an organization for social labors, the armies of Savinkov, Balakhovich and Peremykin were to be pushed forward to the boundary, and shock battalions of guerilla fighters were to be formed out of their numbers. In order to aid in the carrying out of this plan, the personal Adjutant of the Polish Minister of War, General Staff Col. Count Sollogub de Voyno, was placed at the head of the interned army. The Russian Government has in its possession letters from the so-called General Bulak-Balakhovich to the acting representative of the Head of the Friends of the Workers, Capt. Poverzak, from which it is evident that the plan of the conspirators with regard to the formerly interned armies was being gradually accomplished. Simultaneously the head of the Russian Political Committee, Savinkov, concluded an agreement with the counter-revolutionary so-called "Governments" of Ukraine, the Don, the Kuban,

**УХОДЯЩАЯ ШЛЯХТА
В БЕССИЛЬНОЙ ЗЛОБЕ
ДИНАМИТОМ АНТАНТЫ
ВЗРЫВАЕТ ГОРОДА
ИСТРЕБЛЯЕТ
НАСЕЛЕНИЕ**



КИЕВ

ПРОКЛЯТЬЕ

В. МОРА

СМЕРТЬ НАЕМНЫМ УБИЙЦАМ!

and the leading groups of the counter-revolutionary Cossack elements of the Terek, Astrakhan and Orenburg. By an agreement between the Russian Political Committee and the Polish Government the troops of the counter-revolutionary Cossacks in Poland were assigned to border duty, to which there is reference in letters from Savinkov to Count Sollogub de Voïno. Colonel Gnilyorbov was appointed representative of these Cossack divisions by the Polish Government, since the Russian Political Committee had appointed him to head the Cossack troops.

The Polish General Staff at Work

In this intensive work of preparation and leadership in conspiracies in Russia that was being carried on by the Russian Political Committee, one of the principal parts was played by the Polish Staff. The Polish General Staff not only permitted the organization of guerilla divisions in Poland, but gave aid to such organizations, supplying their troops with arms and transporting them on Polish railroads at the expense of the Polish Ministry of War. The Polish General Staff actively cooperated in recruiting in war prisoners' camps and among the interned organizers of anti-Soviet groups and in forwarding them into Russia. It aided in the reorganization and preparedness for warlike activity of the remnants of the formerly interned anti-Soviet armies. It supplied the agents of the Russian Political Committee and its couriers free of charge with traveling papers and issued permits for transporting anti-Soviet literature by railroad.

Almost all the agents of the Russian Political Committee were at the same time agents of the Polish General Staff. Officials of the institutions under the jurisdiction of the Polish General Staff conducted over the border the agents of the Russian Political Committee destined for Russia. In the offices of these officials of institutions subordinate to the Polish General Staff, bundles of anti-Soviet literature were made up. More than that, the Polish General Staff aided in forwarding to Russia poisons with the object of a wholesale poisoning of Red Army divisions at the time of the uprisings. Thus, for example, the Second Section of the Polish General Staff, over the signature of the Major of the General Staff, Bek, issued a document to the agents of Savinkov for transportation to Soviet Russia, for reconnoitering purposes as it were, two kilograms of poison, the object of which in reality was the wholesale poisoning of Red Army men. All these actions of the highest authorities of the Polish Government were possible only by reason of the fact that the Russian Political Committee has until the present time enjoyed the full protection of the highest personages in the Polish Republic. As a consequence of this, the Polish Government squandered 350 million marks of the funds of the Polish Treasury in support of the Russian Political Committee and its conspirative activities.

Under the mask of peace, the Polish Government was guilty of actions towards the Soviet Republics that amounted to certain forms of warlike operations. The Government of the Workers and Peasants in Russia, however, stands so firm and represents so completely the will of the great working masses of Russia that no kinds of conspiracies on the part of the remnants of the exploiting classes, supported by external foes, could weaken its position. The Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Russia has shown that it can defend itself against a whole world of armed enemies and is not afraid of any invasions. But it desires peace and all its efforts are directed toward the achievement of friendly relations with all other nations. The Soviet Government hoped that by making important sacrifices in the conclusion of peace with the Polish Republic, it would assure for itself permanent and neighborly relations with that country. The Russian Government unswervingly labors for the establishment and solidification of the fundamental relations with Poland that were fixed at the Riga treaty, which the Russian Government is profoundly convinced correspond to the interests and the basic desires of both peoples. The Russian Government invariably has complied and will comply with all provisions of Article 5, as well as of all other articles of the Riga Treaty. It is not the fault of the Russian Government if the Polish

Government is continuing its hostile acts against Russia. The Polish Government has thus far not given permission to the Russian ambassador to enter Warsaw*, thus delaying the possibility of really bringing about peace and friendship by means of regular diplomatic relations. The Polish Government is supporting the White Russian so-called "Military Political Centre" and the White Russian Committee at Warsaw. It gives support to the Petlurians and other opponents of the Ukrainian Soviet power, Tyutyunik, and others. In supporting the Russian Political Committee, it is supporting the most active of the enemies of the Russian Government.

In its Notes, written in reply, the Polish Government advances two accusations against the Russian Government. One of these is concerned with the activity of a certain Yevlev, who is alleged to have fomented dissension in those parts of White Russia that have been united with Poland. The Russian Government, in its Note of May 28, already pointed out that from the moment of the conclusion of peace it no longer maintained any relations with the above mentioned Yevlev. The second accusation of the Polish Government was concerned with literature hostile to that Government, which, it was alleged, was being thrust upon refugees returning to Poland. The investigation undertaken by us shows that not a single one of the organizations of the Soviet Government was guilty of any such act. We must assume that the accusation contained in the Polish Note was simply a sort of justification advanced by the refugees in order to explain the presence of Polish communist literature on their persons. The Russian Government has complied with the utmost punctiliousness and honesty with the Riga Treaty, but its reward has been that Polish territory has become a drill-ground for attacks on Soviet Russia and for the preparation of conspiracies against its government. The Russian Government expects from the Polish Government a declaration as to what it intends to do in order to put an end once and for all to these intolerable conditions.

Demands of the Russian Government

The Russian Government demands the immediate banishment from Polish territory of the two brothers Savinkov, Filosofov, Miagkov, Odinita, Dickhof-Derental, and the other members of the "Russian Political Committee," as well as their agents; also, Bulak-Balakhovich, together with his brother, Peremykin, Elvengren, Vasiliev, and the other members of the "People's Union for the Defense of the Fatherland and Liberty," together with their agents; furthermore: Petlura, Tyutyunik, Mordalevich, Orlik, Struk, and the other Ukrainian counter-revolutionary agents; furthermore, Col. Gnilyorbov and the other persons standing at the head of the Cossack counter-revolutionary groups, and their agents. The Russian Government demands the immediate formation at Warsaw of a mixed Russo-Polish Commission, including also representatives of the Ukrainian and White Russian Soviet Republics, for the final drawing up of a list of persons subject to banishment, in addition to those enumerated above. The Russian Government demands the immediate disbanding of all armies and detachments created for purposes hostile to the Soviet Government, as well as the internment of their adherents in concentration camps. Furthermore, it demands the taking of unconditionally effective measures for the cessation of every sort of contact between them and the various counter-revolutionary groups, and for taking away from the latter every possibility of exerting any sort of influence over them. The Russian Government demands that the above mentioned mixed Commission shall likewise be entrusted with the supervision over the carrying out of these measures, as well as of all measures that are aimed at removing any danger that may threaten the Soviet Republics from the side of the former counter-revolutionary groups still remaining on Polish soil. Finally, it demands, under the control and guidance of the same

*This was written before the arrival at Warsaw, in August, of Karakhan, formerly Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and now representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic at Warsaw.

mixed Commission, the punishment of official persons and other Polish citizens that may have been guilty of performing the above indicated acts.

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

A TREATY WITH HUNGARY

Difficulties are constantly urged by opponents of the Soviet Government whenever a suggestion is made that any foreign government make a treaty with Russia. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Government has already signed many treaties with foreign powers, great and small, and is punctiliously executing all the requirements of such documents. The fact that an agreement has recently been signed with Hungary, perhaps the most reactionary government of Europe, suggests that treaty obligations between two foes, while of course more in the nature of a truce than of an alliance, are very often necessary under present conditions.

Readers of SOVIET RUSSIA will recall that the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, on August 13, 1920, demanded in a note addressed to the Hungarian Foreign Minister at Budapest that the Hungarian Government desist from its announced intention to practice judicial murder on ten former members of the Hungarian Soviet Government, then in the power of their "white" conquerors. Chicherin enumerated in his note to Hungary ten members of important Hungarian families, who were in the custody of the Russian Soviet Government, which had inherited the war prisoners taken by the Tsar, and threatened that he would inflict on them any punishment visited by the Hungarian Government on their ten captives who had taken part in the Hungarian Soviet.

The Hungarian Government sent a mission to Riga to discuss the situation with representatives of the Russian Soviet Government, and it now appears that the joint negotiations have led to the signature of a treaty concerning the exchange, not only of the important prisoners mentioned in Chicherin's note of August 13 (see SOVIET RUSSIA Vol. III, page 413, for the text of the note), but of all the prisoners of war held by both sides. A message recently received from Riga, dated July 30, gives interesting details as to the contents of the new document, which is signed by I. S. Ganetzky for both Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, and by Dr. M. Jungerth for Hungary. While the treaty is concerned chiefly with the exchange of prisoners, it also has interesting provisions of broader import.

In concluding the treaty, the signatories proceeded from the assumption that each accepts the obligation to undertake no war-like actions of any kind with regard to the other, and that neither will afford any direct or indirect assistance to opponents of the other party, either in war with other powers or in civil wars.

By the terms of this treaty, the Hungarian Government releases all prisoners of war, as well as civilian prisoners, who are originally domiciled in

Russia or Ukraine, and will transport them to the boundary. The Hungarian Government accepts the obligation to permit the departure for Russia of 400 prisoners enumerated in a special list of names. Should there be any difficulty in the identification of these persons, the Soviet Government must furnish such precise description as will be absolutely necessary. Should any of the persons named not be living on Hungarian soil, or should they be at present domiciled outside the domain of the Hungarian Government, the Government is released from the obligation to surrender them. It is not admissible to substitute other names in place of those that cannot be found. Such persons as are named in the list, who may not wish to depart from Hungary, may continue to reside there. In order to obtain a free expression of the desire of the persons named, the Russian Government has the right, in consultation with the Hungarian Government, to send a neutral personage to Hungary, who shall have the right of free and direct association with the persons indicated, who may desire to remain in Hungary, in order that there may be assurance that this is in accordance with their freely expressed desire.

The Russian Government shall release and transport to the boundary: (1) all Hungarian prisoners of war, soldiers as well as officers, now in Russia, Ukraine, Turkestan and Siberia; (2) all civilian persons, originally coming from what is now Hungary and at present living in the territories enumerated under (1) above; (3) Captain Carl Marschall, now being detained in Moscow.

In order that all prisoners of war and civilian persons may be informed of the possibility to return home, the signatory governments bind themselves to publish the provisions of this treaty throughout their respective countries. Each individual is to retain his right of free choice, as to whether he will return to his home, or continue to dwell where he now lives, with the permission of the government of the country of his present sojourn.

In principle, the exchange of the prisoners of war indicated in (1), (2), and (3) above is to be accomplished in the following manner:

1. The Hungarian soldiers (proletarians) shall be exchanged for Russian soldiers and civilian persons now in Hungary.

2. The Hungarian officers and bourgeois elements now being detained in Russia, as well as Captain Marschall, shall be exchanged for the persons enumerated in the appended list.

The exchange of the first category, in other words, of the Hungarian soldiers now in Russia for the Russian soldiers and civilian persons now in Hungary, is to begin at once. The exchange of the second category, in other words, the bourgeois elements and officers, now detained in Russia, for the persons enumerated in the appended list, is to take place through the intermediary of a third power, to be chosen later, for executing these provisions after the ratification of the treaty by

the signatory states. In order to hasten the delivery of this category, the persons already interned in camps are to be consigned to this third power in a number of batches. The exchange of this category will be carried out by the third power above indicated, on its own territory. Both signatory parties shall consign to this third power the persons in question, for internment in several groups, from which the persons to be exchanged shall be assigned to the countries in question. The groups assigned by both parties shall bear the

same proportion to the total number of persons to be exchanged. The People's Commissars must be so despatched with regard to the various groups, that the last of the People's Commissars will be surrendered together with the last group to be exchanged. The consignments shall be so despatched that the exchange may be completed before the end of the present year. To facilitate such exactions, lists of prisoners of war not yet delivered shall from time to time be mutually exchanged.

Russian Workers from America

By L. A. MARTENS

The theses of Comrade Bogdanovich, accepted by the Fourth Congress of the Soviets of National Economy, pointed out in Article 6 the necessity of making use of "foreigners" for the purpose of increasing production in our country, both by the method of purchases of needed equipment, machines, and materials, as well as by the method of attracting concessionaires, but the theses completely overlook another possibility for utilizing foreigners for the reconstruction of Russian life. This is the *assignment to our industry of Russian workers now living abroad*. The aid of these workers, which cannot but be regarded as of great value, was already fully manifested and expressed last year. We are here referring particularly to the United States of America. According to the latest statistical data, there were living in the United States in 1920, 1,393,999 immigrants from Russia (not counting immigrants from Poland, Latvia and Finland). It would be difficult to indicate precisely how many of this number represent peasants, and how many represent workers, but we may safely declare that the greater part of the Russian population is concentrated in such industrial states as New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, etc., and this population is almost entirely made up of industrial proletarians.

Immediately after the November revolution in Russia, almost the entire Russian population of America boldly and decidedly expressed itself as in favor of this revolution. By virtue of this fact, the activity of the Soviet Mission in America, extending over nearly two years, was conducted under conditions of the fullest sympathy and the most heartfelt cooperation of the Russian immigrants. This sympathy soon took a very concrete form. In the summer of 1919 there was organized in New York "The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia," which met with extraordinary sympathy and support on the part not only of the Russian workers, but also of American workers; in spite of persecutions by the American authorities, the membership of this Society had risen to 2500 by the middle of 1920. Subsequently, similar societies were organized in a great number of the larger

industrial centres of America, such as Boston, Detroit, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, and others. Of course, the activities of these societies, by reason of their being completely cut off from Russia, and of the persecutions by the authorities (raiding their premises, beating up members, etc.), could not develop to the necessary proportions. At the present moment, the number of workers organized in such societies in America is not less than ten thousand, and, doubtless, under favorable conditions, it might easily rise to fifty thousand or more. Parallel with this, the Soviet Mission in America in 1919 began to register skilled workers of all kinds, who desired to go to Russia; in all there were registered about twenty-five thousand workers.

Crisis in America

We must point out that the economic crisis which ensued in America toward the end of 1920 fell most heavily on the Russian immigrants and still further increased the longing of the latter to go to Russia. The Soviet Mission, taking into account the complete lack of preparedness of the institutions in Soviet Russia to receive this immigration, exerted all its forces to restrain this tendency, so long as this was possible, but during the last months of 1920 and the earlier months of 1921, the less conscious elements of the Russian immigrants in America, neglecting to ask any permission from the Soviet authorities, simply inaugurated an elemental migration toward Russia. The more conscious and organized portion did not permit itself to be drawn into this impulsive movement, and is still waiting for instructions from the Soviet Government. The immigrants, chiefly peasants, who did hasten back to Russia, because of the unpreparedness of the Soviet Republic to receive them, endured such hardships, almost unbearable at times, that the Soviet Government felt itself obliged to close the border completely to the Russian immigrants. This flood of Russian immigrants from America was, therefore, cut off in April of the present year.*

*See SOVIET RUSSIA, April 23, 1921 (Vol. IV, No. 17).

We need hardly point out that by this measure Soviet Russia is depriving herself not only of a very great number of skilled and other workers, of which the Republic at present has great need, but also of a considerable influx of material resources, in view of the fact that the workers invariably propose to bring with them all kinds of tools of production, instruments, etc.

It would be difficult to estimate to what proportions the influx of workers into Russia may grow, but the figure of one hundred thousand persons passing from America into Russia in the course of a year will hardly seem exaggerated in the eyes of those who are acquainted with American conditions.

This whole mass of Russian immigrants, returning homeward, appears to us to be an element in the highest degree desirable and useful. Having passed through the hard school of American capitalism, having been efficiently and thoroughly disciplined by the American conditions of production, they would be injected into the mass of over-taxed and exhausted Russian workers as a fresh, invigorating element. But for this purpose, appropriate conditions must be created for them in this country, consisting chiefly of the segregation of the American and, generally, of all foreign workers, in special productive groups, and in the creation of special production conditions for them, approximating, as far as possible, the conditions of those countries from which they have come.

It is of course apparent that the only organ that can and should assume the task of organizing a systematic immigration of Russian workers from America is the Supreme Council of National Economy. And as a matter of fact, only the Supreme Council of National Economy is sufficiently competent to decide such matters as: in what branches of production and in what factories and shops the organized assistance of these workers may be most real and most productive.

Finally, we have only to point out the slight experiences in the direction indicated by us, which have already been passed through under the as yet very unfavorable conditions. Thus, there recently arrived in Moscow from America a co-operative organization of 41 Russian construction workers. This co-operative organization brought with them a completely equipped shop for the mass production of light houses of the American type. In addition to their shop equipment, the organization also brought with them the necessary spare parts to last for a period of two years. It is proposed to carry out the work of this organization with the aid of the local carpenters under the guidance of the workers of the co-operative. This group of workers was sent to the Don basin.

The co-operative of New York machinists sent to Russia a complete equipment for making automatic castings of various kinds, requiring great precision in measurements, such as automobile

parts. This is a new branch of production, of extremely great value, and as yet completely unknown to our country. Ten delegates of this co-operative are now in Moscow and are preparing all the necessary conditions for the arrival of the remaining workers and for the setting up of machinery in the AMO factory. Recently there also arrived in Moscow a co-operative of tailors (120 workers) with a completely equipped shop for 600 men. We have received a telegram from New York informing us of the organization under the "Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia" of a second tailors' co-operative consisting of one hundred men with a capital of \$80,000 for the purpose of machinery and equipment.

In addition to this, we have received propositions from a group of agricultural workers of the same Society, controlling \$10,000 for the purchase of agricultural machinery and implements, all of whose members desire to go to Russia; from workers in the State of Montana, who desire to organize a group of miners and send them to Russia with machines and equipment for mining operations. In January of the present year the Machinists' Union, a very large and influential organization in the United States, proposed to organize for Russia a group of 2000 first-class American machinists. Already at the beginning of 1920 the Dukhobors of the State of North Dakota sent a delegation to the Soviet Mission with a proposition to settle 10,000 Dukhobors in Russia, with all machines and tools that may be necessary for farming.

The above facts should be sufficient to show with absolute clearness the benefits that might be contributed by the American workers in the matter of increasing the productive forces of the Russian Republic.

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn, June 22, 1921.

Editor's Note: A report on the subject matter of the above article was made by the Chief of the Metal Division of the Supreme Council of National Economy, L. K. Martens, to the Soviet of Labor and Defense, which at a sitting of June 22 adopted the following resolution:

1) The Central Industrial Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy is now organizing a sub-department, one of whose aims is to develop private industrial undertakings, or groups of such, by means of turning them over to foreign, in particular, to American workers and industrially trained peasants on contract terms, giving them a certain degree of economic autonomy, and carried out in a stipulated manner;

2) The sub-department on industrial immigration of the Supreme Council of National Economy collects and makes a study of all necessary data regarding works, factories and other enterprises, which, with a view to increasing production, could be leased to organized groups of workers from America and other countries; ascertains the kind of industrial groups of these foreign workers that could be utilized in these undertakings, and decides the kind of materials, tools, food supplies, and for what periods these workers must bring such at their own expense to Russia for the proposed undertakings;

3) In view of the particular importance of industrial immigration from America, the sub-department on industrial immigration of the Supreme Council of National Economy enters into contact with American societies of

technical aid to Soviet Russia and immediately begins the organization of above-mentioned industrial groups of workers in America with a view to transferring them to Russia, and giving them all necessary data as to the nature of the undertaking to which they are invited, as well as of the materials, tools, and food supplies, as mentioned above;

4) The sub-department of industrial immigration on the Supreme Council of National Economy, in the name of the latter, enters into agreement, upon fixed conditions, with these industrial groups of workers, leasing to them the factories, works, or undertakings, giving them a certain degree of economic autonomy;

5) On all questions pertaining to conditions of labor, and to purely immigration questions, the sub-department of industrial immigration of the Supreme Council of National Economy must coordinate its actions with the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions and the People's Commissariat of Labor, which have for this purpose their permanent representatives in the sub-department of industrial immigration of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn.

LENIN TO AMERICAN WORKERS

The following cablegram was received about a month ago from Russia by the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, which had asked for information as to the mode of sending to Soviet Russia groups of workers who wished to leave America. It contains information that is intended both as a warning and an encouragement to those workers whose hope it is ultimately to work in Russia. Persons interested should communicate with the office of the Society, 47 West 42nd St., New York City.

To the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia:

Having received the news of your conference and its message of greetings to Soviet Russia, I wish to express to you, in the name of the Soviet of People's Commissars, our heartfelt appreciation. I personally also desire to add that we are greatly in need of technical aid from the United States and Canada. Should any groups be sent without having made preliminary arrangements as to the choice of place, factory, etc., it would be necessary to equip them with food, clothing, and other necessities for the period of two years. You must bear in mind the hardships existing in Russia, the difficulties in connection with the food supply problem, and other obstacles which would have to be faced. Persons going to Russia should be prepared to meet these conditions. They are to be guided by the instructions of the Section of Industrial Immigration of the Supreme Council of National Economy, copies of which are being forwarded to you.*

President of the Council of People's Commissars,

V. ULIANOV (Lenin).

CHICHERIN.

*Printed in last month's SOVIET RUSSIA, page 102. The Congress of the Technical Aid Society, to which reference is made above, took place in New York, July 2 to 5, 1921.

GEORGIAN SERVANTS AND BOLSHEVIST HORDES

Several months ago a number of European social patriots and social pacifists such as Vandervelde, Renaudel, Kautsky, Huysmans, etc., visited the Menshevik paradise of Georgia in the Caucasus. The objects of their visit were described in his usual brilliant manner by Karl Radek in an article "The Same Old Story," appearing in SOVIET RUSSIA about eight months ago (Vol. IV, No. 3). But with all due respect to a great journalist, we must say that the amusement afforded by Radek's facetious remarks on Karl Kautsky did not produce nearly as much mirth in one reader as did Mrs. Louise Kautsky's "A Journey to Georgia," printed in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, which is filled with impressions of this visit. True, the article of the great theorist's wife was not intended to be funny—but this only increased its humorous effect. Mrs. Kautsky was quite naturally interested in the status of women in this formerly Menshevik country, but the result of her investigations was not very encouraging. The Georgian women turned out to be very lazy, and no housewives at all. They don't like to go to the market or cook, leaving such work to their husbands. "The only female purchasers one sees in the market-place are Russians, who make much better servants than the Georgians. Women cooks are a rarity, as men prepare most of the food. In fact, the Georgians are the most famous cooks in the East, and have always enjoyed high repute in Russia. Every family in Tiflis who can afford it keeps a Georgian cook, even though they have no other servants and although these cooks are a costly institution."—And further: "When we became irritated, during our stay, at the lack of punctuality, the indifference, and the stupidity of our servants, they invariably met our reproaches with a surprised and inquiring look. . . ." But they are very polite and obliging. "Germans, Belgians, Italians, and Frenchmen, who have resided and managed business enterprises in the country for years, commend the Georgians very highly as employees."

Doesn't all this remind one of the old anti-Socialist joke about a German Socialist miner's wife, who, when asked by a judge what it is that Socialists really want, answered that they want every workingman's family to have a servant girl? . . .

But this idyllic Menshevik paradise where "every family who can afford it keeps a Georgian cook"—is no more. "We have heard with bitterness and pain," says Louise Kautsky, "how the Bolshevik armies swept through peaceful Georgia. . . . The half-healed wounds of the war are again torn open, and a plundering and murdering horde is now marching from town to town, from village to village, converting the beautiful country into a sea of blood and a mass of ruins."

Yea, the poor cooks—"the most famous in the

East"—must have lost their jobs, for their masters have been thrown out of their rich houses and the apartments have been distributed among the workers. . . . But there is still a ray of hope, for did we not see the other day a telegram coming from a Georgian Menshevist source, stating that the Tiflis workers have indignantly rejected the invitation of the Bolshevik usurpers that they occupy the "forcibly requisitioned apartments" of their former masters?

TARDY AID FOR RUSSIA

Under the title "The Allied Supreme Council and the Famine in Russia," Karl Radek writes the following in *Pravda*:

"The Supreme Council has decided on assistance to be given to the suffering in Russia, without thus far going any further than mere words. Does not the Entente understand the impression that this will produce among the Russian people, especially since Germany has already proceeded to a concrete assistance? We, of course, know that Germany is not helping for reasons of humanity alone, but that economic and political interests of weight are behind the assistance she offers. Germany is thinking of the future. What is the Entente thinking of, since it seems to be unable to act as a whole? The initiative was taken by America, through its Secretary of Commerce, who approached the Soviet Government with an offer of help. In England only certain charitable organizations have spoken of help to Russia. The English Government apparently has not yet understood what the German Government so quickly grasped, viz: that if this aid is meant seriously, credits must be granted to the organizations active in the work. When Lloyd George and Winston Churchill were helping Denikin and Kolchak to destroy Russia, they did not turn to charitable organizations, but immediately used the resources of the state. Perhaps England may go together with France, which is speculating on a fall of the Soviet Government and on the Famine as its best ally in its struggle against Soviet Russia. These arguments are perhaps very imposing in diplomatic circles, but the Russian muzhik will be able to estimate them at their full value. Our experiences in the civil war have left us no illusions as to the humane tendencies of the bourgeoisie in dealing with its class enemy, although we have not forgotten our humane duties and have not, for example, permitted the distinction between the worker and bourgeois to interfere with our own work."

Radek concludes: "The grotesque antics of the Supreme Council in the presence of the hunger catastrophe in Russia are a new proof that the Entente, considered as a whole, is an organization of politicians, and that it is not able to make any quick decisions even when its own interests require it. A hundred and fifty million Russians are watching the actions of their former allies

and wait for their assistance to the suffering. Most of the Russian people have not yet been trained in higher politics, but they are able to judge facts."

EXPEDITION TO SIBERIA

Last year an expedition was sent out from North Russia through the Kara Sea to northern Siberia. Manufactured articles were taken, and were exchanged for grain, furs and seal skins. Eight thousand, eight hundred tons of grain were brought to Archangel, besides about 2,400 tons of other goods.

A committee, appointed to consider the possibilities of a regular northern sea-route, despatched two expeditions, one to the rivers Ob and Irtysh, the other along the Yenisei. Depth soundings were taken and the river estuaries were charted. Wireless telegraphic installations were set up at the mouths of these rivers, and the building of a port was begun on the Yenisei. Loading parties were organized to float grain down the river, and other goods were collected at the river-mouths to facilitate exchange this year. As navigation in the Kara Sea is only possible for one and a half to two months in the late summer, it is necessary that goods should be collected during the year, and should be ready for immediate loading.

Under the auspices of the All-Russian Co-operative Society, Ltd., London, five cargo vessels, accompanied by an ice-breaker, left for Northern Siberia in July. The Kara Sea is normally free from ice by August 6th; the expedition left Murmansk on August 8th. It then divided, and the ice-breaker towed the last of the vessels destined for the Yenisei into that river on August 21st. The rest of the expedition arrived safely at the Ob on August 27th. It was hoped that the sea would remain free of ice until September 20th, by when the whole expedition should have returned. The grain loaded in Northern Siberia in exchange for the manufactured goods taken there will be landed at Archangel on the return journey; the furs—including ermine, sable, seal-skin and others of great value—besides other goods, will be brought on for disposal in England or other European markets.

NAMES WANTED

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SOVIET RUSSIA

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

LISTED on the stationery of the "Russian Information Bureau" as "Honorary Advisers" of that institution are the names, among others, of Messrs. Lawrence F. Abbott, editor, Outlook; Nicholas Murray Butler, President, Columbia University; Darwin P. Kingsley, President, N. Y. Life Insurance Co.; Col. Theodore Roosevelt; Jacob Schiff; Charles H. Sabin, President, Guaranty Trust Co.; Prof. E. R. Seligman.

"It gives us pleasure to inform you," said an announcement issued under the names of these gentlemen sometime ago, "that we have succeeded in making arrangements for receiving regularly all the important Bolshevik papers published in Russia. . . . Facts and data taken from the Bolshevik papers, we feel sure, will greatly help in acquainting the American people with the present conditions in Russia; at the same time such data could not be challenged by anyone as an invention on the part of the 'capitalist' press." These were fair words and promised well. It must be very painful to the patrons of the Russian Information Bureau to learn that their "data" is open to the very challenge from which they thought themselves most secure.

The Director of the Bureau recently presented to the papers an alleged translation of a paragraph which he stated had appeared in the *Pravda* of July 13. When his attention was called to the fact that nothing even remotely resembling his offering had appeared in either the Moscow or Petrograd *Pravda* of that date, he confessed quite frankly that he had never even seen the issue of the paper from which he pretended to be quoting. He had taken the quotation, he admitted, from Milyukov's counter-revolutionary paper published in Paris. Such is the origin of Mr. Sack's data "from Bolshevik papers."

To make the case worse, Mr. Sack defended his misrepresentation with the plea that even if his fictitious sentences had never appeared in the *Pravda*, they were something like certain words, equally apocryphal, attributed to Trotsky two years ago. Challenged to name the date and place upon which Trotsky had uttered those words, Mr. Sack retreated into silence.

We suggest to the "honorary advisers" of the Russian Information Bureau that they exercise

their function and caution their director to be somewhat more careful of the character of the "data" which he foists upon the American press.

WE often long for space in which to relate more of the delectable gossip of the émigré press of Europe. Whether these counter-revolutionary sheets are complaining about the Bolsheviks or chattering about one another—which they chiefly do—they are always diverting. If we did not have to give so much attention to Communist Russia, we could keep our readers endlessly entertained with the doings of the counter-revolutionary Russians.

Take the case of Mr. A. Kaminka, for instance, Mr. Kaminka is one of the editors of the *Rul*, the organ of General Wrangel published in Berlin. We introduced Mr. Kaminka to our readers in last month's SOVIET RUSSIA where he appeared as one of the devoted Russian patriots who plead earnestly with a group of German business men to have no commercial dealings with the Bolsheviks. "Kaminka pointed out," reported the *Berliner Tageblatt*, July 19, "that it was necessary to seek an unmistakable solution of the question as to whether any commercial undertakings at all could be reached with the Bolsheviks. . . . The interests of the future must be placed above the doubtful interests of the present day."

These words were scarcely out of his mouth before the *Tageblatt* announced its discovery that Mr. Kaminka, in addition to his duties as helmsman of the *Rul*, was also a director in a Reval concern which was making a profitable business of selling paper to the Soviet Government. Of all things, *paper!*

The scandal set all the white guard tongues wagging. The *Socialisticheski Vestnik*, gloating over the humiliation of its rival, asked maliciously: "What will General Wrangel say, who maintains an entire 'army' for the purpose of unremitting warfare against the Soviet Government, when he learns that the editor of his own organ furnishes the enemy with such essential material as paper?"

NOW as in all ages, not only Germany, but all powerful nations in their presumptuous complacency have asserted a divine call to press their notions of religion, government, trade and morality at the point of the bayonet, to open lanes for the Bible and commerce with javelins and guns, to light the path of men to a better life with the fires of their own homes. But through it all there have been unbelievers protesting against the program. . . . What is the answer to the skeptic's doubt of the justice, courage and generosity of the nations in power who deny medicine and other necessities of life to Russians, and refuse to make peace with them for fear of their form of government?" From "*Changing Conceptions of Justice*," an address by Charles A. Woods, United States Circuit Judge, *Journal of the American Bar Association*, March, 1921.

Dissolution of the Non-Partisan Committee

THE All-Russian "Non-Partisan" Famine Relief Committee was dissolved by order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on August 27. In explanation of the unavoidable necessity for this action the Soviet Government issued the following statement on August 29:

"Wishing to attract to famine relief all possible strata of the population, without political distinctions, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets welcomed the offer of a group of so-called public workers to establish a committee. Although the Soviet Government was well informed that many of the Committee's members actively participated in the anti-Soviet struggle, and remained its opponents, the Central Executive nevertheless fully approved the Committee's composition, and granted it wide powers.

"The Central Executive, in this step, worked upon the understanding that the members of the Committee really understood its aims as purely business-like, and would repudiate the idea of converting the Committee into an organ of political campaigning. The Committee's duty to avoid such a course was made even more binding by the fact that the Committee's establishment caused attempts by White Guard émigrés abroad and by certain groups in close touch with foreign Powers to use the Committee for political purposes.

"Leading groups of the world's reaction, particularly in French political circles, could not contemplate with equanimity the Soviet Government's attempt to rally around itself all forces for combating the famine; and they turned their special attention to this Committee, being inspired by considerations of their never-remitting struggle against the Soviets.

"Wishing earnestly to maintain the business work of the Committee and prevent its degradation into an instrument of the political game of foreign groups, at a moment when Russian famine relief became of political importance in connection with its discussion by the Supreme Council at Paris, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, by a decision of August 18, proposed that the Committee postpone sending a delegation abroad, as it proposed to do, and concentrate all its efforts on immediate work in the famine districts.

"The majority of the Committee, however, proved to be so obsessed by motives altogether alien to actual relief that it declined this offer, and, in the form of an ultimatum, demanded the immediate sending of its delegation abroad, emphasizing, in a resolution of August 23, that 'the Committee will consider itself compelled to discontinue its work if the Government will not alter its decision.'

"At the same time the Committee declined a proposal by the Government that the greatest possible number of its members should leave for work in the famine districts.

"This resolution of the Committee convinced the Government that the Committee's majority was possessed of political calculations, having nothing in common with relief interests, and that the Committee would rather neglect actual relief to participate in the political game engineered around it by White Guards abroad and European Governmental groups inspired by them.

"The Soviet Government, regretfully constrained to acknowledge this result of its step, which was calculated to attract the greatest possible number of former active Soviet opponents to relief, decided to liquidate this committee.

"At the same time, the Government urges all those unwilling to sacrifice famine relief to counter-revolutionary schemes to strain all efforts in the wide field of succor to the stricken."

A dispatch to the *London Daily Herald*, quoted in the *New York Globe*, September 13, announced that the Extraordinary Commission had unearthed a widespread conspiracy on the part of certain members of the Famine Relief Committee to overthrow the Soviet Government.

"On the person of M. Kapyeva," says this dispatch, "secretary to N. F. Kishkin, a member of the committee, there was found a note outlining a scheme for reorganizing Russia under a supreme ruler, with a federal duma, regional and parish dumas, and local governors.

"M. Bulgakov, a member of the committee, is said to have written: 'We and the famine are agents of the political struggle,' while M. Salamatov, another member, is declared to have emphasized the necessity of absolute dictatorial power. It is asserted he had advocated a series of local uprisings, which would merge a united movement under a central leadership. The investigation is proceeding."

The "non-partisan" committee which has been disbanded should not be confused with the All-Russian Famine Relief Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, a special governmental body instituted for the supervision of all affairs connected with the famine.

In the September issue of SOVIET RUSSIA an appeal was made for funds for the All-Russian Non-Partisan Famine Relief Committee. The disbanding of that Committee has made it impossible for us to dispose of our "Famine Relief Fund" as originally announced. We have written to all contributors to this fund, explaining the circumstances, and asking for instructions as to the disposition of their contributions. Any contributor to the SOVIET RUSSIA "Famine Relief Fund" who has not received a letter from the treasurer of the fund is requested to notify immediately: H. S. Reis, Treasurer, Room 304, 110 West 40th Street, New York City.

Question of Nationalities in Russia and in Europe

A Resolution of the Tenth Party Congress of the Russian Communist Party

The following theses were proposed by Stalin at the Party's Tenth Congress and adopted as a program in this important question.

1) The nations of the present day are the product of a definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism. The process of the liquidation of feudalism and the evolution of capitalism simultaneously constitutes the process of the development of nations among men. The English, French, Germans and Italians were transformed into nations by the evolution of capitalism in its victory over feudal disintegration.

2) In regions where the formation of nations was on the whole simultaneous with the formation of centralized states, the nations naturally clothed themselves in the form of the state, and developed into independent bourgeois national states. This was the case in England (excluding Ireland), France, and Italy. In the eastern part of Europe, on the other hand, the formation of centralized states, accelerated by the needs of self-protection (invasions by the Turks, Mongols, etc.), took place earlier than the liquidation of feudalism, in other words before the formation of nations. In view of this fact these nations did not develop into national states, and could not possibly have done so, but formed the several mixed ethnically heterogeneous bourgeois states, consisting of a single powerful dominant nation and a number of weak subject nations. For example, Austria, Hungary, Russia.

3) The national states which depended, during their first period, like Italy and France, on their own national powers, did not as a rule have any oppression of nationalities. We must consider the international states as the opposite of this condition, for they are based on the predominance of one nation, or more properly, of the ruling classes of that nation, over the other nations, and therefore may be considered as the original home and origin of the oppression of peoples and of popular national movements. The oppositions between the aims of the dominant nation and those of the subordinate nations are the contradictions without solving which the ethnically heterogeneous states cannot have any stable existence. The tragedy of the ethnically heterogeneous state consists in the fact that it is not competent to overcome these contradictions, and that every attempt by such a state to put its various nations "on an equal footing" and "protect" the national minorities usually ends, if private property and class inequality be retained, in a new failure and a new intensification of the national collisions.

4) The later growth of capitalism in Europe, the need for new selling markets, the quest for raw materials and fuels, and finally, the evolution of imperialism, the export of capital, and the necessity of guarding the sea-routes and railroad

lines, led on the one hand to the seizure of new territories by the old national states, as well as the transformation of the latter into mixed national (colonial) states, characterized by the oppression of peoples peculiar to such states, and by internal national collisions (England, France, Germany, Italy), and on the other hand strengthened among the ruling nations of the old international states the effort not only to retain the old national boundaries, but also to extend the latter and to subject new (weaker) nationalities at the expense of the neighboring states. This alone extended the question of nationalities, which finally became merged, in the course of events, with the general question of colonies, while the oppression of peoples, no longer an internal question of the state, became a source of contention between states, the cause for conflict and war between the imperialistic great powers for the subjection of weak, rightless nationalities.

5) The imperialistic war, which revealed the irreconcilable national oppositions and the inner helplessness of the ethnically heterogeneous bourgeois states, led to a very great intensification of national conflicts within the victorious colonial states (England, France, Italy), to a complete destruction of the defeated old mixed national states (Austria, Hungary, Russia in 1917), and finally, this being the "most radical" solution of the question of nationalities by the bourgeoisie—to the formation of new bourgeois national states (Czechoslovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Finland, Armenia, etc.). But the formation of new independent national states has not led to a peaceful harmony of the various nationalities in their life together, has not eliminated any inequality of nations and oppression of peoples, for the new national states, based on private property and class inequality, cannot endure without the following conditions: (a) the suppression of their national minorities (Poland is oppressing the White Russians, Jews, Lithuanians and Ukrainians; Georgia is oppressing the Ossetes, Armenians and Abkhazians; Yugo-Slavia is oppressing the Bosniaks and Croatsians); (b) the extension of their territory at the expense of neighbors, thus creating conflicts and war (Poland against Lithuania, Ukraine and Russia, Yugo-Slavia against Bulgaria, Georgia against Armenia, Turkey, etc.); (c) their subordination under the imperialistic great powers in matters of finance, economy, and military affairs.

6) The post-war epoch thus reveals a sad picture of national animosity, inequality, oppression, conflicts, wars, imperialistic encroachments, on the part of the peoples of the civilized coun-

tries, both against each other and against the disinherited peoples; on the one hand we see a number of great powers oppressing and exploiting the great masses of dependent and "independent" (in fact absolutely dependent) national states, as well as battling among each other for the privilege of oppressing the national states; on the other hand we behold a struggle waged by the national states, dependent and independent, against the intolerable pressure of the great powers; also a struggle of the national states among themselves for the extension of their national territory; also the struggle of the national states, each fighting for itself against its oppressed national minorities; and finally, an increasing emancipation movement among the colonies against the Great Powers, as well as an intensification of the national conflicts, not only within the Great Powers, but even within the national states, which usually oppress a number of national minorities. This is the "critique of peace" that has been left as a heritage of the imperialistic war.

Bourgeois society, as far as the solution of the question of nationalities is concerned, has shown itself to be absolutely bankrupt.

II. *The Soviet Regime and the Freedom of Peoples.*

1) While private property and capital inevitably divide men, kindle national animosities and increase the oppression of peoples, on the other hand collective property and collective labor will in equal measure bring men together, prevent national segregations, and abolish the oppression of peoples. The oppression of peoples is just as inconceivable unless capitalism endures, as the existence of Socialism is inconceivable unless the oppressed nationalities are liberated and given their national independence. Chauvinism and struggles between nationalities are inevitable and unavoidable as long as the peasantry (in fact the petite bourgeoisie in general, of the ruling nations), which is filled with national prejudices, continues to follow the bourgeoisie; on the other hand: peace between peoples and the freedom of peoples may be considered assured, if the peasantry will follow the proletariat, in other words, when the dictatorship of the proletariat has been rendered secure. For this reason the victory of the Soviets and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are fundamental conditions for the abolition of the oppression of peoples, the creation of equality among nations, and the guarding of the rights of the national minorities.

2) The experiences of the Soviet Revolution fully bear out this principle. The establishment of the Soviet regime in Russia and the proclamation of the rights of peoples to national self-determination have revolutionized the relations between the working masses of the nationalities of Russia, have undermined the old national hostilities, have uprooted the suppression of peoples, and have won for the Russian workers the confidence of their brothers of other peoples, not only in Russia, but

throughout Europe and Asia, even raising this confidence to the point of enthusiasm and readiness to fight for the common cause. The establishment of Soviet Republics in Azerbaijan and Armenia have led to the same results, by abolishing the national conflicts and destroying the "eternal" hostility between the Turkish and Armenian working masses, between the Armenian and Azerbaijan working masses. The same may be said also with regard to the temporary victory of the Soviets in Hungary and Bavaria, in Finland and Latvia. It may also be maintained with certainty that the Russian workers would have been unable to defeat Kolchak and Denikin and that the Republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia would not have been able to establish themselves firmly within their own territories, if they had not liquidated the national animosities and the oppression of peoples, and if it had not been for the confidence and enthusiasm which the working masses of the nations of the West and of the East felt for them. The consolidation of the Soviet Republics and the abolition of national oppression are merely manifestations of one and the same process of emancipation of the workers from the imperialistic yoke.

3) But the establishment of Soviet Republics, even on the most modest scale, is a mortal menace to imperialism. This menace consists not only in the fact that the Soviet Republics have worked their way up from the stage of colonies and semi-colonies to that of really independent nations, by breaking with imperialism, and that they thus have withdrawn from the imperialists an additional piece of territory and further sources of income, but particularly for the reason that the endurance of the Soviet Republics themselves, that every step taken by these Republics on the path of holding down the bourgeoisie and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, constitutes the finest conceivable agitation against capitalism and imperialism, an agitation for the liberation of independent nations from the imperialistic yoke, in other words an irresistible factor of disintegration and disorganization of capitalism in all its forms. From this there results an inevitable struggle by the imperialistic great powers to destroy these republics. The history of the struggle of the great powers against Soviet Russia, mobilizing one bourgeois border state after the other, one group of counter-revolutionary agents after the other, against Russia, jealously blockading that country and seeking to isolate it economically in every way, this history shows that under the present international relations, a single Soviet Republic, without any assistance, in a condition of capitalistic *Einkreisung*, cannot consider itself secure against economic exhaustion and military destruction by world imperialism.

4) For this reason the isolated existence of individual Soviet Republics must be considered as unstable and insecure by reason of the fact that this existence is threatened by all the cap-

italistic states. The fact that the Soviet Republics have a common interest of self-defence, in the first place; and the restoration of the productive forces destroyed by the war, in the second place; and the necessity that the non-grain-producing Soviet Republics be supplied with the necessary foodstuffs by the Soviet Republics that produce food supplies, in the third place; these imperatively demand a union of the various Soviet Republics as their sole salvation against the imperialistic yoke and the oppression of peoples. The national Soviet Republics, liberated from their "own" and the "foreign" bourgeoisie cannot maintain their existence and overpower the united forces of imperialism unless they unite in a close union of states. The alternative is their defeat.

5) A Federation of Soviet Republics on the basis of their common military and economic purposes is the general form of alliance between the nations which will bring about: (a) the integrity and the economic development both of the individual republics as well as of the entire federation; (b) a complete comprehension of the manifoldness of the popular life, of the cultural and economic conditions of the various nations and nationalities, at various stages of development, and an application of a corresponding form of federation, in accordance with this condition: (c) a peaceful living together and fraternal cooperation of nations and peoples bound in one way or another to the fate of the federation. The experiences of Russia in the application of the various forms of federation and in the transition from a federation based on Soviet autonomy (Kirgisia, Bashkiria, Tataria, Mountain Nations, Daghestan), to a federation based on a treaty between the independent Soviet Republics (Ukraine, Azerbaijan), as well as the admissibility of intermediate steps (Turkestan, White Russia), has fully corroborated the practicability and elasticity of the federative system as the common form of Government alliance between the Soviet Republics.

6) Yet such federation can be durable, and its achievements can be concrete, only if it is based on mutual confidence and a voluntary understanding between the nations constituting it. If the R. S. F. S. R. is the only country in the world in which the experiment of a peaceful living together and practical co-operation on the part of a great number of nationalities and peoples has been successful, it is for the reason that in that country there are neither ruled nor rulers, nor a metropolis with colonies, nor an imperialism that oppresses peoples. The federation here is based on mutual trust and a voluntary effort on the part of the working masses of various nationalities, united into a common state. This voluntary nature of the federation has to be preserved for the future also, for only such a federation can constitute the transition form to a higher unity of workers in a single world economy, the necessity for which is becoming more and more evident.

III. The Immediate Tasks of the Russian Communist Party.

1) To the extent to which the proletarian revolution substitutes a free federation of national Soviet republics for the ethnically heterogeneous imperialistic state, to that extent will the Soviet system secure to the workers of the former suppressed nationalities a permanent and painless evolution to Communism and afford them the possibility of taking support in their struggle against the remnants of national suppression and inequality, as well as against their own exploiting classes—from the revolutionary experiences and the organizing power of the proletariat of the more advanced countries.

The R. S. F. S. R. and the independent Soviet Republics united with it have about 140,000,000 inhabitants. Of these, about 65,000,000 are not Great Russians (Ukrainians, White Russians, Kirgians, Usbeks, Turkmen, Tadshiks, Azerbaijans, Volga Tatars, Crimean Tatars, Bukharts, Chivin, Bashkirians, Armenians, Chechenians, Kabardines, Ossetes, Circassians, Ingushians, Karatshayeva, Kalkarts—the seven last are usually included in the general name of Mountain Nations,—Kalmuks, Karelians, Avarts, Dargintses, Kasikumuches, Kyurintses, Kumycks; the last five constitute the Daghestan group). The policy of Tsarism, the policy of the landed proprietors and the bourgeoisie toward these peoples, consisted in destroying among them every possible element for the formation of a state, of restricting the use of their language, keeping them in ignorance, and, in general, Russifying them in every way. The result of this policy was the low stage of culture and the political backwardness of these peoples.

Now that the landed proprietors and the bourgeoisie are overthrown and the Soviet system has been proclaimed by the masses of the peoples in these countries also, the task of the Communist party is to aid the working masses of the non-Russian bodies of people in reaching the Central Russian stage, in helping them to: (a) develop their own Soviet system, and strengthen it in the forms suited to the national peculiarities and conditions among these peoples; (b) develop and consolidate the institutions expressing themselves in their native language, *i. e.*, courts, administration, economic organs, government, to consist of their own natives, familiar with the life and psychologies of the local population; (c) encourage the press, the school system, the theatrical and club life, as well as, in general, all cultural and educational institutions working in the vernacular; (d) create a widely ramified net of lecture courses and schools, both for general education as well as for special instruction, in the native language, and to develop them (particularly for the Kirghisians, Kashkirians, Turkmen, Usbeks, Tadshiks, Azerbaijans, Tatars and Daghestans), in order that the local forces of skilled laborers as well as Soviet and party officials may be prepared as quickly as

possible in all fields of administration and, particularly, in general education.

2) If we exclude from the 65,000,000 of non-Great-Russian population the following regions: Ukraine, Russia, White Russia, a portion of Azerbaijan and Armenia, which have passed through in one form or other the period of industrial capitalism, there will remain about 30,000,000 of predominantly Turko-Tataric population (Turkestan, the greater part of Azerbaijan, Daghestan, the Mountain Nations, Tatars, Kirghisians, Bashkirs and others), who have not yet passed through a capitalistic development, who have yet no industrial proletariat of their own, or hardly any, who live principally as herdsmen in a patriarchal manner (Khirgisias, Bashkiria, Northern Caucasus) who have not yet even emerged from the semi-patriarchal, semi-feudal regime (Azerbaijan, Crimea and others), but have already been dragged along in the general Soviet current.

The abolition of actual national subjection will here constitute a very long process, requiring a persistent and stubborn battle against all the remnants of national oppression and colonial enslavement. The disfranchisement of peoples has hitherto been based, in these countries, on an economic inequality arising from historical causes. This inequality found its expression particularly in the fact that these border regions of Russia (particularly Turkestan), considered as colonies or semi-colonies, were held down by force to play the part of purveyors of raw materials of all kinds for the manufacturers of the central regions. This was the cause of their continuous backwardness and prevented the origin and development of an industrial proletariat among the suppressed peoples.

The proletarian revolution in the eastern border regions necessarily is encountered by this condition, and its very first task is the consistent elimination of all remnants of national inequality in all the fields of public and economic life, and, more particularly, a planful encouragement of industry in the border regions, by transferring the industries to the places where the raw materials are produced (taking the textile, woolen, leather industries, etc., to Turkestan, Bashkiria, Khirgisias, the Caucasus etc.). In conquering, by its resolute and consistent struggle for the abolition of every sort of national inequality, the confidence of the workers of the eastern border regions, the party welds and blends them together for a final elimination of the patriarchal-feudal conditions within the former oppressed nations themselves, and for a final inclusion of these nations in the Communist structure. The first step of the policy in dealing with classes in the eastern regions must be the exclusion of all native exploiting elements from any influence on the masses; furthermore, a struggle against them in all the organs of the local Soviet administration, withdrawal from them of all class privileges by the self-organization of the native masses

in workers' soviets. In this process, the numerically rather insignificant native proletarian elements, working in the various trades, in the mines, railroads, salt-works, and on the farms, must be organized and drawn into the Soviet work in the most conscientious manner.

The next step must be the economic organization of the poor native elements, of the mixed trade union and cooperative types, created by the transition of the native working masses from the more backward economic forms to the higher, from the nomad stage to that of agriculture, from the guild production, producing for the open market, to collective work for the Soviet state (getting the semi-proletarian domestic workers into the trade unions), from the domestic and *artel* production to factory production, from petty agricultural work to a planful collective agriculture. The Soviet Government must above all, by means of a system of organized unified consumers' leagues, aid the native semi-proletarian masses who are threatened with extinction by economic ruin. In accordance with these specific conditions in the structure of the Soviet economy, the work of the economic organs must be reorganized in the direction of transferring the center of gravity to the local milieu, of incorporating the domestic industries and other crafts into a general economic plan of organization, of creating a firm alliance with the great masses of the producing population and determining a concrete plan for the encouragement of industry in the border states, in accordance with the conditions of the masses in these regions. We must warn emphatically against any blind imitation of the pattern set by Central Russia, particularly in the proclamation of the grain monopoly in the border regions; in deeds, not in words, the provisions policy must be connected with the class policy of the backward native population. Any mere mechanical transplanting of central Russian economic measures to the eastern border regions, which may be suited only for higher economic stages, must be rejected. Only by an organization of the great masses of the native poor population on the basis of their economic life interests will the Soviets of the workers be able to raise the peoples of the East to a common struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the proletariat of the advanced countries.

If out of the 30,000,000 of predominantly Turko-Tataric population of Azerbaijan we exclude the greater part of Turkestan, the Tatars (Volga and Crimean Tatars), Bukhara, Khiva, Daghestan, a part of the Mountain Nations, (Kabardines, Circassians, and Balkarts) and a number of other tribes, which have already become domestic and have secured a definite territory for themselves, there remain about 10,000,000 Khirgisians, Bashkirs, Chechenians, together with the southern part of Turkestan, the Ossetes and Ingushians. The territories of these races only recently served as an object of colonization for Russian settlers who had already snatched the best agricultural tracts

from them and systematically pushed them into the unfruitful deserts. The policy of Tsarism, the policy of the landed proprietors and the bourgeoisie, aimed to accomplish the condition where as many exploited elements as possible, consisting of Russian peasants and Cossacks, would be settled in these regions, making use of the latter as a dependable support in imperialistic aspirations. The consequence of this was the gradual dying out of the displaced oppressed peoples (Khirgizians, Bashkirs). The object of our Party with regard to the working masses of these peoples consists (except for the propositions enumerated above under 1 and 2) in uniting their efforts with those of the working masses of the local Russian population in the struggle for liberation from exploitation in general and from the predatory great Russian exploitation in particular, to help them with all ways and means to cast off the exploiting colonists, and in this way to secure for them suitable lands, such as are necessary for a life worthy of human beings.

4) In addition to the above named races and peoples that already present a definite class alignment and occupy a definite territory within the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, there are also a number of fluctuating national groups and national minorities that are scattered among compact majorities of different nationality and for the most part possess no definite territory (Letts, Esthonians, Poles, Jews, etc.). The policy of Tsarism consisted in wiping out such minorities with all possible means, even pogroms (including pogroms against the Jews).

5) The evolution of the Communist organization in the border states is accomplished under somewhat peculiar conditions, which hinder the normal growth of the party in these regions. On the one hand we see that the Great Russian Communists who are active in the border regions, who have grown up under the conditions of a sovereign nation and have no experience of national oppression, sometimes deprecate the importance of national peculiarities in the party and in the Soviet work, as well as the peculiarities of class alignment, culture, ethnography, and the historical basis of the nationality in question, and thus distort and misrepresent the policy of the party on the question of nationalities. This circumstance leads to a turning away from Communism towards sovereignty, towards the colonial psychology, towards Great Russian chauvinism. And on the other hand the native Communists, who passed through the difficult period of national oppression, and who have not yet entirely freed themselves from the horrors of this oppression, sometimes overestimate the importance of national peculiarities in the party and in the Soviet work, and push the class interests of the workers into the background, or simply confuse the interests of the workers of the nationality in question with the so-called "international" interests of the same races, without any ability to distinguish the former from

the latter, and to set up the party work on these two bases. This circumstance leads to a turning away from Communism in the direction of a bourgeois-democratic nationalism.

These two harmful deviations from the principles of Communism draw their powers from the adulteration of the Communist organizations in the border states, which was at first inevitable. On the one hand, exploiting elements of the colonists seek affiliation with the party; on the other hand, representatives of the native exploiting groups penetrate into the party.

The Party Convention most emphatically condemns these two deviations as harmful and dangerous to the cause of Communism, and considers it necessary to point out the particularly dangerous character and the particular harmfulness of the former deviation, that in the direction of sovereignty and colonialism. The Party Convention recalls that it is impossible to create firm Communist organizations, in actual contact with the masses in the border states, without overcoming the vestiges of colonialism and nationalism in the Party, organizations that would include in their ranks the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements of the native and Russian population on the basis of internationalism. The Party Convention therefore believes that the elimination of the nationalistic and above all of the colonial fluctuations in Communism constitutes one of the most important tasks of the Party in the border regions. In calling for a decisive conflict against all *quasi* Communist elements that seek to fraternize with the party of the proletariat, the Party Convention simultaneously warns against any expansion at the expense of the petty bourgeois, or nationalistic and exploiting elements. At the same time the Party Convention emphasizes the necessity of a skillful and systematic utilization for Soviet work of all honest and trusty elements among the brain workers of the former suppressed peoples in the eastern border regions.

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The Jewish Commissariat in Soviet Russia

By W. KLIMOV

Readers who follow Jewish affairs will be interested in the Jewish work of the Commissariat for Nationalities, here treated by an authority who recently visited America.

A Short History of the Jewish Commissariat

One of the first tasks of the Soviet Government, immediately after the November Revolution, and as soon as it began to carry out its program, was to take care of the interests of the national minorities that were held in such oppression by the Tsarist regime. The People's Commissariat for Nationalities was created for this purpose and proclaimed the right of every nationality to self-determination; a number of national commissariats were organized to carry out this self-determination in accordance with the specific conditions and demands of each different nationality. At the present time the Commissariat for Nationalities consists of about twenty branch Commissariats.

Each national commissariat is the highest authority for all questions affecting the nationality it represents. These commissariats bring forth and present to the government all questions affecting their field. They prepare all plans and projects, and the government rarely interferes with them, unless it is contrary to the policy of the government as a whole. Such cases are taken care of by the General Commissariat for National Affairs, which regulates the inter-relations between the various nationalities, and which gives them a general line, a general tendency. It may be truly said that there has never been, nor is there any other country, like Soviet Russia, where every nationality has such complete autonomy.

The Jewish Commissariat was one of the first to be created, immediately after the November Revolution. That was the period when the whole "intelligentsia" was sabotaging the Soviet rule, refused to co-operate, and used all its powers to break it up. The sabotage among the Jews was particularly obdurate. All Jewish socialist parties, particularly the "Bund", the biggest Jewish socialist organization, were the most determined enemies of the Bolsheviks. Under such conditions, it was of course not very easy to organize the Jewish Commissariat. The bolsheviks among the Jews were very few, and it fell upon these few to proceed with the important work of carrying out the program of the November Revolution in the Jewish field. The Government did all it could to bring other Jewish socialist groups into the Jewish Commissariat, but without success.

The following is an illustration. The Jewish Commissariat began to organize towards the end of 1917. The only capable and suitable person at work was S. Dimandstein, an experienced and tried rebel, one of the first bolsheviks, a man of extensive general and Jewish learning. Just at that

time the Eighth Congress of the "Bund" was being held in Petrograd. The late Volodarsky and Voskov, who played such a glorious role in the November overthrow, learned that at the conference of the Bund was present a good friend of theirs from America, who held a prominent position in the Bund. They came to persuade him to join the Jewish Commissariat, explaining that they did not mind his being a Menshevist, so long as he would work. The offer, however, was declined.

In the face of this attitude prevailing in Jewish spheres, not excepting the Socialist groups, the Jewish Commissariat commenced its work. After great effort, Dimandstein succeeded in finding a few technical assistants, but even this help was vastly insufficient. Notwithstanding this, after a little while an apparatus was created which began to attract attention to the Jewish Commissariat.

New Schools Provided

The first step of the Jewish Commissariat was in the direction of the school—to create a new Jewish school out of the old one. A special Jewish Department was formed in the general Commissariat for Education. On the initiative of the Commissariat the Government issued a decree recognizing the Yiddish language as the official language to be used in the Jewish schools; the Hebrew language, which the large Jewish masses do not know, became one of the foreign languages, not obligatory upon the pupils.

This ruling, naturally, produced consternation among the Zionists, who were particularly bitter in their attacks on the Jewish Commissariat. Their anger was further augmented when the Jewish Commissariat approached the so-called Jewish "Kehilla", which served the darkest elements and which weighed heavily on the shoulders of the Jewish masses. The Zionists could not forgive this act. They, who had been the rulers, the leaders of the Jewish communities, were ousted by a few "whipper-snappers". Of course, it was but natural that when all the old city councils were abolished, as contrary to the soviet system, the Jewish councils similarly had to go, as these played the same role in the Jewish life as do the city councils in the community at large. Besides their bourgeois character, the city councils, as also the Jewish councils, were nests of counter-revolutionary activity, of systematic treachery to the young workers' republic, and the Government could not tolerate them. At the same time the Moscow organization of Zionists, under the chairmanship of Dr. Brutzkus, at a secret sitting, decided to support all enemies of the Soviet rule, but at the same time to join

the Jewish Commissariat in order to disrupt it from within.

Gradually separate groups began to break away from the other socialist parties and offered themselves for service to the Jewish Commissariat. Its activities became more animated, more systematized.

A publishing department was organized to issue Jewish books, in original, as well as in translation, a daily newspaper, at first called *Warheit* and later *Emes*, also a magazine *Kultur und Bildung*. Steps were taken to organize a Jewish Museum, a Central Jewish library, various art schools; finally even the bourgeois intelligentsia began to show signs of willingness to cooperate with the Commissariat.

At the same time great attention was given by the Jewish Commissariat to the economic work among the Jewish masses. A strong campaign was made to convert the Jewish small middleman into a land worker. With the full cooperation of the Government, which supplied timber, etc., land communes were founded in several districts of Russia, where land was set aside for this purpose. This movement, however, met with little response on the part of the small middleman, who preferred speculation and other illegal business projects to useful productive work.

When the peace negotiations with Germany began in Brest-Litovsk, the Commissariat was on guard to see that Jewish interests were protected, that the Jewish language should be recognized in the postal arrangements on an equal footing with German, Russian and Polish. As soon as the Brest-Litovsk negotiations were concluded, the Jewish Commissariat undertook to supervise the repatriation of refugees.

A special department was organized to send off refugees in special trains, to furnish them with the necessary documents and organize kosher kitchens at various points.

Branches of the Jewish Commissariat began to crop up in other cities, where the same work was carried out.

In Vitebsk, which is now the largest Jewish city in Central Russia, the Jewish Commissariat took over the functions of the Jewish Council. A large kitchen was opened for the poor, also a number of schools, a library, a club, and a reading room.

The same thing was done in Gomel, also along the Volga district, where a considerable Jewish population has congregated.

A strenuous campaign was inaugurated against anti-semitism, the "Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism" being organized and having as members leading representatives of the Government.

Of course, the Jewish Commissariat was not able all at once to develop all this activity on a large scale. It was hampered on all sides by the lack of teachers, writers, speakers, lecturers, agricultural experts and workers in general. But that which was accomplished in the short period

of its existence showed amply that the Jewish Commissariat was on the right track and that it had become an important factor in the Jewish life in Soviet Russia.

A comparison will not be amiss here. In Ukraine, when the democratic, almost socialist "Central Rada" was in power, the Jews also obtained autonomy. A Jewish ministry existed with some sort of Jewish Parliament, called the "National Rat". All classes of the Ukrainian Jewish population took part in the formulation of this Jewish autonomy; all parties cooperated—Right as well as Left, so that there was no lack of help. There were teachers aplenty, and writers, speakers, lecturers, agricultural experts, etc., yet very little actual work was done. Their entire energy was spent in wrangling with each other. There was much noise, but few useful results.

In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, with sabotage and boycott on every side, the Jewish Commissariat made but little noise, yet managed to accomplish practical results in beating out a path for very great activities.

A new era opened up for the Jewish Commissariat when the majority of the "Bund" and the "United Jewish Socialist Party" became communist. With the new blood injected into the Jewish Commissariat, its activities increased and branched out in all directions.

Jewish Commissariat Helps Pogrom Sufferers

Let us take the branch for the relief of pogrom sufferers. This is taken care of by the Jewish Public Committee, which has developed immense activities.

There is an impression that the Jewish Public Committee is an independent organization having but little connection with the Jewish Commissariat. At any rate that was the impression conveyed here by a representative of the American Joint Distribution Committee, who claims to have created that Committee in Soviet Russia. It must be made clear that the said committee was organized exclusively at the initiative of the Jewish Commissariat, under whose control it has been working all the time, and of which it now represents a part.

When the representatives of the Joint Distribution Committee arrived in Russia, they wanted indeed to separate the Jewish Commissariat from the relief work; they wanted nothing less than to create a new form of benevolent institution, the ringleaders whereof would be the same old bourgeois busy-bodies and philanthropic organizations, which have no reason for existence in Soviet Russia. But they did not succeed in this game. The matter was taken in hand by the Jewish Commissariat, which effected a compromise by inviting the bourgeois charitable organizations to cooperate in the work (this, insisted the American representatives, was the demand of the "rich aunt" — America), and the Public Committee was organized. Had the Jewish Commissariat been against

it, the Committee would never have seen the light of day.

Months passed without anything being accompanied by the Committee. The representatives of the Jewish Commissariat, i. e., the Jewish Communists, felt themselves bound hand and foot through the sabotage of the bourgeois busy-bodies, who employed every means to make capital of the American representatives' handiwork. Finally the latter, considering themselves slighted, or, rather, seeing that the Jewish communists were not willing to have anything "put over on them," were obliged to leave the Public Committee.

The Jewish Public Committee, now left in the hands of the Jewish communists, i. e., the Jewish Commissariat, immediately became a genuine and active force.

Let us return to the question of pogroms. Rumors are being spread here that the Jewish Commissariat does not allow any Jewish self-defense against pogroms. This is a base lie. Just the contrary. The truth is that when last winter the bands of Balakhovich and Savinkov were let loose in White Russia, the Jewish Commissariat immediately applied to the Government for permission to organize Jewish self-defense. The question was widely discussed at an All-Russian sitting of the Jewish Sections of the Russian Communist Party, during the Tenth Congress of the latter in Moscow. The Jewish Commissariat also favored the organization of such self-defense in Ukraine. Naturally, care has to be taken that such self-defense should not be made use of for counter-revolutionary purposes. There are still such men around as Dr. Pasmanik, the Zionist, who urges the Jewish population to make use of every opportunity to come out against the Soviet rule with weapons in their hands.

The Jewish Commissariat, however, is not satisfied with this alone. Wherever outrages against Jews occur, representatives are immediately sent to the spot to investigate; these investigators gather authentic information, statistics, organize the necessary help, and on the basis of these statistics, memorandums and recommendations are made to the Government as to what is to be done; there has never been an instance where the recommendations were not accepted and acted upon.

Just now, on the recommendation of the Jewish Commissariat, a "Punitive Expedition" against pogrom makers in White Russia was sent out by the All-Russian Committee to Combat Counter-Revolution (the Cheka). In this punitive expedition are also to be found Jewish communists, delegated directly by the Jewish Commissariat.

Every incident, every smallest detail in connection with pogroms, is registered by the Jewish Commissariat and given the widest publicity. A special apparatus, with a special staff of men, is detailed to this work.

In order to render the best and most effectual help to the pogrom sufferers, a special department of the Commissariat for Public Welfare was organized on the initiative of the Jewish Commissar-

iat, one of whose representatives is in charge of this department. Similar departments are now being organized in all cities.

Cultural Activity of the Jewish Commissariat

The keystone of the activity of the Jewish Commissariat is in the field of culture. For this purpose there are special Jewish Departments in the Commissariat for Education in every city where there is a Jewish population. These departments develop great energy and initiative. There is no corner in the Jewish cultural field, into which these departments have not penetrated.

The following figures speak for themselves. The State of Gornel has 280 Jewish government schools—elementary and secondary—where all instruction is conducted in Yiddish, according to the latest pedagogical methods. The State of Vitebsk has 200 of these schools, and Ukraine about 400. Altogether there are about 1200 such Jewish schools in Soviet Russia. This figure does not include the Jewish Children's Homes and Colonies, and Jewish professional schools, of which there is a great number in all parts of Soviet Russia, and their number is still increasing.

The Jewish Commissariat has a special department in the Committee for Professional Training, which carries on its work autonomously.

Last year a Committee for Political Enlightenment, *Glavpolit*, was formed. This Committee unites the entire cultural work of out-of-school training. In this Committee, of which the famous pedagogue, Krupskaya (Mrs. Lenin) is the head, the Jewish Commissariat also has a Jewish department, with sub-departments for the theatre, literature, art, music and academic studies. There is also a Jewish Section in the Government Publishing House and in the Government Museum.

During the period of its existence, in spite of the extreme shortage of paper and printing facilities, the Jewish Commissariat has published 300 books, translations as well as originals, covering all fields of knowledge; among them are such capital works as Professor Nikolsky's *Ancient Jewish History*, Professor Timiriazev's *Life of Plants*, a whole series of works by Lenin, Trotsky, Plekhanov, Bukharin's *A. B. C. of Communism*, Jewish classics, also a number of Jewish text books for the schools. A number of important works are still in the press, such as Lissagaray's *History of the Paris Commune*, Karl Marx' historical works, Blas' *History of the Great French Revolution*, two large volumes of communist hand-books, a richly-illustrated almanach about the November Revolution, songs by well-known Jewish poets; translations of Shakespeare, Oscar Wilde, Mark Twain, Tolstoi, and others.

The Jewish Commissariat has a whole series of Government theatres, with dramatic schools attached. The Central Jewish Government Theatre is the Moscow *Kammertheater*, which is one of the leading theatres in Russia. At the head of it is the well-known director Gronovsky. Its studio is conducted by the greatest Jewish painter, Mark

Shagal. The music given at most of the performances in the Jewish *Kammertheater* is specially composed by the well-known composers—Achron and Milner.

Kugel (*homo novus*), who is considered one of the best theatre and opera critics in Russia, former editor of the Russian Journal "Theatre and Art", conducts a studio for Jewish opera in Petrograd. There are also Jewish state theatres in Kiev and in Odessa and Minsk.

A traveling Jewish theatre has lately been organizing to give performances in small towns and villages. A special railway carriage will be at their disposal for this purpose, furnished with all the necessary equipment. The well-known founder of the famous Vilna Jewish Art troupe, Bertanov, is at the head of the Jewish Theatre. Bertanov is also well known on the Russian stage. In spite of lack of technical facilities, even in this respect their theatres have nothing to learn from the Jewish theatres here. So far as standards of art are concerned, our theatres will not stand comparison with theirs.

Almost every town and village has its local amateur troupe, which, through the Jewish Commissariat, is fostered and widely supported by the Government.

Moscow is the seat of a Jewish Philological Institute, an Historical Institute, and thither is also being transferred from Petrograd the Institute of Higher Jewish Learning. All these institutions, together with the musical and art schools, and the Petrograd Central Jewish Library, will be housed in Moscow in one building, which will be named "The House of Jewish Culture".

The following must not be omitted: a special Jewish faculty is being added to the state university in Petrograd; a Jewish pedagogical institute is being organized in Vitebsk; several cities have seminaries for teachers, and pedagogical courses; a Jewish party-university was opened in Moscow, where the students are supported by the government; a whole system of evening classes has been erected for the grown-ups. All this speaks eloquently for the activity of the Jewish Commissariat in the cultural field.

It is natural, of course, that the Jewish Commissariat is at war with Hebrew. This could not be otherwise, since Hebrew is unknown to the majority of the Jewish masses and the "lovers of Hebrew" are carriers of reaction into Jewish life, whereas the Jewish Commissariat is a bitter foe of everything that smacks of reaction, that is foreign to and against the Jewish masses.

It is sufficient to visit but once the little Hebrew theatre "Habimo" in Moscow, to be convinced as to who desire to preserve the Hebrew culture. A small group of speculators, "business-men" of all shades, bitter enemies of the Soviet Government, who still supplicate heaven for grace. In a workers' republic such elements are a menace and it is the duty of the Jewish Commissariat to deal with them and their institutions accordingly.

There came up the problem of the *Cheder* (a Jewish school where religious training is given). It is, of course, to be understood that since it is the task of the Jewish Commissariat to reconstruct the Jewish life in Soviet Russia, since it is the carrier of the new Jewish communist culture—it cannot have any love for the old archaic and mouldy *Cheder*, which has for long been an anomaly in modern Jewish life, and is particularly out of place at the present time. The Jewish Commissariat knows, however, that it is impossible to eradicate the *Cheder* all at once, as it is deeply imbedded in the old traditions of the Jewish *petit bourgeois* class. Furthermore, it is preferable to bring to light the harmfulness of the *Cheder* in the training of the Jewish youth, to tear the mask from those who uphold it, to make it odious in the eyes of the wide Jewish masses.

With this aim in view, the Jewish Commissariat had recourse to the widely practiced and successful method of propaganda, extensively used in Russia, viz., the staged trial.

A sham trial is put on exactly in all details like an actual trial, with witnesses, experts, prosecuting attorney, counsel for defense, etc. These trials are followed by the public with tremendous interest. On the one hand it is excellent entertainment; on the other it is a splendid means of elucidation. Russian newspapers frequently carry news of such trials of members of the Communist Party, not excluding Lenin and Trotsky, in order that the public may become better versed in the important questions under discussion.

A sham trial of this kind, on the subject of the *Cheder*, was staged by the Jewish Commissariat in Vitebsk. Everybody knew that it was only make-believe; the defendants, the "Leaders of society" of that city, who consented to participate in the staged trial, knew it. The affair provoked unprecedented interest. For five days the municipal theatre, where the trial was held, was packed. Big crowds thronged the streets around the theatre, which could not accommodate everybody. The president of the military-revolutionary tribunal acted as president in this court. He was a well-known Jewish communist, a former Bundist, who had been a sworn attorney during the previous regime.

It was made clear at the trial how out of date and obsolete the *Cheder* has become, how baneful its influence on the education of the young; and when a death sentence was pronounced, a sham one, of course, it brought forth enthusiastic and unanimous approval, so evident the harmfulness of the *Cheder* training had become to all. This method of propaganda was at once most successful in bringing about the desired results: it opened the eyes of the wide Jewish masses to a dark vista, which they held as holy; and since then the *Cheder* has lost its former glory. Very few parents now send their children there, although there is no obligation either way. Instead they send their children to the modern Jewish school.

Special bulletins were printed during the trial and distributed as supplements to the daily Jewish newspaper *The Red Star*. These bulletins were gobbled up in the eagerness to see what had happened in the court room.

This staged trial, which the ignoramuses of the Jewish press on this side mistook to be a genuine legal action, aroused indignation, when it was published, even among some of the radical Jewish element. "See what enemies of the Jewish race the Jewish communists in Soviet Russia are," it was asserted, "to pass this sentence on the Jewish *Cheder!*"

Another incident occurred in the same city of Vitebsk, which shocked many "radicals." There are in the city of Vitebsk no less than 77 prayer-houses. With the prevailing house shortage, it was impossible to find accommodation for educational purposes, and it was therefore proposed to acquire five of these prayer-houses for the much needed schools, on the assumption that the pious population of the city could be amply accommodated in the remaining 72 prayer houses.

Again a trial was staged and the matter brought to the public notice. The urgent necessity of houses for school purposes became so clear during the trial that in spite of the protest of some overzealous servants of God, the five prayer houses were converted into institutions of good modern Jewish culture, to the immense satisfaction of the majority.

Here should be refuted the lie regarding the Jewish Commissariat's intention to abolish circumcision. The Jewish Commissariat has other more important matters to engage its attention.

Economic Activities of the Commissariat

One of the most difficult problems confronting Jewish life in Soviet Russia is to attract the Jewish masses to productive work. The Jewish Commissariat has devoted its utmost attention to this problem from the very beginning. Unfortunately, no great progress has been made in the solution of this problem, which is entirely the fault of the Jewish petit bourgeois. They simply refuse to become proletarians; they will risk their necks by shameful speculation, smuggling, illegal trade, etc., rather than by toil. In this respect a curse seems to lie over Jewish life in Soviet Russia.

It would have seemed that if the Jews were given sufficient land, they would grab it. The Zionists have been clamoring for decades that there is no better occupation than tilling the ground and that there are no better husbandmen than the Jews. To work on the land has been the dream of every Jew.

But what do we see? In spite of all the endeavors of the Jewish Commissariat, in spite of the policy in this respect of the Soviet Government, which will give the Jews all the land they can use, there has been but little response and the matter moves very slowly.

Under the auspices of the Jewish Commissariat

there was organized the "Union of Jewish Working Masses" (*Setmas*) with Rabbi Zhitnik at the head. This organization is heart and soul for the Soviet rule and has as its aim to draw the Jewish toilers into its fold to do productive work, primarily agricultural work. It has about 40,000 members, publishes its own magazine *Labor*, sends out itinerant agitators, and has the full cooperation of the Government. And after the greatest effort, after millions of money spent, it was possible to organize a few Jewish land-communes in the states of Vitebsk and Smolensk. These communes function very well, but their example is but tardily followed.

Attitude Toward the Setmas

The *Setmas* tends to become more and more an independent political organization of Jewish petit bourgeois, who under cover of its Soviet program endeavor to shirk their work duty, and at the same time to escape punishment for speculation.

This forced the Jewish Commissariat to change its attitude towards the *Setmas* and the entire economic work is now being carried on by the Commissariat direct. For this purpose a staff of technical experts, such as agriculturists, engineers, statisticians, etc., have been engaged, and these travel around to ascertain the economic condition on the spot, prepare and carry out plans and projects of how to attract Jewish workers to factories, how to organize artels among them, how to persuade Jewish "free-traders" to engage in agriculture, gardening, etc. The state of Minsk has even an agricultural school, where agriculturists are trained, and it is proposed to open similar schools in other districts. But the work progresses at a snail's pace, due to the apathy and frequently the animosity of the Jewish petit bourgeois. Vitebsk and Gomel are the only two cities where tangible results have been achieved. Many state factories there now have in their employ Jewish workers, who were formerly "free-traders". In Vitebsk, for instance, they form the majority employed in the factories of the "Committee to Combat Unemployment". In other cities, however, there is no vestige of such results, but the Commissariat does not diminish its efforts in this direction.

The Jewish Commissariat has been devoting its attention lately to the colonies already long in existence in the south. A special committee sent to investigate these colonies reported that they are in good condition. Upon the suggestion of the Jewish Commissariat, these colonies were detached into separate independent units with the same rights as the agricultural soviet-communes.

The question of emigration is another item engaging the attention of the Commissariat, which tries to move Jewish laborers to places where their services are needed most, from smaller to larger cities, but this is a matter that requires years to organize properly, and in view of the present disorganization of railway traffic in Soviet Russia, the work of transferring workers from one place

to another progresses slowly. This is, however, a question to which great attention is given by the Jewish Commissariat.

At the same time, the Commissariat is confronted by another problem. After the conclusion of peace with the border states, such as Latvia, Poland, etc., there is a stream of re-evacuation, re-patriation; many Jews wish to return to their home towns, and here a new difficulty comes up in the form of the anti-semitic tendency of the newly created states, which seethe with anti-semitism, to establish a percentage for the returning Jews. This happened in Latvia, and the Jewish Commissariat, through the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, took the necessary steps that no such percentage rate should be applied. As regards Poland, where anti-semitism is considerably stronger, the Commissariat is already taking due measures to protect the interests of the returning Jews. Among the representatives comprising the Ukrainian Soviet Mission to Poland, there is one from the Jewish Commissariat, a distinguished Jewish communist.

While on the subject of Poland, it is worth while to remark that in the conditions of peace between the two countries arranged in Riga there was included, upon the demand of the Jewish Commissariat, a paragraph safeguarding the interests of the Jewish minority in Poland.

When the Commissariat learned about the immigration of Ukrainian Jews into Bessarabia, which maltreats hundreds of Jewish families, a representative was immediately despatched to look into the matter, and arrangements were made with the necessary government authorities to regulate this question.

At the present moment, as is already known from the local press, the Jewish Commissariat is opening up offices at points in Europe to facilitate those who wish to emigrate from Soviet Russia.

Another illustration of how anxious the Jewish Commissariat is to serve the interests of the Jewish population: a special information department has been formed by the Jewish Commissariat to take care of letters exchanged between people in Russia and their friends and relatives in other countries. Thousands of such letters pass through this information office every month.

This department also publishes bulletins giving all available information regarding Jewish life in Soviet Russia, as well as abroad. The Jewish Commissariat also publishes a monthly journal, in the Russian language, which acquaints the Russian public with all events in Jewish life.

Conclusion

It is impossible in this brief article to touch more than lightly upon the activity of the Jewish Commissariat. General remarks and a few facts that give a bird's eye view have to suffice. But we hope that the meagre facts here given will enable the reader to build up in his mind some conception of the scope and importance of the work of the Jewish Commissariat.

One thing stands out clearly: in the face of the tremendous difficulties under which they have to work, the Jewish Commissariat has accomplished incomparably more, and is more energetic and consistent in its work than the Jewish Ministry in bourgeois Lithuania, upon which so much praise has been showered by the Jewish press in America.

In Next Month's Soviet Russia

The November issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will be an *Anniversary Number*, containing among others the following features:

THE PAST YEAR IN RUSSIA, being a statement of the accomplishments of the Proletarian Dictatorship in its Fourth Year.

THE HEIRS OF 1789, by Max Strypyansky. Shows how far France has receded from the days of the Great Revolution.

RUSSIA'S LEADERS AND MASSES, by Jacob Friis, a prominent Norwegian journalist, who recently visited Russia. Gives personal touches of Lenin, Trotsky, and others.

RUSSIA AND SCANDINAVIA, a review of relations between Russia and the three Scandinavian monarchies, made timely by the announcement that a trade agreement between Russia and Norway has been signed.

BRINGING LIBERTY TO BEZDNO, by Michael Lemke. Tells how the Tsar, who "liberated" the serfs in 1861, actually shot down the peasants who took his proclamation seriously (from the Special Famine Newspaper, see page 143, this issue, SOVIET RUSSIA).

PLANS FOR NEW POGROMS; revelations of an interesting conspiracy recently uncovered in Warsaw.

Agricultural, Industrial and Transportation Statistics

The following tables are the most recent available on the respective subjects. A complete review of Russian trade with America will appear in our next issue.

REPAIR OF THE RIVER FLEET

The following table shows the number of river boats repaired by the Soviet Government on August 1, compared with the program set for accomplishment by September 1:

STEAM AND OIL BOATS

Regions	Program for 1st Sept. 1921	Completed by 1st Aug. 1921	%
Volga	1,294	1,375	106
North Western...	590	517	88
Northern	244	235	96
Dnieper	158	169	107
Don-Kuban	139	87	63
Siberia	225	298	132
	2,650	2,681	101

OTHER CRAFT

Regions	Program for 1st Sept. 1921	Completed by 1st Aug. 1921	%
Volga	3,084	2,539	82
North-Western ..	1,359	937	69
Northern	495	464	94
Dnieper	219	269	123
Don-Kuban	213	144	68
Siberia	416	502	121
	5,786	4,855	84

SPRING SOWINGS, 1921

The Soviet Government's campaign for increased sowings last spring produced important results. The area sown in 1920 was 48 per cent of the 1916 area while in 1921 the data already to hand show that 70 per cent of the 1916 area had been sown.

The Commissariat for Agriculture has received reports from 14 provinces on the fulfilment of the Spring sowing schedule, showing the following results:

Province	Area Sown (Desiatines)	% of Program Accomplished	% of 1916 Area
Archangel	37,000	100.	82.6
Astrakhan	64,240	83.8	54.9
Briansk	202,250	75.	73.
Don	1,038,044	85.	37.8
Kaluga	184,000	80.	71.
Kursk	778,545	71.	68.4
Orenburg	1,425,000	95.	74.
Perm	400,000	80.	51.
Simbirsk	395,900	62.	66.
Tartar Rep.	935,000	85.	85.
Ufa	800,000	89.	81.
Cheliabinsk	615,000	41.	37.
Cherepovetz	80,063	67.	67.
Chuvash	180,000	138.	135.
		82%	70%

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

Among the main items included in the total of 189,000 tons of foreign goods imported into Russia from January 1 to June 30, 1921, are:

	Tons	Per Cent of Total
Foodstuffs	70,000	37.1
Machinery, Implements, etc.	44,200	21.8
Seeds	11,700	6.2
Coal	33,800	17.9
Chemical Goods	5,600	3.0

The following table shows the chief countries from which these goods were imported:

	Tons	Per Cent of Total
Great Britain	57,900	30.6
Germany	35,500	18.8
United States	30,900	16.4
Esthonia	22,600	11.9
Sweden	9,200	4.8
Holland	8,100	4.3

The figures for May and June only (i. e., since the Trade Agreement became effective) show even more strikingly the preponderance of British imports, which formed 45 per cent of the total May imports, and 39 per cent of the June imports.

DISTRIBUTION OF FARM IMPLEMENTS

One of the most important tasks of the Soviet Government has been the supply to the peasants of agricultural implements needed for the harvest. During May and June of this year the Agricultural Department distributed the following quantities of agricultural machines and implements:

	May	June
Ploughs	20,854	85,911
Harrows	1,377	2,588
Cultivators	916	344
Sowing Machines	175	37
Scythes	475,788	171,510
Hay Cutting Machines	916	6,994
Horse-rakes	603	4,025
Sickles	51,808	44,590
Threshing Machines	131	876
Reapers and Binders	216	731
Winnowing Machines	109	30
Flails	4,500	37,207
Grindstones	550	172,190
Binder Twine	1 ton	1,245 tons

OUTPUT AND REQUIREMENTS OF PHARMACEUTICAL PRODUCTS

Russia is estimated to need, every year, about 9,500 tons of medical supplies. Statistics are given below showing that the production of these supplies in Russia, although rising in volume, can only provide from 15 to 20 per cent of the total needed.

	Estimated Requirements Kilograms	Russian Program Kilograms	Imports Needed (About) Kilograms
Pure Chemicals	2,925,000	321,953	2,600,000
Pharmaceutical Compounds	4,933,000	912,595	4,000,000
Disinfectants	1,815,000	362,953	1,450,000

If the program is fulfilled, 11 per cent of the need for chemicals will be satisfied, 18.5 per cent of the pharmaceutical supplies required, and 20 per cent of the disinfectants. It will be necessary, therefore, for Russia to import up to 8,000 tons of drugs and disinfectants. Before

the war Russia used to import almost all the chemicals needed for medical purposes. A certain amount of production was hastily organized during the war. The following figures show the progress achieved during the civil war and the first half of 1921. The figures for 1921 refer only to the group of laboratories and factories near Moscow, which according to the program should produce 58 per cent of the total.

	1921		1920		1st Half 1921	Moscow Area Only
	1st Half	2nd Half	1st Half	2nd Half		
	<i>Kilograms</i>					
Pure Chemicals	35,335	39,732	40,334	31,592	69,630	
Pharmaceutical						
Compounds	115,552	167,712	158,410	242,765	289,701	
Disinfectants	.....	.....	149,741	70,758	132,232	

In the Moscow area 13 out of the 14 big chemical works are in operation. Their production is given below. (The diminution during May was due to the Easter holidays falling within this month.):

	Production (in Kilograms)		Per Cent of Program	
	April	May	April	May
	Silver salts	111	49	55	25
Mercury compounds	326	160	40	20
Inorganic ferrous compounds	1,211	1,463	194	234
Bromides and iodine compounds	54	72	90	118
Other inorganic products	6,918	5,517	70	56
Alkaloids	14	15	16	18
Salicylates	3,090	2,311	134	100
Organic ferrous compounds	32	32	40	40
Other organic products	1,460	967	67	44
Neosalvarsan	7	6	175	150

Concentrated extracts	....	3,129	3,044	158	155
Concentrated solutions (in water and alcohol)		16,442	16,557	156	158
Powders	.....	5,396	1,157	125	27
Ointments	.....	12,576	5,335	268	113
Oils	.....	101	8	7	05
Disinfectants	.....	20,663	15,698	140	106
Prepared drugs in pills, capsules, etc.	.....	2,853,945	2,970,062	208	217
		(doses)	(doses)		
Plasters	.....	2,050	2,439	178	212
Vaseline	.....	5,844	4,186	88	63
Paraffin paper	.....	397	230	99	58
		(reams)	(reams)		
Mustard plasters	.....	63,000	44,300	157	111
		(plasters)	(plasters)		
Photographic plates	.....	146	423	2	7
		(dozens)	(dozens)		

WARNING

Rumors are constantly circulated about the removal of the restrictions against entering Russia. Such rumors are entirely unwarranted.

The Soviet Government has instructed me to warn all passengers that it has made no arrangements with any steamship agents for the modification of the order of April 20, closing the Russian border to all immigrants. This applies to entry through any Russian Soviet port, including the Black Sea ports.

CHARLES RECHT, Attorney,
110 West 40th Street,
New York City.

Fight the Famine!

Help the
Russian Workers and Peasants
GIVE at once! GIVE direct!
GIVE again!

If you belong to an organization which gives direct to the Russian famine sufferers, give through that organization. But be sure your donations go **DIRECT** to the Russian people, without political conditions.

We will send you upon request a list of several organizations collecting funds for famine relief. Address:

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 West 40th Street,

New York, N. Y.

Detractors of the November Revolution

By MAX STRYPYANSKY

THE books, pamphlets and magazine articles which, either "from personal observation" or after a "careful study of the sources," deprecate the November Revolution and its results are as numberless as the predictions of a speedy fall of the Soviet Government. A library that would attempt to procure a complete collection of these publications, in all the different languages, would have to devote more than one big room to the purpose. An American millionaire who would like to "do his bit" for the saving of democratic civilization, might, in sponsoring such an institution, find ample opportunity to get rid of his honestly inherited wealth, and he would certainly afford ample occupation to the many employees charged with the reading and classifying of all the different categories of this very voluminous literature.

For it cannot be said that all these publications are constructed upon the same pattern. There are, for instance, those whose authors are bourgeois pure and simple—of Russian or any other nationality—who write about the first successful proletarian revolution with the same honest horror with which their predecessors of half a century ago foamed about the Paris Commune—its unsuccessful forerunner. The very idea of proletarian emancipation is to them as intolerable and absurd as political democracy would have been to the courtiers of the seventeenth century.

In close proximity to them—although far less honest, if we may use the word—dwell those ex-Socialist gladiators of the pen, who, armed with the record of their "Marxian", Syndicalist or Anarchist past, have openly—for a good "consideration"—sold themselves to the financial oligarchy of their respective countries and impart to their counter-revolutionary vituperation a "scientific", "socialist" and "documentary" flavor. Unnecessary to add that they have repeatedly been proved to be past masters of falsification and distortion, but this has not in the least impaired the credit they now enjoy among their new masters.

"Idealists"

There are still others, who are not prompted by any mercenary motives. They are usually gentlemen of independent means, exclusively preoccupied with putting out volume after volume of their ponderous compilations, which Voltaire would have counted among the holy books—for nobody touches them. A complex of fixed ideas and unsatisfied vanity is the only driving force that stands behind their attitude towards Soviet Russia. Take for instance the incomparable William English Walling. Despite all his former extreme radicalism and irreconcilability, which led him to denounce not only the American Trade Unionism of the A. F. of L. type, but even French

Syndicalism, still in its pre-war prime and beauty—as movements of the labor aristocracy, he revealed himself during the war as a jingo of even worse quality than Philip Scheidemann, Havelock Wilson or Benito Mussolino, and all his radical aspirations melted away before the one thought of "licking the Huns". No wonder he was mortally sore and profoundly embittered when by the fact of the Russian Revolution he was shown that there were other problems left in the world besides the strife of the two clans of the imperialist world. And he acted as most men of letters act in similar situations when their intellectual reputation is endangered. Rather than admit that they are fools or have been fooled, they turn the other way—according to the cynical saying once applied to himself by Germany's picturesque stylist, charlatan and weather-cock, Maximilian Harden: "A skunk—well—but a nut, please no, that hurts".* And so he to all practical purposes emulates Spargo and in his romantic idealism even goes so far as to efface his own personality and furnish clippings, scissors, paste-pot and all for the literary aggrandizement of Mr. Samuel Gompers; thus hoping, like Cyrano de Bergerac in Rostand's heroic comedy, that at least out of the mouth of his charming friend, his hitherto unresponsive idol, the American public, may listen to his prose.**

After this orgy of vituperation, misrepresentation and distortion it is almost a relief to stumble upon attacks that—while written by no less implacable adversaries—have at least the merit that their authors are not merely mercenary hacks or sore graphomaniacs, but European statesmen of distinction, as the usual term has it. We have in mind the Belgian Social-Patriot and Minister of Justice Emile Vandervelde and Thomas G. Masaryk, President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

President Masaryk

President Masaryk in his article on "Revolutionary Theory in Europe" (published in the *Revue de Genève* for March, and translated in the *Living Age* of July 9, 1921) is mostly concerned with demonstrating that Kautsky and the Menshevist writers all over the world are right in charging the Bolsheviks with not being the correct interpreters of Marx' revolutionary theories. This anxiety for the preservation of the purity of the Marxian gospel is not a little amusing when it comes from the mouth of the ruler of the most capitalistic and imperialistic country of present-day Central Europe, a country whose workers and subject nationalities (Germans, Slovaks, Magyars, Carpatho-Ruthenians and Poles, forming altogether about 50 per cent

**Ein Schweinehund, na—aber ein Dummkopf, bitte nein, das tut weh!*

**See the review of Mr. Gompers' book in the preceding issue of SOVIET RUSSIA (Books Reviewed).

of the whole population) are held down by military force for the benefit of the Czech capitalists and the real rulers—French finance.

But Masaryk is not satisfied with this one instance of involuntary humor. He says: "In their (Bolshevik) eyes, revolution is an end in itself. They are incapable of plodding, productive labor. The Russians still cherish the old aristocratic prejudices. They disdain plodding labor and persistent effort." The tragic joke of it is that the Bolsheviks in Russia had just begun in 1918 to set "to plodding, productive labor" when Father Masaryk, at the instigation of French and British imperialists, who bribed him with the splendid perspectives of a great Czecho-Slovak empire, sanctioned and launched the notorious "Anabasis" of the Czecho-Slovak legionaries, thus rendering possible the advent of Kolchak and Denikin and all their successors, depriving Soviet Russia of half its gold reserve, and starting the interminable series of civil wars and foreign interventions that forced the Russian Bolsheviks to devote their energy exclusively to the defense of the Revolution and to subordinate the industrial reconstruction of their country to warfare for more than three years.

Like most old men who are a little too conscious of their own importance, Masaryk then devotes three columns to his precious self. "I organized our national movement. I led the Revolution." And he adds: "With my own eyes I have seen Bolshevik crimes in which a purely brutal and bestial barbarism was exhibited. I have been horrified at the uselessness of these massacres." The great man is of course too proud to mention facts, and we presume that he probably never has heard of the horrors of the "Death Train", that human slaughter-house, trailing for two months across Siberia in the wake of Czecho-Slovak heroes and Russian counter-revolutionists, in the days of the great Kolchak; that he has never heard of the mass-executions perpetrated by the civilized British and French champions of democracy in Archangelsk, Baku, and Odessa. . .

Emile Vandervelde

In his address delivered at Oxford University (translated in the *New York Times*, Book Review and Magazine Section of July 10, 1921) the leader of the Belgian Socialist Party and spiritual head of the Second International is less anxious about the defence of Marx against Bolshevik appropriation. He obviously left that task to the frankly bourgeois Masaryk. The thing he was more concerned about was the defence of the principles of democracy. Principles which—we presume—according to him are no doubt applied in the French, British and Belgian "democracies" whose completely disfranchised colonial populations by far outnumber their "motherlands". But the central point in his address is given to the assertion that the Soviet Government has not kept a single one of its promises. "These were the three promises they made:

"To the soldiers they promised peace.

"To the peasants they promised socialization of the land.

"To the industrial workers they promised communism."

And he retorts triumphantly that not one of these promises has been kept. As to the peace promise, he says: "Should they be astonished that their violence has engendered violence? Can they fail to recognize that in all Europe there remain but two countries with large armies—France and Russia?" Vandervelde is one of the greatest orators of our time. When he speaks his listeners are carried away by the flight of his imagination. "Violence engenders violence." The Russian Bolsheviks obviously invaded or intended to invade French, British and Belgian soil, whereupon the respective governments duly sent out their soldiers and munitions to combat these new disturbers of the peace. For the "civil" war would not have lasted for a month if it had not been for the help of France, England and certain other countries. . . It really takes a "Socialist" Minister of Justice in a country whose bourgeoisie had grown one of the richest in the world, on the corpses of twelve million Congo Negroes — to arraign the Russian Government for this "broken" promise, when all the world knows that all the innumerable Russian peace proposals were invariably answered by new shipments of soldiers and munitions for the counter-revolutionists. . .

"To the peasants they promised socialization of the land." This promise was obviously broken too—for the land was not "socialized". True, the peasants never complained about this "broken promise", as long as they got the land. True, they rather look askance at the attempts of the Government to organize "soviet farms" and "agricultural communes". True, the "socialization" of the land, in the exact sense of the word—meaning collective ownership and tilling of the soil—was to be a very slow process conditioned by the progress of the industrialization of the country, and was to be preceded by a more or less equal redistribution of the land, the latter being declared not subject to purchase and sale. But why should a learned economist like Vandervelde trouble about such trifles?

Vandervelde's Originality

"To the industrial worker they promised 'communism'." Another promise that was broken—for isn't it now generally admitted that communism is retreating in Russia? Vandervelde, especially in his capacity as head of the Second International, may really consider himself to be justified in addressing this reproach to the Soviet Government. The leaders of Soviet Russia have repeatedly declared that the establishment of communism would be very hard, if not impossible, if their undeveloped country were not sooner or later joined on the same road toward Communism by some of the great industrial nations of Western

Europe. Vandervelde and his fellow-Scheidemanns and Kautskys were doing their best, and they have succeeded, in preventing this outcome. And then they put the blame on Russia for failing to introduce communism.

Toward the end of his address it must have occurred to Mr. Vandervelde that before his distinguished academic audience his speech would produce a somewhat hackneyed impression, if it should contain nothing but the usual Menshevist argumentation. And so he forgot himself and condescended to "accord to Bolshevism, in spite of all, its part in the great and profound work of the Russian revolution." This passage of his address is rather interesting and we here quote it in full; especially as it is practically a refutation of his own accompanying "democratic" arguments:

"It is said that the Bolsheviki have turned Russia into chaos; but this chaos existed before them; it was caused by the war. Moreover, as Nietzsche says, chaos is necessary for the birth of a new star.

"In spite of its mistakes, its faults, its crimes, Bolshevism has this redeeming feature: It destroyed to its deepest roots, or finished the destruction of, the ancient autocratic regime. Its predecessors undertook, but without success, to give the land to the peasants; where its predecessors failed, Bolshevism succeeded. From a more general viewpoint, it has wrested from the European bourgeoisie that sense of security which was one of the elements of their power. By its action and its criticism it has exalted the hopes of the proletariat. It has revealed in the full light of day the falsehood of bourgeois democracy dominated by capitalist finance and the capitalist press. It has achieved—after Hindenburg and Ludendorff—the end of the sanctimonious optimism which relies solely upon reformism and peace to transform the world."

MR. EMERSON P. JENNINGS

The following communication was published in the "New York Times", September 10:

New York, September 8, 1921.

Editor, New York Times.

Dear Sir:

As counsel for Mr. Martens and as Director of the Commercial Department of the former Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York, respectively, we wish to correct certain misstatements attributed to Mr. Emerson P. Jennings in a dispatch from Reval appearing in the *New York Times*, September 6, 1921.

The contract with the Lehigh Machine Company was signed by Mr. Martens in May, 1920. The contract was tentative in form and was made expressly contingent upon the resumption of normal commercial relations between the United States and Soviet Russia.

These relations have never been established and therefore the contract has never taken effect. Moreover, when the Soviet Government, after its long and fruitless efforts to establish normal commercial relations with the United States, recalled Mr. Martens in January, 1921, it specifically instructed him to cancel all outstanding contracts, and the Lehigh Machine Company was notified of this decision at that time. No work had been done by the Lehigh Machine Company in connection with the goods called for in the contract, and no expenses had been incurred by the company under the terms of the contract. The cancellation of the contract, which could not have been fulfilled in any event because of the policy of the American Government, therefore caused no loss to the Lehigh Machine Company, beyond their natural disappointment at being deprived of this order.

Subsequently the Lehigh Machine Company passed into the hands of a receiver and Mr. Jennings' connection with that company was then terminated. Not long before the departure of Mr. Martens from this country, Mr. Jennings, upon his own initiative, decided to undertake a trip to Moscow. It is known to us that Mr. Martens attempted to dissuade him from that purpose, pointing out that it was the fixed policy of the Soviet Government not to enter into any more contracts of this nature until the American Government should change its attitude towards trade with Russia. In spite of Mr. Martens' strong advice, Mr. Jennings went to Russia, where his efforts to secure new business seem to have been unsuccessful. During his visit to Moscow, Mr. Jennings did not represent the Lehigh Machine Company, but was the agent of a brokerage concern.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Jennings' trip to Russia was unsuccessful. But he was warned of this in advance by Mr. Martens himself. Moreover, it is difficult to understand how Mr. Jennings, whose former company was already in the hands of a receiver, could have expected the Soviet authorities to take up new business arrangements with him.

ISAAC A. HOURWICH,
Former Counsel to the Russian Soviet
Government Bureau in New York.

JOHN G. OHSOL,
Former Director of the Commercial
Department of the Russian Soviet
Government Bureau in New York.

Parcel Post to Russia

According to an order issued under date of September 13, 1921, by the Second Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C., parcel post packages may now be sent through the United States Post Office to Russia.

The regular conditions covering foreign parcel post mail apply to packages for Russia, that is, the limit of weight is 11 lbs. and the cost is 12c per lb., to which must be added the following transit charges:

For 1, 2 or 3 lbs.—66c.

For 4, 5, 6 or 7 lbs.—72c.

For 8, 9, 10 or 11 lbs.—84c.

The transit charges are additional to the cost of 12c. per lb.

Packages should be wrapped securely and if the address is written in Russian, the sender should write on the outside of the package *plainly in English* the words "Parcel post for Russia."

Letters must not be sent in parcel post package.

SEMIONOV'S AGENTS IN GERMANY

On July 18, 1921, the representative of Soviet Russia in Germany sent to the Minister for Foreign Affairs the following Note.

"Mr. Minister: I have the honor to submit to you, in the original, together with copies and photographic reproductions, two documents, accompanied by accurate German translations, emanating from the office of the Representative of Ataman Semionov in Germany. From these documents it is irrefutably apparent that a certain Col. Freiberg, aided by a certain Captain, named Aparovich, has established on the territory of the German Government a representation of the troops who rebelled in the Far East, under the command of Semionov, against the Russian Soviet Republic and that this representation is here conducting recruiting with the object of supporting these troops.

"In presenting to you herewith, Mr. Minister, the above mentioned documents, I take the liberty respectfully to point out that the mere existence on the territory of the German Government of this so-called representative violates the basic thought of Paragraph 1 of the Treaty of May 6, 1921.* The permission given by German authorities for the recruiting activities of Col. Freiberg cannot in any way be brought into accord with the friendly relations between the German Government and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Moreover, such activities cannot but be regarded as a crime against the general laws of Germany.

"I have the honor to ask you, Mr. Minister, in the name of my Government, for the immediate dissolution of the representation organized by Col. Freiberg, the stopping of his recruiting activities, as well as the indictment of Freiberg and Captain Aparovich for these acts.

"I take this occasion once more to assure you, Mr. Minister, of my most profound esteem.

"V. KOPP."

The following are the texts of the documents above referred to:

I.

(Copy)

Representative of
Ataman Semionov
in Germany
July 1, 1921
No. 264
Berlin, Charlottenburg
Gervinusstr. 19

To the Representatives of Lieut.-Gen. Ataman Semionov

CERTIFICATE

The bearer of this Certificate, Second Lieut. Sergei Victorovich Ginz, is leaving for the Far East in order to enter the armies of the Supreme Governor and Commander of all the armed forces of the Russian Far Eastern territory,

*A Treaty between Soviet Russia and Germany, the text of which was printed complete in SOVIET RUSSIA for July, 1921.

Lieut. General Ataman Semionov, the identity and hereto attached signature of whom are certified by our signatures and our official seal hereto affixed.

I request all the representatives of Lieut. Gen. Ataman Semionov to give every assistance to the above named officer to expedite his arrival at Headquarters.

(Signed) . SECOND LIEUT. GINZ
COL. FREIBERG
ADJUTANT APAROVICH

Place of seal and stamps.

II.

(Copy)

Representative of
Ataman Semionov
in Germany
July 8, 1921
No. 278
Berlin, Charlottenburg
Gervinusstr. 19
Tel. Steinplatz 73-38

To His Excellency Lieut. Major Lokhvitsky
Your Excellency:

In answer to your statement, I communicate the following: Your statement has been forwarded by me in my report to the Ataman, and I take the liberty to express my conviction that with the development of operations in the Far East and the establishment of a stable form of government, the detachments under your command will be absolutely necessary for the further struggle against the bolsheviks. Of course, a certain period of time will be required to permit this report to reach the Ataman, approximately 2½ months. It is now impossible to communicate such things by telegraph owing to the control by the Entente, who should not know about your intentions. At any rate a fully satisfactory answer may be expected. As soon as any reply reaches me, I shall inform you immediately.

The original is signed by:

COL. FREIBERG
ADJUT. CAPT. APAROVICH
Novy Mir, Berlin, July 21, 1921.

TRAVELING REPAIR SHOPS

Three trains fitted out as repair workshops for agricultural machinery and implements, each train consisting of 35 carriages, recently left Moscow—one for Stavropol; one to serve the line: Cheliabinsk-Kustanai-Petropavlovsk; and the third to serve the line between Vologda and Viatka. These trains are supplied with spare parts for agricultural machines, building materials, iron, steel, copper, benzine, petrol, coal, etc. Each train contains an electrical generating station and workshops for repair work of all kinds in wood, iron, copper, and so on. The trains are in charge of specialists in agricultural machinery. The southern train is intended for the repair of big machines, and the other two for smaller types. One more train is being equipped to serve the line between Yekaterinburg and Omsk, thus making, with one previously sent, five special trains for the repair of agricultural machinery and implements.

NEXT MONTH'S SOVIET RUSSIA

is a Special Anniversary Issue, with interesting new material.

Books Reviewed

ИВАНОВ-РАЗУМНИК. — А. И. Герцен. 1870-1920 — A. I. Herten, by Ivanov-Razumnik, 1870-1920. Published by the Publishing House "Kolosa", Petrograd, 1920.

Ю. СТЕКЛОВ.— А. И. Герцен (1812-1870). A. I. Herten by G. Steklov. (1812-1870). Published by the Government Publishing House, Moscow, 1920.

According to a time-honored conception concerning the "future slavery", a Socialist state is supposed to be the mortal enemy of independent intellectual creation, as all the material means of publication are concentrated in the hands of the Government. But here we have a book published in Petrograd (before the "reintroduction of capitalism") by a cooperative publishing house, and printed in the Government Printing House. It is of course only one of the numerous cases of private initiative in publishing in Soviet Russia. Its author is Ivanov-Razumnik, one of the main spokesmen of the "Social Revolutionists of the Left"—bitter opponents of the Soviet Government.

The book is a collection of articles written by the author on various occasions about the literary activity of the great forerunner of the Russian Revolution, whose death occurred fifty years ago.

To the world at large Alexander Herten (1812-1870) is mainly known as a novelist and the editor of the "Kolokol" (The Bell), the first Russian revolutionary paper, founded in London in 1857, which for many years exerted a great influence on the intellectual and political life of Russia. The present book about Herten is not intended for the general public. It is neither a biography nor an exhaustive study of Herten's political and literary activity. The author set himself quite a different task, namely the analysis of the social and philosophical ideas that underlay his writings. And for this purpose he very often (especially in the chapter about Herten's plays) refers to those of his earlier productions which the future editor of the "Kolokol", because of their literary insufficiency, either never published or even decided to destroy. The scenario of "Licinius," a play presenting the decaying Roman world as faced by the new, proletarian gospel of the Nazarene, and ample quotations from "William Penn" (also a social-religious play) whose heroes, Fox and Penn, are the leaders of the Quaker revolt against the corrupt Church of England, throw an interesting light on Herten's ideas on the decomposition of the decrepit European civilization and the impending struggle of the two worlds. The plays were written in 1838-1839, at a time when because of his frank criticism of the existing system, Herten was banished to a forgotten corner of North-Eastern Russia. He was then greatly under the influence of the Socialist ideas of Saint-Simon.

The chapters "Herten and the Revolution of 1848" and "Herten on Democracy and Bourgeoisie" show the great forerunner at the critical stage of his intellectual development. What was still left of his enthusiasm for Western democracy was finally shattered at the sight of the bloody suppression of the proletarian revolt of June 1848 by the bourgeois profiteers of the victorious February revolution of the same year. It was at that time that he finally turned with contempt from Western "civilization" which he characterized with the word "myeshchanstvo" (bourgeois philistinism), a word that since Herten has acquired general currency in the Russian language. His ideas of that epoch are best expressed in his most brilliant work, "From the Other Shore" (originally published in German under the title "Vom Anderen Ufer"). This hostility to the decaying western bourgeois world no doubt was the starting point for his conversion to a peculiar kind of Russian patriotism, or let us say, revolutionary "Slavophilism": the belief that Russia, owing to its communal land ownership, might introduce socialism independently of the doomed Western world and without passing through the capitalist industrial stage. He thus became the original founder of the ideology of the Russian

"Narodniks" fully two decades before this specifically Russian socialism had entered the arena of political activity. Herten himself did not live to see this movement.

In the last period of his life Herten's revolutionary ardor had gradually died down. He had become rather a humanitarian liberal and was estranged from the rising radical new generation. But even in this period (which by the way is not treated in this book) he kept the courage of his convictions. And the author shows in the chapter "Kolokol: Victories and Defeats" how, in 1863, on occasion of the Polish insurrection, Herten openly threw the weight of the influence of his paper and his own intellectual reputation on the side of the oppressed nation. With the result, of course, that even by the liberal and democratic forces of his country he was branded an "antipatriot", a "traitor", and that his paper was generally boycotted thereafter.

But the best of all is the chapter "Herten on the Present Moment." We find there a selection of quotations from Herten about the Revolution of 1848, about the treachery of the bourgeois revolutionists, about the hypocritical pretensions of democracy. His words written over seventy years ago read like a contemporary criticism of the Cadets, the Social-Revolutionists or the Mensheviks, written by a Bolshevik or a Left Social-Revolutionist. Our readers will find a portion of this chapter translated in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

The book of Steklov is written from quite a different angle. The very personalities of the two authors are a sufficient explanation of this difference. Ivanov-Razumnik is first of all a literary-philosophical critic, an emotional "highbrow," and in politics a romanticist whose social philosophy is not derived from the prosaic Marx but from the much more "interesting" ideologists of the specifically Russian Socialism of the old school ("Narodniki") with all their various modifications. His articles, collected in the aforementioned volume, were intended only for those who are already supposed to be well informed about the personality of Alexander Herten. And so Razumnik selected only a few of the more brilliant or less known pages of his life or his literary activity. On the other hand, Steklov, the editor of the Moscow *Izvestya*, is a Marxian scholar and—together with N. Ryazanov—one of the best informed men as to the history of socialism—especially the First International and its contemporaries. His biographies of Chernyshevsky and of Bakunin are well known and translated into many languages; and even Anarchists, who usually are not tender towards Marxian presentations of the history of the First International, have acknowledged the impartiality of his book on their great protagonist. And thus his book about Herten is a regular biography which shows the whole tragedy of the great idealist who in his declining years saw the crushing of all his personal happiness and the waning of all his faith and revolutionary dreams of his earlier days. Steklov is at his best where he shows the inherent contradictions of this revolutionist who hailed the proletarian revolution in the West, who despised the bourgeoisie, — and who nevertheless was an aristocrat in his heart, who appealed mainly to the enlightened nobility of his country and who in Western Europe felt at home only among the "respectable" class of bourgeois revolutionists, such as Mazzini, Kossuth, Ledru-Rollin. His attitude towards Marx, Chernyshevsky, Dobrolibov and in general toward the whole younger generation of Russian revolutionists of the sixties, and the sometimes ludicrously moderate views as to Russia (which would make even Mr. Milyukov blush) are a depressing chapter of the eternal tragedy of stagnation and retrogression that often befalls even the best with the coming of old age. And it was Herten's old friend, the ever young Bakunin, who in an admirable letter quoted by Steklov, tried to warn him and to stop his progress on this road. He did not succeed and Herten died a lonesome, embittered and disappointed man.

M. S.

A. KOLLONTAY. — Новая Мораль и Рабочий Класс. A. Kollontay: The New Morality and the Working Class. Moscow, 1918 (All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers' Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies). Paper, 61 pages.

A. KOLLONTAY: Die neue Moral und die Arbeiterklasse. A. Seehof & Co., Verlag, Berlin C54. Paper, 80 pages.

Although it came out three years ago, and has been available in a German translation for a year or more, this work of Alexandra Kollontay has not yet been translated into English.

It is divided into three parts: I. The New Woman, II. Love and the New Morality, III. The Relations between the Sexes and the Class Struggle. In the first section, that devoted to the New Woman, the attempt is made to show—by references to characters occurring in many works of recent literature, particularly Russian and German—that the type of the clinging, all-surrendering woman, whose life finds its highest realization only in its relations with some man, is gradually being displaced, not only in literature, but also in life, by a more independent type, which takes love less seriously as the main axis on which the female existence revolves. After enumerating many of the new types (they include Fanny in Shaw's *Fanny's First Play* and even Mary Antin), the author says:

"There are many of them and they could not all be mentioned in this hasty sketch. But the very fact that there are so many of these new women, that more are appearing every day, that a depraved distortion of them already is finding its way into the boulevard literature of a Verbitakaya, should convince us that life is tirelessly at work in the creation of this new type of woman.

"Something strange this woman brings with her, something that somehow repels us by its newness. We look at her; we miss the familiar ingratiating traits of our mothers and grandmothers. But she who stands before us has broken with her past and holds within her a whole world of new feelings, experiences, demands. Doubts arise in us: we are almost displeased. What has become of womanly submissiveness and softness? Where is woman's time-honored faculty of adapting herself in marriage, of effacing herself, even in the presence of an insignificant husband, and of permitting him to have precedence in life?

"Before us stands woman as a personality, a person with a value all her own, with her own inner life, an individuality that can maintain itself,—the woman that has cast off the rusty chains that once bound her sex."

The second portion (Love and the New Morality) takes up specifically the question of whether the love-life should be all in all in a woman's existence; here the argument follows practically the same lines as the well-known book of Grete Meisel-Hess, *Die sexuelle Krise*, which is much cited. Some attention also is devoted to prostitution, needless to say in the same spirit as that shown in the author's article on that subject in the last two issues of *SOVIET RUSSIA*.

In the third portion of the pamphlet the certainty is expressed that the new conditions of a classless society will completely revolutionize the relations between the sexes, while at the same time they will render the development of a real "love-life" more possible and more extensive than under any previous system of society.

J. W. H.

RUSSIA FROM THE AMERICAN EMBASSY. By David R. Francis, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 361 pp.

In this volume the man who was American Ambassador to Russia during the Revolution reveals his intellectual equipment and the character of information which he passed on to his superiors in Washington. The amazing ignorance upon which the policy of the American Government towards Russia was based requires no further commentary.

"My knowledge of Russia up to the time of my appoint-

ment had been that of the average intelligent American citizen—unhappily slight and vague." (p. 3)

"Russia is inhabited largely by the Slav race; a race possessed of more than ordinary common sense, with good impulses, but with paradoxical characteristics" (p. 329)

"I do not think there will be a revolution immediately after the close of the war; that would be premature, but if the Court Party does not adopt a more liberal policy by extending more privileges to the people and their representatives in the Duma, a revolution will take place before the lapse of even a few years." (Letter to the Secretary of State, August 14, 1916; p. 23).

"The members of that Ministry [of the first Provisional Government] are men of education, of good records, some of them possessed of great wealth, and their selection does great credit to the judgment of the Commission by which they were chosen." (Report to the Department of State, March 14, 1917; p. 66).

"The workingmen's party have been joined by some soldiers, I don't know how many, and they have a committee called 'Committee of Workingmen's Party and Soldiers' Deputies'; this committee has issued a number of proclamations—I think several daily—and these pronouncements have been filled with rot. That organization demands a republic." (Letter to the American Consul General at Moscow, March 16, 1917; p. 70).

"The revolution [the March Revolution] is the practical realization of that principle of government which we have championed and advocated—I mean government by consent of the governed." (Cable to the Secretary of State, March 18, 1917; p. 91).

"On the 2nd of May, 1918, I cabled the State Department that the time had come for the Allies to intervene in Russia." (p. 298).

"I realize the magnitude of my responsibility but at the same time feel fortunate that it has fallen to my lot to play such an important part in occurrences which are determining not only the future of our country and of Russia but of all international relations and in fact of society itself." (Letter, May, 1917; p. 125).

"The Department [of State] has not only complied with every request I have made, but when I suggested a change of policy in regard to the Bolshevik Government which it had not recognized in accordance with my advice, it declined to follow the suggestion, saying my course had met with approval of the Department and it saw no occasion to change it." (p. 212).

"In spite of the importunities of Robins and some other Americans I refused to recommend recognition." (Report to American Peace Commission at Paris, January 22, 1919; p. 315).

"Lenin said: 'Let us discuss the matter.' I immediately replied: 'No discussion on the subject whatever.' . . . A discussion ensued lasting at least an hour. . . . At the close of the talk I got up and said: 'We'll end this discussion here.'" (p. 217).

"Immediately following the ratification of the peace treaty at Moscow, I gave out a statement for publication, March 16, 1918. The Bolshevik papers at Moscow were closed against communications from the American Embassy."

(There is on record—see "Russian-American Relations," p. 105—a message sent on March 20, 1918, by Colonel Robins at Moscow to Ambassador Francis, containing the following statement: "Your interview appeared in evening papers and this morning in full on first page.")

"This situation, in my opinion, not only justified but demanded activities on my part to assist the Russian Government to keep the Russian armies fighting, which under ordinary circumstances would have been not only unusual but improper for an Ambassador to undertake." (p. 125).

"If any section of Russia refused to recognize the authority of the Bolshevik Government to conclude such a peace I shall endeavor to locate in that section and encourage the rebellion." (Private letter, February 23, 1918; p. 236).

"While refraining from interfering in all internal affairs

in Russia." (Telegram to Chicherin, July 24, 1918; p. 257).

"Captain Martin of the American Military Mission, just before his departure for Murmansk to meet the Allied forces . . . asked if I had any message to send to Captain Bierer, who was in command of the cruiser *Olympia* in Murmansk harbor. I replied: "Tell Captain Bierer that I do not assume authority to command him to land his marines, but if I were called upon to give advice, I should want American marines to land, provided the British and French and Italian troops were landed." (p. 265).

"The situation might have been saved, had President Wilson permitted me to return to Petrograd, accompanied by 50,000 troops." (p. 348).

"I do not mean that this Bolshevik Soviet Government should have been overthrown by any other power than the Russian people themselves, but the presence of Allied troops in Russia would have encouraged the people to hold their differences in abeyance for the time being, and I certainly would have contributed all in my power to that end." (p. 338).

"The sending of troops there would have enabled the Allied forces in Northern Russia to depose the government of Lenin and Trotsky." (p. 337).

"It was clearly established that Lenin accepted German money and used it to corrupt Russia." (Report to American Peace Commission, January 22, 1919; p. 315).

(The authenticity of the Sisson Documents, Mr. Francis' only authority for this statement, is conclusively disproved in Mr. E. H. Wilcox's strongly anti-Bolshevik book, "Russia's Ruin".)

"Allied missions had positive evidence that German-Austrian war prisoners were being armed and German officers were instructing Bolshevik forces." (Report to American Peace Commission, p. 317).

(This canard was refuted in detail by a report made after an exhaustive investigation of the situation by a British and an American officer. See "Russian-American Relations", pp. 177-184).

"Germany's commercial agents are the only ones admitted into Soviet Russia." p. 332).

(The book which contains this silly falsehood was published in August, 1921. The Trade Agreement between Soviet Russia and England, providing for the mutual exchange of commercial representatives was signed in March. Mr. Vanderlip and other American business men have been in and out of Russia during the past two years, and official representatives of the Baltic states and other countries willing to resume commercial relations have been freely admitted.)

One tribute must be paid to Mr. Francis. Into this record of his official mission in Russia he has contrived to insert more inaccuracies than can be found in any other extant work on Russia. As a serious account of events the result is laughable. As a historical document the book is of great importance. It will remain a monument to modern diplomacy. Upon the weird mass of misinformation and prejudice which this man managed to assimilate and pass on to his government was based the disastrous Russian policy of the American State Department. Not only did Mr. Francis misjudge, and incorrectly report, every important development of the Russian Revolution; he showed no trace of consistency even in his own misjudgments. Moreover, by his own account, Mr. Francis constituted himself a censor not only for the American people but for the State Department itself. Upon his departure from Vologda he received a note from Chicherin, in which the Soviet Foreign Minister requested him to "convey our affection and admiration . . . to the great people of pioneers on the new continent and to the posterity of Cromwell's revolutionaries and of Washington's brothers-in-arms."

Says Ambassador Francis:

"This telegram was evidently meant for consumption by American pacifists, and fearing it would be given to the American people by the Department of State, I failed to transmit it."

A. C. F.

THE ECONOMICS OF COMMUNISM. By Leo Pasvolksy. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921. 312 pages.

The extreme frankness which the Soviet leaders have always displayed in admitting the difficulties which they have encountered makes it very easy for a hostile critic to draw a disheartening picture of economic conditions in Russia by a judicious selection of quotations from official and semi-official journals. Mr. Pasvolksy does not follow the somewhat naive method of Messrs. Gompers and Walling, who, under the pretext of "condemning the Soviets out of their own mouths" give space to practically every important foreign and Russian counter-revolutionist document. His material, with a few minor exceptions, is drawn from Bolshevik sources, especially from *Economic Life*.

But, while Mr. Pasvolksy's work perhaps contains fewer actual misstatements of fact than the average anti-Bolshevik propagandist effusion, it is even more inaccurate and misleading in its generalizations. The author minimizes or leaves out of account factors which have had a vital determining influence upon the economic development of Soviet Russia. For instance, to hold up the decreased productivity of the Donets Basin after Denikin's retreat as a proof of the incompetence of Russian communism is even less reasonable than it would be to blame French capitalism for the present low productivity of the Lens coal district. Denikin may not have carried out his work of destruction as thoroughly and scientifically as the Germans in France; but it was obviously much more difficult for a blockaded country to repair the ravages which he committed.

In general, while making a show of fairness by calling attention to periods when vital sources of raw material were out of the control of the Soviet Government, the author altogether ignores the larger disastrous effects which invasion and blockade have produced in Russia's economic life.

In a statement before the recent Congress of the Third International Bukharin estimates that 75 per cent of Russia's production during the period of the civil and Polish wars was devoted to the needs of the Red Army. In other words, if it had not been for the strain placed upon the resources of the Soviet Government by the unprovoked attacks of the capitalist world, approximately four times as much food would have been available for the city workers; four times as much in the way of commodities would have been available for the peasants. What this would have meant in contentment and increased production is obvious.

The drain on the human resources of Soviet Russia has been even greater. The impressive victories of the Red Army constitute the best possible evidence of the tremendous fund of popular energy, devotion and enthusiasm which was at the disposal of the Soviet Government. But it was necessary to pay for the victories of the Red Army with a certain measure of deterioration in civilian industry. The workers of marked executive ability who should have been managing factories were commanding regiments or divisions. Many devoted Communists whose example would have raised the morale and the standards of productivity on the industrial front died storming the Perekop Isthmus and driving the Poles back from Kiev.

But, although Mr. Pasvolksy's work seems no more convincing than the average partisan tract, it has apparently achieved the remarkable result of persuading Mr. John Spargo (to quote from his review of the book in the New York Evening Post) that "modern methods of production cannot be used in a Communist state without subjecting the people to an intolerable servitude and involving the state itself in all the perils and disadvantages incidental to excessive bureaucracy. With the greatest possible reluctance I have been compelled, as a result of my study of the developments in Russia, to admit this fact."

Mr. Pasvolksy is to be congratulated on his convert; and it is to be hoped that Communism will survive the loss of such a distinguished adherent as Mr. Spargo.

A. C. F.

- F. ЗИНОВИЕВ: Двенадцать дней в Германии. Петроград, 1920. Paper, 120 pages.
- G. ZINOVIEV: Twelve Days in Germany. Moscow, 1921. Paper, 91 pages (English version of above).
- G. SINOWJEW: Zwölf Tage in Deutschland. Moskau, Verlag der Kommunistischen Internationale, 1921. Paper, 74 pages.
- G. SINOWJEW: Zwölf Tage in Deutschland. Hamburg, Carl Hoym, 1921. Paper, 91 pages.

Just a year ago (to be precise, on October 13, 1920), Zinoviev attended a Congress of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, held at Halle. American readers, especially those who follow the newspapers, will recall the tremor that ran through the press at the thought of Zinoviev's secret entrance into Germany, his sudden appearance at the Congress, his volcanic activity there, and his mysterious exit from the country, presumably with the aid of every underground method that could be laid at the door of evil German Communists. It appears from Zinoviev's own account (the book is dated: Smolny, Petrograd, November 13, 1920) that there was nothing mysterious about the trip at all, that Zinoviev and his seven companions on the steamer from Reval to Stettin (Shablin of Bulgaria, Yonov of Petrograd, and five diplomatic couriers from Russia to Chekko-Slovakia) had permission from the German Government to spend ten days in Germany, that everyone in Germany knew his whereabouts at every moment of his sojourn, and of course, that the German secret police made his life as miserable as possible during his short stay, by every manner of unnecessary molestation. Zinoviev himself was somewhat surprised that the German authorities should grant him permission to enter the country, but explains the matter as follows:

"Now, after all I saw and heard in Germany, I am convinced that the decision of the German Government to allow me to enter the country for ten days, is based on two motives.

"The first motive is the present situation of the Right leaders of the German Independent (Socialist) Party. These Right leaders are now in reality on more friendly terms with the more far-sighted portion of the German bourgeoisie. All the Hilferdings, Dittmanns, Moses, Dissmanns, Cohns, etc., have long felt themselves at home in influential ("Socialist" and "democratic") government circles.

"The German bourgeoisie and the Scheidemanns know very well that the Right Wing of the Independents are their real protectors. They therefore sought to avoid anything that might incommode still more the already difficult position of these Right leaders at the impending Halle Congress. And they would surely have created such an inconvenience by forbidding me to enter Germany.

"The second motive was surely this: a portion of the bourgeoisie—the more stupid portion—felt that a split of the Independents would be desirable, for there is a section of the bourgeoisie which considers any division of the workers to be at any time advantageous to the bourgeoisie. Such persons find it inconceivable that there may be many kinds of splits, and that when a workers' party is separated from Right, compromise elements, it is the revolution and not the counter-revolution that gains."

On October 8, Zinoviev left Petrograd for Reval, immediately boarding the steamer *Vasa*, which landed his little group, under the solicitous surveillance of about forty spies, at Stettin on October 12. A swift railroad journey brings them to Halle before midnight the same day. Perhaps it was on the train that Zinoviev first read Noske's *Von Kiel bis Kapp*, to which he pays his respects in a few sharp pages. Arrived at Halle, Zinoviev is received enthusiastically by his comrades of the Left, and describes in a fascinating manner the leading types in the Congress, both of the Right and Left factions. His characterizations of these personages, including all the well-known names in the Independent Socialist Party, remind us in their brilliancy and finality of the concise treatment accorded by Trotsky (in his answer to Kautsky's *Terrorism and Communism*) to the leaders of the Austrian school of Marxist thought.

Zinoviev is particularly shocked by the objections raised by Crispian and Company, who, following Kautsky, tempted to make a scientific distinction between "terrorism" and "the use of force." "We recognize the use of force in general," said Crispian, "but under no circumstances can we admit terror." To this Zinoviev and his friends answered that "terror" is merely a sharpened form of "force" just as civil war is a sharpened form of the class struggle. "We depicted in a few bold strokes the experiences of the Russian and Finnish Revolution. We called the happy, unsuspecting youth of the proletarian revolution in Russia, when its hopes were all in the future, when, in the first days of the November Revolution we liberated General Krasnov on his word of honor in Smolny, when we gave Kerensky's ministers their freedom and they forthwith organized a civil war against us which cost us tens of thousands of the lives of our comrades. We recalled that it was not until the Entente intervened that we were gradually driven to undertake the sharpest of all modes of defense: Terror. We quoted the resolution of the VIIIth Congress of the party of Social Revolutionaries (Dittmann in his articles and speeches defended even Chernov) who at the time of the Chekko-Slovak insurrection openly called upon the Entente to send troops to Soviet Russia. We recalled the example of Finland, where the Finnish proletariat, after it had the power in its hands, was simple and childlike enough to set at liberty all the delegates of the Finnish Diet and all the bourgeois ministers, whereupon these gentlemen immediately traveled to Berlin and obtained White Guard troops from William II. with the aid of which they slaughtered 30,000 Finnish workers. And we pointed out to the German workers that their own experience in Germany, particularly the murder of their best leaders, Kapp, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, must certainly force them to utter a loud protest against the petty bourgeois view advanced by the opponents of 'terror'."

Zinoviev devotes some attention to a characterization of the German press. Needless to say when he deals with the capitalist newspapers of that country his words sound as if they were written to describe the attitude towards Russia of the capitalist papers in America, or any other country, for that matter. Read what he says:

"Sometimes we ask: Why do people continue lying day after day for three years? Surely no one believes them any more! But in reality this is not quite the case. A man who reads these delicately insinuated lies day by day involuntarily succumb to them. Consider for instance our own delegation. Of course we knew in advance that the bourgeois press was calumniating Soviet Russia with all its might. And we spent only a few days in Germany. And yet when you read in the papers quotations from the Moscow *Pravda* (these quotations of course later turn out to be forgeries) on one event at the front or another you are gradually impressed with the idea that the whole thing cannot be a mere matter of deception. The counterfeits of the bourgeois newspapers are doing their work well. The famous 'excerpt' from the Moscow *Pravda* concerning the alleged desertion of Comrade Budenny by the Whites was circulated by the bourgeois press with exceptional cleverness.

"Of course the workers do not believe the bourgeois press; they know that they are lying about Soviet Russia. But we must admit that the bourgeoisie is showing extraordinary ability in wielding the most important weapon that still remains in its hands—namely, the 'freedom of the press'. One of our most important tasks abroad is to organize a practical daily information service for workers to give them information on everything that is going on in Russia."

Zinoviev was permitted to remain in Germany until October 24, owing to the fact that no earlier steamer could be taken at Stettin for his home journey. His account of his six days' stay in Berlin is full of exciting and sometimes amusing touches. The question of whether he might, during this period of "house-arrest," visit the toilet alone or in the company of a Social-Democratic police officer was finally decided in his favor, and against the officer.

J. W. H.

НАУЧНО-ТЕХНИЧЕСКИЙ ВЕСТНИК. — The Scientific-Technical Review. Published by the Scientific Technical Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy. Moscow, 1920. No. 1, 72 pages; No. 2, 78 pages.

the torments of Tantalus and the labors of Sisyphus the only appropriate images that are able to render the state of mind of the Russian scientists and engineers are faced with the gigantic task of reconstructing sixths of the surface of the globe. Surrounded by a wealth of raw materials and a variegated vegetation that hardly surpassed even by the United States—they must almost of their efforts thwarted by Russian isolation and inexorable will of the allmighty gods of the Western world, who will never desist from persecuting the challenger of their authority.

Some conception of the tremendous task confronting the rebuilders of Russia may be obtained by the student of Russian affairs from the first two issues—September, October, 1920—of the *Scientific-Technical Review*, a volume of large folio size. The first issue begins with a learned dissertation from the pen of the famous chemist V. M. Bekhtyerev on the intensification of labor efficiency (especially the Taylor system), its reaction on the health of the worker, and a review of the literature on this subject. The next article, by N. Charnovsky, is entitled "A General Method for a Rational Geographical Distribution of Industry and for the Choice of Location of Industrial Establishments," and treats the general laws of interrelation of transportation, fuel and raw materials, expressing them in terms of algebraic formulae. One of the rather depressing features of this article is the statement that in some places where until a few years ago there was high class modern industry, at present, owing to the dilapidated state of transportation, it has been necessary to revert to the system of home industries.

The Scientific and Industrial-Technical Expedition to the Gulf of Karabugas, in the Caspian Sea" gives an interesting picture of some of the natural resources of Russia which are practically clamoring for profitable exploitation. Every winter this gulf, which is situated on the eastern shore of the Caspian, directly opposite the oil water, Baku, furnishes about 600,000,000 tons of Glauber salt, which are deposited each year for six months (October to April) on the flat shore, and need only to be picked up. This tremendous amount of raw material could be easily changed into soda and sulfuric acid, enabling Russia to swamp the world market with cheap soda. A commission was appointed to investigate this territory in its geological, zoological and botanical aspects and also with view to technical possibilities of exploitation of this extraordinarily rich territory, which heretofore had been completely ignored.

There are also purely scientific articles such as, "The Application of X-Rays in the Determination of the Chemical Composition of Hard Bodies"; "The Establishment of a National Museum in the Ilmen Mountains in South Ural," "Physical Laboratory in Teddington"

Several articles are devoted to the technical side of the agricultural problem. "The Situation of Russian Cattle-breeding, in Connection with the Most Vital Economic Requirements and the Direction to be taken by the Agricultural Policy," is followed by a dissertation "On the Destruction of Plant Parasites Noxious to Agriculture, by Poison Gases," with a number of illustrations presenting the poison clouds "in action". Two articles are concerned with the housing problem in the cities and villages and with a comparison with conditions in other European countries in this field. In the article entitled "Places in the Ural Mountains Where Useful Minerals are Found" are given a long list of natural products such as oil, phosphorites, cooking salt and especially potassium salts, which are so important as fertilizers. There are also articles on the fuel problem in the glass industry and modern methods of manufacture of cellulose products, the adoption of which is recommended for Russia.

The first two articles of the second issue are devoted to the memory of Clement Arkadyevich Timiryazev, the botanist of universal fame who died in April, 1920, at the age of 77. The readers of SOVIET RUSSIA no doubt remember the impressive picture that Arthur Ransome gave in his *Russia in 1919* of this great scientist who was an ardent supporter of the November Revolution.

Next comes a very minute description of the basins of the rivers Vichera, Little Pechora and Ilych, in North-Eastern Russia, containing large but not yet sufficiently investigated deposits of iron, gold and copper ores, asbestos, peat, fire clay, gypsum, salt, dolomites.

The succeeding article deals with one of the most important subjects of Russian agriculture, namely "The Chemical Conversion of our Phosphorites", i. e., the necessity of enriching the exhausted Russian soil with phosphates produced in Russia itself. With the chemical industry are concerned two more articles, one of which, entitled "Sources of Raw Materials Necessary for the Russian Chemical-Pharmaceutical Industry", gives very interesting data on Russia's resources in this respect as she practically lacks only those materials that are strictly tropical in their character. Not less interesting and full of statistical material is the article "The Production of Essential Oils in Russia."

As in the former issue, agricultural Russia is again the subject of two articles, one on "Village House-Building as a Separate Branch of Building Technique," and one on "Bee-Culture in Russia and its Needs". In this connection, for it refers mainly to materials worn by the peasant population, we may also mention the article entitled "A Few Words on Fast Dyes and Dyeing in Small Industry, in Connection with the Purchase of Dyestuffs".

Some of the main articles of course deal with Russia's most vital problem—transportation. The great possibilities of electrification for improving the railroad system, and especially from the point of view of saving fuel, are treated in G. Graftyov's article on "Electrical Energy as a Factor in the Reconstruction of Railroad Transportation." The next article "Much-Needed Reform for the Reestablishment of Railroad Transportation in Russia", is mainly concerned with the necessity of introducing American automatic couplings, showing that if this reform is adopted, the Russian railways would after three or four years increase their efficiency to a level that could not be obtained otherwise even in a decade.

Each issue contains a very extensive bibliography of Russian and foreign technical publications.

S. N.

ВАСИЛИЙ КНЯЗЕВ: О чем пел колокол. — What the Bell Was Singing. Verses by Vassily Kniazev. Published by Proletkult. Petrograd, 1920. Paper, 56 pages.

A collection of verses written in the turbulent days of 1918 and 1919, when the November revolution was fighting for its existence. Every man, and every woman too, a soldier. Every thought for the revolution—every breast aflame with the impatience of doing more, more, more, not to give up what had been won with the blood of their comrades. The newly-made generals, who but yesterday were peaceful dreamers, sent forth the call "To all, and all, and all," to rise to the defense of the new liberty. The blood boils with action, words come, strong, virile words; no time to think of pretty turns of speech; the words are hewn straight from the block—they do not come begging, timidly knocking at the door; the gates of the human mind are battered down by the force of the mighty appeal:

"The foe is at the gate,
Is throttling our freedom,
Come all, and all, and all,
To help!"

And what can the poet's song of those days be but the song of the soldier, the inspired cry of the mother fearing for the fate of her child and calling to all for help.

The bell that tolled so mournfully for centuries now utters a call to freedom, in a voice that joyously and fearlessly proclaims that all must come and fight for liberty.

Vassily Kniazev sings us the songs of the bells.

Now it is the call "To all, to all, to all. The foe is at the gate." This time it is Hindenburg approaching Petrograd, after Trotsky's refusal to go on with the Brest-Litovsk negotiations.

The tocsin rings:

"Boom, boom, boom—I am the brazen cry of danger
Boom, boom, boom—Yeomen, hasten hither,
Boom, boom, boom—the roads are clouded over,
Boom, boom, boom—the hordes are coming, hordes!"

Comrades are falling, and the poet cries (on the death of Volodarsky):

"You who were nearest to the people,
Son of the proletarian spring,
Of its first bright lights,
Of its first sunny days,
You, who were its poem incarnate,
Volodarsky."

It is not to bewail his fate that the poet sings, but to make of him a hero, whose name shall be the inspiration of future generations.

Somewhat in the style of "Britons Never Shall be Slaves" is the song of the Commune with its opening and closing stanza:

"Need will not break us
Misfortune not bend us
Fickle fate has no power over us
Never, never, never, never
Shall Communists be slaves."

Nor has Kniazev escaped the war-time poster appeal: The little boy asks his father what he did in those glorious days of 1918, and the father with pride tells him of his share in the fight.

In "To the Enemy", the enemy is warned that never will a Red Army soldier be taken prisoner. There are seven bullets in his revolver—six enemies will be accounted for. The seventh bullet—if there is no other way—will be for the Red soldier himself.

The woman Red Army soldier is greeted as a comrade worthy to stand by the side of the man, in defense of Communist Russia.

A poem entitled "To the Poets of the Proletkult" urges the new poets not to mince or polish their words, but to use strong words fearlessly, to challenge the heavens with "mighty dares, and not to pray". He calls to them to throw off the old outworn forms and to blaze new trails in poetry.

I. R.

The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia

The complete official text of the laws of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, regulating Inheritance, Property Rights, Guardianship, Marriage, Divorce, Legitimacy of Children, Descent, Adoption, etc., is printed in a booklet of 85 pages, with introduction. Price 25 cents per copy; sent postpaid.

The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia

This booklet (80 pages) contains the laws adopted by the Workers' and Peasants' Republic to fix the terms and conditions for labor in Soviet Russia. Important matters of the National Council of Comrades, Right to Work, Labor Distribution, Unemployment, Working Hours, etc., are discussed. There is also a supplement by S. Kaplun, of the Commissariat of Labor, on THE PROTECTION OF LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA. This booklet gives the complete official text of the Soviet labor laws. Sent postpaid for 25 cents.

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The Speakers' Rostrum at an open-air meeting recently held in connection with a Baku Conference. Zinoviev is speaking, his hand raised. Karl Radek in the center, Representative L. C. Martens on the left. The upper inscription is probably: "The Proletariat Has Nothing to Lose but Its Chains", the lower: "The Ruler of the World Will Be Labor!"

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The Work of the Fourth Year

By MOISSAYE J. OLCIN

On November 7 the Soviet Republic begins its fifth year. The accomplishments of its fourth year are here reviewed by one who recently returned from Russia, and who has done much to familiarize American readers with conditions under the Proletarian Dictatorship. Our readers are already acquainted with his work.

WHEN the third anniversary of the October Revolution was celebrated throughout the vast extent of revolutionary Russia, the guns were still thundering in the South, and Wrangel was retreating towards the Crimean Peninsula. The entire nation stood breathless, watching the final struggle against the last White General. Victory seemed near at hand; the White forces were in themselves insignificant when compared with the armies of the Red Republic, yet peace with Poland had not been concluded, the Rumanian frontier was not secure, and behind General Wrangel were imperialistic France and her Allies. The uncertainty cast a black shadow over the anniversary celebration. Only several weeks later could the country heave a sigh of relief. The enemy was beaten, the South was cleared of White bands, and the spectacular flight of the White officers ensued. To accentuate the difference of purpose between the defensive war that was waged by the Republic, and the aggressive encroachments of the reactionary forces, the Russian Government declared the Crimean Peninsula, with its balmy air and beautiful scenery, to be henceforth a sanitarium of the nation. All former palaces, villas, resorts of the Russian imperial family and of the bourgeoisie were to be used as rest-homes for fatigued and exhausted women, soldiers and peasants.

The country was safe. Prospects were brightening. Peace, unknown to Russia for six long years, was again restored. But the wounds of the economic organism, little tended, or even deepened in the fierce revolutionary struggles, were now felt more keenly. There was, first of all, the frightful deterioration of the transportation system. Trotsky, the rail dictator, had done wonders in increasing the carrying capacity of the railways. In 1920, the war emergency was successfully met; there was little delay in the transportation of troops, munitions, and war-materials to the front. Yet all this was accomplished at the expense of the reserves. The industrial establishments had worked feverishly and with great waste in certain directions, while in the others there was a decline if not an actual stoppage. State monopoly, which had been imperative in the course of war, when all national resources had to be concentrated in the hands of the Federal Government, began to show its seamy side. The salient problem in the economic field, however, was the problem of the land. The peasantry had shown ardent devotion to the Revolution because their own land was at stake. "Beware of the White Generals who will bring back the noble landlord", was a slogan powerful enough to arouse the villager and keep him at the front in

the most crucial moments. Yet, while he was ready to defend the agrarian achievements of the October Revolution with all his might, he was not altogether ready to follow the leadership of the industrial proletariat in the direction of communist economy.

Changes Required in Agrarian Policy

It must be stated that in the first three years of the Revolution the agrarian policy of the Soviet Government had not assumed a definite shape. On the one hand, the *Sovokhozy* (Government farms), similar in management and aims to the State owned industrial establishments, were greatly encouraged; on the other hand, the Government was now proclaiming its readiness to support the "middle" peasant, as distinct from both the village proletariat and the remnants of the village bourgeoisie. Neither was there a clear-cut policy in the practice of collecting foodstuffs from the village population. It was recognized that the peasant was a worker for the State, obliged to yield to the Republic all the produce of his labor above a necessary minimum of subsistence. Still, the richer agricultural districts remained in possession of foodstuffs far above their immediate need, whereas the peasants of the poor soil regions were left with hardly enough to maintain a meager existence.

This policy of haphazard assessment and still more haphazard levying of food duties in the rural districts displeased the peasantry in various districts, and sometimes led to actual clashes between the village and the food administration. The peasant sentiment was clearly voiced at a conference of the representatives of Uyezd, Volost and village Soviets, called in Moscow for October 15, 1920, at which the writer of these lines was present. This conference, consisting of nearly three thousand peasant representatives, made a profound impression in Soviet circles, showing that there was no actual peace in the village. "We want to know what we are expected to do, we want our duties defined. We know that, from the communist standpoint, we are petty bourgeois, yet we are the backbone of Russia and only from us can the Social Revolution derive its strength and resisting power." It was plainly evident that something had to be done to improve relationship between village and town. More imperative, perhaps, than this political task was the *necessity of increasing the agricultural output*. Keen as was the desire of the peasants to defend their land against the Whites, eager as they were to cooperate with the Soviet Government in a time of national crisis, they could not be induced, individually or collec-

tively, to increase the productivity of the land, of which all the surplus, they knew, would be requisitioned by the State. The outcome, inevitable under such conditions, was a decrease both of the area of arable land and of the crop per acre, notwithstanding the unusually good crops of 1918 and 1919. The low yield of the fields in 1920 was a warning to the Soviet administration. Something had to be done to increase the production of food.

The Eighth Congress of Soviets

The problem of industrial reconstruction and the problem of the land loomed up before the Eighth All-Russian Congress of the Soviets, which convened before the end of December. The Congress, however, did not relinquish the Government monopoly on production and distribution, and in general it was very cautious in dealing with vital problems. It emphasized, however, the necessity of a political and economic demobilization, which meant an increase of the power of the local Soviets and more independence for the Soviets in conducting industrial work. In the agricultural field, the Congress introduced the planting committees (*Posevkomy*), composed of peasants and representatives of the administration—to see to it that the output of the land in 1921 should be larger.

That these palliatives did not satisfy the crying need of the country for vigorous steps towards reconstruction, was evident from the discussion on *the role of the labor unions in industrial management*, which between December, 1920, and March, 1921, occupied the foreground of Russian thought and at one time seemed even to threaten the Communist Party with disruption. Several elements combined to make this discussion both timely and urgent. In the first place, the *Spetz*—the bourgeois specialist, the intellectual administrator,—had become too dominant a figure in industrial management, and by his lack of sympathy for the Soviet system and lack of responsibility for the progress of the new economic policies, seemed to be largely instrumental in creating the tangle of red tape which threatened to cripple the Russian industrial system. Animosity between the rank and file of labor on the one hand, and the *Spetz* on the other, had become quite acute. Dissatisfaction felt by the rank and file with the policy of the labor unions, which were looked upon as an integral part of the administration, and with the imposition of strenuous working conditions upon labor, was also manifest here and there. The food shortage, the diminished vitality of the workers, the craving for immediate improvement of living conditions after the cessation of hostilities, increased the general unrest. The paramount issue, however, was the problem of *straightening out the machinery of production* and setting the wheels of the Russian industrial system running.

Labor Union Primacy Suggested

It was this state of affairs which dictated to one group of Communists, headed by Trotsky, the idea

of labor unions taking over the management of industries and thus eliminating both the *Spetz* and the red tape. "To make the labor unions the sole factor in the management of industrial affairs", was the underlying principle of this group, which it was ready to defend at the March Convention of the Communist Party. Opposed to it was the current headed by Lenin, which considered the time inopportune for rash experiments and would have the labor unions gradually acquire the necessary experience and knowledge, in order that they might become, perhaps in the remote future, the real owners and masters of their respective industries. In the March, 1921, Convention of the Communist Party, the Trotsky faction was defeated by an overwhelming majority and took its defeat with stoic resignation. The convention was not ready to recommend new experiments at a time when all the power of the country needed to be used for immediate improvement of the economic conditions.

While the Communist Convention was "conservative" in its handling of the problem of the labor unions, it showed unusual determination in inaugurating what has since been known as *the new economic policy of the Soviets*. In the first place, it introduced the agrarian "tax in kind". The peasants were thus assured that each year only a certain fixed percentage of their crops would be taken in the form of taxes, and the rest left for the producer to dispose of in the open market in exchange for other commodities. This one measure necessitated the *abolition of the State monopoly on internal commerce*. Trade in the open market was declared free, and exchange between village and town was henceforward to be carried on both by private individuals and, preferably, by cooperative organizations.

Similarly, private initiative in the industrial field was promised an opportunity by the convention. A survey of the economic situation of Russia showed a lamentable decrease of industrial output. The amount of coal produced in 1920 was 20 per cent, the output of oil 41 per cent, of that of 1913. The output of peat and wood increased, but could hardly fill the gap created by the diminution of the output of oil and coal. Still worse results were manifest in the output of metals. Here, the production of 1920 amounted to hardly more than 5 per cent of the output of 1913. The production of agricultural implements varied in 1920 between 1½ per cent and 17 per cent of the pre-war output, the construction of machines for the railroad system and for military purposes was a little over 25 per cent of the pre-war level. The textile industries showed an output of between 4 and 6 per cent, and only the production of linen amounted to 25 per cent of the pre-war production. The production of rubber was something like 20 per cent, that of paper 21 per cent to 22 per cent, sugar 6 per cent, tobacco 28 per cent to 37 per cent, printing products 15 per cent, joinery 15 per cent, salt 15 per cent, and so on.

Kronstadt Delays the Convention

It is characteristic of the Russian political morale, that *one third* of the delegates to the Communist Convention, picked men of the new Russian intelligentsia, each an important functionary in local or national affairs, went to Kronstadt to defend the Revolution. The Kronstadt upheaval was soon quelled, the future was secure. Yet, it was quite evident that decisive steps had to be taken to increase the productivity of the Russian factories and plants. A series of decrees inaugurating the new economic policy was soon issued by the government. Private production was introduced, the *Kustar*—small producer of the artisan type—was allowed to work for the open market. The co-operatives were given free hand to run and own industrial establishments. Larger factories were to be leased to private business men, to be operated on the basis of private enterprise.

This set of measures was a strong contradiction to the policy hitherto pursued by the Soviet administration. It looked like an abolition of the principles cherished by the Revolution in the course of three years.

Special Conference Called

An unusually heated discussion followed throughout the country. Many were shocked, many were in despair. The controversy was so passionate that two months after the March Convention, the calling of a special conference became necessary. This latter clearly showed that the large masses of the supporters of the present system, Soviet functionaries, leaders of labor unions, representatives of the Red Army, Communist workers, had grown to realize the pressing need of the new policy. A resolution adopted by the conference confirming all the decrees that had been issued between March and May, has the following wording:

1. The fundamental political task of the present moment consists in a complete assimilation and a punctual execution by the Party and Soviet workers of the new economic policy, *which is to be established for a long period to come*. This policy is to be pursued with absolute firmness and good faith.

2. The fundamental lever is recognized to be *the exchange of goods*, which can be realized and partly stimulated by increased planting and the improvement of agriculture.

3. The transfer by the Provisions Commissariat of its stocks of tradable goods to the cooperative organizations is recognized as correct, since it enables those organizations to provide for the necessary supplies.

4. Aid to small and medium-sized enterprises should be given; if necessary, they may be leased.

5. The production programs of the large industries should be revised and corrected in the direction of increasing the output of staple goods and commodities necessary for the peasants.

6. The development of the system of bonuses in kind for the workers, the introduction of the principle of individual and collective participation of the workers in their output, the increase of punitive measures for waste or irrational use of labor, is approved.

7. The apparatus of the Provisions Commissariat is to be maintained and reinforced in order to enable it quickly and thoroughly to collect the agricultural tax.

8. The urgent task of the present year is considered to

be the collection, in the form of the tax in kind, and through exchange, of four hundred million poods of grain.

Economic Conferences

The Communist Convention was not the only one to consent to the new economic policy. All the following gatherings, conventions, and conferences gave their approval to the new system. The Congress of the Councils of National Economy, the special convention on the Tax in Kind, the National Convention of the Labor Unions, gave their unanimous endorsement to these fundamental changes.

The general sentiment was vigorously expressed by Rykov, the former President of the Supreme Council of National Economy, at the Economic Convention. "There are many among us," he said, "who look upon the new tax in kind, which is to take the place of the former assessment, as an exclusively political measure, as a pact between the proletariat and the petty owners, the petty bourgeois element. It seems to me that the roots of the change in our food supply system lie much deeper. In the course of four years we were in a position to observe the progressive decrease of the planted area, the decrease of crops per acre, and an almost total disappearance of some plants most precious for industry, for national economy, and for export, such as flax, hemp, oil seeds, etc. The reason is that under the conditions of food requisitions, under the former assessment methods, the small owners were not interested in enlarging their farms. This made the shrinking of the peasant economy inevitable. Radical measures were necessary in order to cure this evil. A way out was found in the substitution of a tax in kind, for the former assessment methods. The tax in kind means extracting from the peasant only a part, possibly a very small part, of his products, to go to the State, and a free hand to do with the rest as with bourgeois property, which he may dispose of according to his wish. This means a reestablishment of the institution of petty ownership in the bourgeois sense of the word, and it inevitably leads to the development of the rural bourgeoisie on the economic basis."

Denationalizing Industry

As to the question of denationalizing industry, Rykov said: "If any factory can be run by a private owner, whereas under our management it *does* not run—it would be a crime not to give it over to the private owner, when we are not in a position to put it into operation. The fundamental task consists in solving the commodity crisis as quickly as possible, and at any price. . . . There is no rule, custom, law or decree which should not be annulled if, as a result, we shall receive better commodities, a larger amount of commodities, if competition means improvement, then introduce exchange with the village and let us develop our industries. Up to the present we have been suppressing everything. Now it is the time for us to study carefully the local customs and

habits, and to individualize our work. The abolition of our former methods, and the greater flexibility, in accordance with the new conditions, are imperative, if we wish to gain by our new policy. The Soviet Government has taken into account the colossal changes in the social environment in which we live, the mood of the masses of peasants and small producers, and a whole series of economic factors. This change in the economic environment and in the general domestic and international conditions dictated the change in our economic policy.

Has Communism Been Abolished?

The series of measures introduced in April, May and June, forming in their totality the new economic policy of the Soviets, has aroused an enormous volume of discussion both in Russia and abroad. It is very significant to note that those who saw in them a renunciation of all the basic ideas of the Soviet system and an unconditional surrender to capitalism, were the sharpest opponents of the Soviet system, who had criticized it for forcing communism on Russia, which, in their opinion, was not ripe for experiments of this nature. One would have been inclined to think that the new set of measures would meet the approval of all these elements. If, however, they preferred to continue their venomous attacks on the Soviet system, and even increased their campaign of misrepresentation, it was obvious that there still remained in Russia a number of potent factors which were unacceptable to the Capitalist world. Indeed, within the ranks of the active Russian workers, who were fully alive to the demands of the moment, there was no marked consternation over the inaugurated concessions.

It may be well to quote an excerpt from an address delivered by Lenin at the Communist Conference in Moscow. With the sober vision and practical good sense that characterize all his utterances, he admitted that the new policy was a concession to the spirit of small ownership within Russia; he did not, however, consider the principles of the Revolution abandoned. The fight, in his opinion, was transferred from the political field into the realm of economic reconstruction. "Russia," he said, "is now attracting the attention of the workers of all countries, without exception. This is no exaggeration. This is one positive result of the revolution. The capitalists will not be able to pass it by in silence. Therefore, they try to point at its economic errors and weakness. Here is where the fight now rages on a world-wide scale. If we solve this problem of economic reconstruction, we shall have won a world battle, decisively and completely. This is why the problems of economic reconstruction acquire an exceptional significance for us. We must win the fight on this front by slow and gradual but inflexible rise and progress."

In the opinion of the leaders of Soviet Russia, the new economic policy is only a series of temporary concessions — temporary from a historic

viewpoint—though they may last a number of years, made in order to lead the country out of the present economic chaos without giving up the main force which will be able in the course of time to steer Russia toward a complete abolition of private ownership and private gain. What remains in the hands of the nation are the largest and best equipped factories, the basic establishments of the key industries, the transportation system, and foreign trade. The Government remains the supreme power in the economic realm, directing all economic activities, stimulating those which are least dangerous for the social welfare of the masses, and checking those which may become a menace to the existing system. What is most significant in all the startling changes is the fact that the political system has remained almost intact. The proletariat, headed by the Communist Party, is still in control of all the affairs of the State. The peasantry, having realized its major demand, is not likely to strive for political domination in the near future.

True, it is conceded by the Russian authorities that a new battle-front is developing within the country—the battle front of the Soviet system against the new forces of private gain. The future may witness two camps: one composed of the proletariat and the more revolutionary portion of the peasants; the other embracing the peasant bourgeoisie, the industrial bourgeoisie, the foreign capitalists who will receive concessions in Russia, and a part of the intelligentsia, which will align itself with the bourgeois forces. The Russian leaders are fully aware of the gravity of this future struggle. They place their hopes, however, in the organized activities of the proletariat, which will increase in number and vitality as the economic system will improve, and in the cooperative organizations which may compete successfully with private enterprise and become one of the great aids to labor on its internal front. The future may witness a curious condition of affairs, in which a labor-controlled State will allow capitalism to develop with the avowed purpose of putting it out of operation as soon as the economic organism has reached a healthier state.

The Cooperative Organization

The most active factors in the situation at present seem to be the cooperative organizations on the one hand, the small producer and trader on the other. Reports reaching this country show a remarkable growth of the cooperative organizations, whose progress may be partly due to the fact that they had only been dormant in 1919 and 1920, their apparatus remaining in existence even in the times of the most rigorous State trade monopoly.

The cooperative organizations of consumers, notably workmen's cooperatives, are doing a large volume of business. Cooperative organizations of small independent producers, as well as cooperatives of peasants, both for the sale of products and for the buying of manufactured articles,

also show rapid development. All the activities of the cooperatives are directed by the Central Bureau of the Cooperatives in Moscow. Plants are being leased both to cooperatives and private business men. In the latter case, the typical stipulations are: Government control of production and labor conditions; a short term lease, not exceeding ten years; a tax for the Government amounting to 4 to 10 per cent of the gross income of the enterprise. The lessees are obliged to increase the production of the enterprise to a certain point and to comply with all rules and regulations.

As to the plants that remain in the hands of the Government, they are now operated on a totally new basis. The Supreme Council of National Economy remains the head of all the Government-owned industries. However, the local plants receive a large measure of independence. Individual plants are being pooled together into groups or "trusts" under responsible management, which is to conduct their operations on a strictly business basis. Preliminary control by the central economic bodies has been abolished. Raw materials, fuel and other supplies are to be independently acquired by the enterprises or groups of enterprises through their own agencies, both at home and abroad. The output must cover all the expenses and leave for the Government a margin of profit. It is supposed that the State-owned large enterprises with good machinery and good equipment, enjoying, moreover, the support of the Government, will be in a position to compete successfully with private enterprise, either of a medium or small size.

Transportation and Famine

The process of reorganizing the Government-owned industries is now in full swing. All activities, however, are greatly impeded by the impoverishment of the country, by the lack of the most elementary necessities, and mainly, by the deterioration of the transportation system. The crisis has become more acute through the famine in the Volga districts. Relief, however, is coming through foreign trade, which is increasing in volume month by month. Thus, the volume of imports amounted in January, 1921, to 737,000 poods; in February, 1,632,000; in March, 2,024,000; in April, 2,114,000; in May, 2,840,000; in July, 5,434,000; while the total imports for 1920 amounted only to a little over 5 million poods.

Petrograd has become one of the main ports of entry; quantities of goods are coming in also through Reval, Riga, and Odessa. Russia imports rails, locomotives, coal, agricultural implements, chemicals, and foodstuffs. Its exports consist of hemp, flax, lumber, hides, tobacco.

Socialism in Russia?

It is significant to note that the Russian administration seems to be much more concerned with straightening out the economic tangle, with increasing the productivity of its industrial establishments, with improving the conditions of life,

than with the *name* that might be given to the prevailing economic system or with the possible disappointment of many who saw the realization of Socialism in Russia near at hand. The country as a whole has not lost faith in the regeneration of Russia. Its faith has not been shaken even by the terrible new calamity of the famine. In this connection it must be stated that in spite of its extent and in spite of the sufferings it inflicts on millions, the famine has not shaken the existing system. "Hunger is no less a danger than war" was the slogan, and all the feverish activities, all the self-sacrifice, all the sentiment of generosity which mark a country at war against foreign invasion, was thrown to the famine front.

Fighting the Famine

The first task was to collect the grain tax from those provinces which suffered less from the drought. The second task was to distribute the grain among the famine-stricken peasants, so as to enable them to sow their fields. The third task, to take care of those who were running away blindly from their villages and provinces in quest of food. With almost superhuman effort, all these tasks have been accomplished as far as that is possible among the ruins of the Russian economic life. Thousands of workers were thrown into the famine districts to stop the disorderly flight, to return the able-bodied villagers to their homes, in order that they might not lose an opportunity to plant their fields, to remove the children, the sick and the invalids from the hunger areas into safer districts, and in general to bring relief and comfort to stricken millions. Thousands of other workers were sent out to supervise and facilitate the collection of the grain tax. Repair work on the transportation system was hurriedly resumed in order to hasten the delivery of grain, both domestic and imported, to the famine districts.

Early in September the Government felt it could proclaim its first success on the famine front. By that time, ten million poods of seed grain had been delivered in the hunger districts. The amount is pitifully small, the sufferings of the rest of the population are intense. Yet, there is hope that, with the foreign aid coming in, the famine will be conquered.

Striking a Balance

If, at the end of the fourth year of Soviet rule, we ask what Russia has lost and what it has gained in these four years of unparalleled struggle, the mere enumeration of the various facts would require a special essay. We can here point out only the most significant aspects. Russia has secured her frontiers against enemy invasion from without, her internal peace against counter-revolution from within. Russia has created a political system—that of the Soviets—combining the forces of the peasantry and the industrial workers under the spiritual guidance and political hegemony of the working-class. Russia has created a totally new administration, recruited, in its overwhelming

majority, from the ranks of labor. Russia has created a new army on the basis of a new discipline and imbued with a revolutionary spirit. Russia has called forth a new intelligentsia from the masses, largely replacing the old intelligentsia of the bourgeoisie. Russia has created a network of cultural institutions destined to mould the masses into an enlightened participation in the workers' state. Russia has offered powerful resistance to assaults from all sides and even to elemental disasters of the most horrifying nature. Russia has developed the political understanding of the masses to a degree that makes all efforts at counter-revolution appear futile. Russia has attempted to do away with private property and in a large measure has succeeded.

For these accomplishments Russia has paid with a ruined industrial system, with years of war under the most trying conditions, with diminished vitality of the population, with numerous epidemics, with this year's famine. Idle speculators or embittered enemies may sit in judgment over the revolution and declare that the game was not worth the candle. Surely, those most concerned, the enlightened Russian masses, are not inclined to regret the revolution. Whatever other complaints the present writer may have heard among the Russian workers and peasants, he never heard them complaining over the fact of the October Revolution. They knew why they had made the Revolution, and they were ready to take the consequences.

Transition from War to Peace

The fourth year of the Soviet revolution will go down into history as the year of transition from a war to a peace footing. The nation settles down for the peaceful pursuit of life. Periods of transition are painful even in countries with greater economic power. In Russia, every adaptation is made more harrowing by the exhaustion of the economic reserves and by the fierce civil war that ravaged the country for years. If adaptation to changed conditions be considered progress, then the change in the economic policy, the most significant event of this year, must be set to the credit of the revolution. The fourth year saw the disappearance of many phenomena connected with the conduct of war, chief among which was extreme centralization, political and economic, a wasteful spending of national energy, and a one-sided concentration of activities to the neglect of many others. The second half of this year, notwithstanding the famine, has witnessed a broadening of national activities, a freeing of energy, a stimulation of initiative, a linking together of the various parts of the country in the exchange of goods. It has once more shown the ability of the Soviet administration to cope with a national crisis, and, above all, it has shown the ability of the system, commonly considered to be in the grip of dogmatists and dreamers, to yield to the demands of time and to adapt itself to changed conditions without a change in the personnel of the administration and without renouncing the ultimate goal.

For Russia

By MARTIN ANDERSEN NEXÖ

The author of "Pelle, the Conqueror" and numerous striking short stories of Danish life, himself a member of the Danish Communist Party, is one of the most prominent defenders of Soviet Russia in his native country. His works, however, enjoy a vogue far beyond the boundaries of Denmark. From a German newspaper we reprint the following appeal for help for the famished in Soviet Russia. The author, at present a sick man, is living at Meersburg, on Lake Constance.

ONE fine morning, a number of years ago, I was walking along the street in the direction of the northwestern part of the city (Copenhagen) and observed that a poor old woman, apparently a widow, to judge from her costume, was walking in the same direction. With her were two little girls—about eight and ten, respectively—all three probably on their way to some day's job at cleaning up. It was one of the many "Days". I do not know what "Day" it was; just before the Churchyard of the Redeemer we were accosted by the first rattling contribution-box. I asked the purpose of the collection. "For the children who no longer have a father" was the answer of the little solicitor.

"My God, it is for the needy!" the poor woman said, reaching for her purse, with a trembling hand. "Here is something for you, and something from all my other children at home, ten öre* from each!" And then she put seven ten-öre coins into

the box. One for herself, and one for each of her fatherless little ones—there must have been seven persons living in this unprovided nest—they surely had a right to speak of poverty! And all three were radiant with joy when the poor woman put in her coins, without thinking, for the moment, that she also belonged to those for whom a collection should have been taken up.

This little experience gave me a new conception of the nature of the proletarian, for it pointed out to me one of his remarkable properties: his delight in giving. Whenever I attended places where collections were being taken up for striking workers, to help them in their wage struggle, even where those without employment were collecting money for others without employment, I could not help thinking again of the poor widow and her six fatherless little ones.

*10 öre=2.7 cents.

What I relate here is, of course, nothing new. It is an open secret that charity gifts in this country come chiefly from poor people. But it gives you confidence and strength to learn that the heart does not contract together with the purse, and that those who possess least are nevertheless the ones who have most left over for others. The poor man does not think with a narrow heart; otherwise he would long ago have learned from the more prudent classes of society, and decided that it is of course not possible to think of helping others as long as one is oneself unprovided. But the heart has a wisdom of its own in spite of the bourgeois reasoning. And this wisdom is the possession of the poor! This is the wisdom of the heart—that it gives to each the right of jeopardizing his own existence.

The world war has not left us with much kindness and humanity, and therefore it is a pleasure to see people who have not yet learned to calculate and who are, therefore, still ready, as much as before, to sacrifice something. And even if the proletarian should some day have learnt to calculate as others do, he will still have left something that he can put at stake when demands are made on him—namely, his bare life!

The joy of giving is a blessed property for him that gives, as well as for him that receives; and the disinherited possesses this quality. This summer a number of neglected Copenhagen children, during their vacation, obtained shelter in a home for unemployed—among people who were rich only in the generosity of their hearts. I recall a meeting with a Copenhagen boy who had by stealth succeeded in escaping from a home of this kind in order not to be a burden on others. "Did not they give you enough to eat there?" he was asked. "Yes, indeed, but I did not want to take away food from the others," he said, "for then they would have had nothing left."

When our proletarians are carried away by their hearts, we must consider this a good sign of the new times! Who does not remember the case of the children of Vienna? With few exceptions they were children of the upper classes, chosen in part from very wealthy families, children who were given a comfortable and cheap trip abroad while distress prevailed in Austria. Many families of workers, who had great difficulty in getting along themselves, had given signed statements of their readiness to receive a hungry child, and were now treated to the spectacle of a chubby, healthy little one foisted upon them—some handsome spoiled gentleman or miss, who was irritated by the impoverished surroundings and was very difficult to satisfy. "It was a little misunderstanding," said a worker to whom the son of a high Forestry official was assigned, a red cheeked little fellow who had spent all his young life in the country under the most favorable circumstances. "But, my Lord, now that we have him, we must manage to fit our cloth to the situation and make him as comfortable as we can."

Proletarians who think so magnanimously cer-

tainly do not need any special admonition with regard to the terrible catastrophe in Russia! We must assume without question that all the workers have long ago made up their minds to help and are merely waiting for the organizations in question to begin their work.

The cry is now being carried all over the world: "Help suffering Russia!" But this cry is surely not meant with equal earnestness in all quarters. The proletarian should be clear on this point and should take things in his own hands. If to-morrow there should be a movement to provide shelter for Russian children, it is certain that not many homes of the upper classes would open their doors to receive the children of Soviet Russia! We should then behold the reverse of the tale of the Vienna children! When the German and Austrian children were provided with homes in Switzerland and Scandinavia there was systematic discrimination against the children of communists. The workers will do well to remember this "economical tendency" of the bourgeoisie, not in order to imitate it, but in order that they may understand the situation clearly. They will thus save themselves great disillusionment.

He who has property has a fatherland everywhere. But the poor man in this parsimonious and "economical" world has no home anywhere. He has always been like the parish sheep: anyone might shear him and the more frequently the shearing took place, the more wool there has been, and all the world has adapted itself to his remarkable productivity.

Not until 1917—when the Russian revolution opened—did the poor man also obtain the possibility of receiving citizen's rights in the world. To be sure, there were many who, like myself, having long felt the liberation of the disinherited to be close to their hearts, eagerly watched the new lines of development leading into a new social order that was developing out of the chaos in Russia; the proletarian had been fooled so often that we hardly felt that there was a chance even this time. But when I saw that the very first measures were not taken to favor one privileged class or another, but to benefit the war invalids (while in reborn Germany they may sit in the gutters and beg), and that the next measures were taken in the interest of the children, I became glad of heart and felt confident in the future. Such acts are not those of a government that intends to deceive the masses, here we have a real beginning of fraternity of mankind, of peace, of true democracy!

Under these circumstances it matters very little what technical or human failings may be ascribed to the men of new Russia. We know what it is they are pursuing. Their will to undertake reforms is already expressing itself in lines of imperishable straightness. Even if the most frightful thing should happen; even if Soviet Russia should be crushed by superior numbers of the enemy, even under this new catastrophe, the soul of the

people can never forget that for one hour at least they had a vision of the promised land beyond the horizon! The land of the invalids, of the widows, of the orphans! The fatherland of the proletarian! But God forbid that Russia should go down!

In Russia the generosity and magnanimity of the proletarian has been developed to the highest point. Here we are witnessing a trial of the possibility of bringing about a realization of the century-long dream of a world in which all shall prosper. Is it to be marveled at that the Russian proletarian should have begun by turning his attention to the children, while in the old world it is the children that have most to suffer? Almost all those who have any reports to make on Soviet Russia, whether they be bourgeois or revolutionists, are full of praise for the care which the Russian administration gives to the children. I have before me a report of an American Quaker Commission that was sent to Europe to investigate the conditions of health of European children after the war. The report points out that the Russian children are the healthiest and best nourished in the world and that the Russian worker finds no sacrifice too great when called upon to provide education and care for the children. All this is now threatened with destruction. For the present the only country in which the proletarian has obtained the rights of a man and a citizen is

threatened by a natural calamity with moral danger, after having held itself above water for so long a period against the whole world of concealed, as well as open and outright enemies. For the Russian proletarian there is only one possibility of salvation, which simultaneously will be the salvation of the whole world proletariat! And I need not tell you what it is. The working class must open its hearts and hands. The widows and orphans, the jobless as well as those who are working, in short, the whole proletariat—all those who have a heart—must offer up their mite, since it is a question now of saving our brothers, whose hearts have been beating for us all! And let no man think that his little contribution will be of no avail in this mighty catastrophe. If all the organized workers will give up one day's work for their Russian brothers, Russia will be the gainer thereby. And if all the poor of the whole world should give up only a widow's mite, how great the sum of their gifts would be!

Workers! The world is in your hands! The world will stand or fall with you! For centuries you have willingly permitted yourselves to be shorn! Now you are fighting for your own cause! Your own future! Your children, your dreams of centuries will die a death by hunger, if you do not help!

Forward with heart and hand! Create work, life, and blessings by your assistance!

The Present Situation

By NIKOLAI LENIN

In order to understand the internal political position of our Republic it is first of all necessary to deal with the relations of classes. The task of socialism is to abolish classes. Exploiters in the first place consist of large landowners and capitalists. In this case the work of abolition is easy and may be carried out within several months, if not within several weeks. We expropriated our landlords and capitalists completely. They had no organization during the war, and were simply vassals to the militant forces and the international bourgeoisie. Now that we have repelled the military attacks of the international counter-revolution, organizations of the Russian bourgeoisie have been formed by all Russian counter-revolutionary parties. All these parties from the landlords to the Mensheviks have their connections with the bourgeoisie in all countries, from whom they receive money for their press, and we have abroad a "free" press representing everything, from socialist-revolutionists and mensheviks, right down to the most avowed reactionaries. All this shows that the consciousness and the instinct of the dominating classes are still higher than that of the enslaved classes, although in this respect the Russian Revolution has done more than any other revolution. It will be very instructive for our foreign comrades

to observe the manoeuvres of the Russian counter-revolution. In some respects we can learn from our enemies. These counter-revolutionary *emigres* are bold, well organized, have good strategists, and therefore, to observe how they organize would be of great propagandist importance for the working class.

Besides this class of exploiters, there exists in every country, with the exception, perhaps, of England, a class of small producers and small peasantry. One of the greatest questions of the revolution is the struggle against these two classes. In order to emancipate ourselves from these two classes, we must apply other methods than those which we applied to capitalists and landlords. In this case we cannot simply expropriate them. The significance of the period into which we, in Russia, are entering, from the international point of view, and regarding the revolution as a single process, consists in this—that we are confronted with the practical question of solving the relations of the proletariat to the last capitalist class. For Marxists the solution of this question theoretically is easy, but theory is one thing and practice is another.

For the first time in history there is a Soviet State in which there are only two classes, the proletariat and the peasantry. The latter represents

the great majority of the population and is very backward. The question is: who is to lead this peasantry—the proletariat or the bourgeoisie? How did we approach the question? We concluded an alliance with the peasantry. The proletariat will emancipate the peasantry from the exploitation and influence of the bourgeoisie. The peasantry will unite with the proletariat for the purpose of jointly conquering the exploiter. The Mensheviks say: 'We are pure democrats; the peasants are in the majority, and the majority must decide.' But as the peasantry is not independent this leads practically to the revival of capitalism.

When we speak of an alliance, we infer, of course, the consolidation of the proletariat. The first step was towards military unity. The struggle against the exploiters and the land owners was easily understood by the peasantry. The peasants were on our side, and our propaganda easily affected them in spite of their colossal ignorance. This proves that the masses at large are more easily educated by practical means than by books. This practical education of the peasants was conducted over a tremendous area of Russia with the result that some portions were more fully developed than others. In Siberia and the Ukraine, the counter-revolution was temporarily successful, because the peasants supported the bourgeoisie. But it only required a short interval to show the peasants the real state of things.

They learnt by experience that the Constituent Assembly was followed by the white guard, who in turn was superseded by the landowner. The Mensheviks also benefit by this alliance, but they do not recognize that a single alliance is not sufficient. A military alliance is impossible without its economic counterpart, and without its economic unity we could never have beaten the bourgeoisie. Of course this economic unity was very simple, the peasant was given land, which we defended against the landowner for him on the condition that he gave us food. This alliance was somewhat original, and different to the usual relationships between producer and consumer. Our peasants grasped the situation quicker than our heroes of the two-and-a-half International. This alliance was, of course, primitive and it resulted in many mistakes; but we had to act quickly, we had to organize our food supply. The civil war, meanwhile, cut us off from the granaries of Russia.

Our position was terrible, and it was miraculous how the Russian working class managed to survive in order to reach victory.

The New Policy Towards the Peasants

After the civil war our problem, however, changed. The peasants became independent; we had to take steps to show them that we were prepared to change our policy radically; and we had to show every single peasant that the Bolsheviks wished to alleviate his intolerable condition at any price. Hence we changed our economic policy; we have replaced the requisitions by a food tax.

We always said that revolution demands many sacrifices. A revolution differs from an ordinary fight, because it embraces many hundred times more people, and demands sacrifices not from a single person or even a single party, but from an entire class. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat demands more sacrifice from the proletariat than has been demanded from any other class in any historic movement. Our industrial policy became more and more fruitful each year, and undoubtedly, as the situation improved, the Russian peasant gained far more from the revolution than the working class. This is absolutely unquestionable. Theoretically, of course, this means that up to a certain period our revolution was bourgeois. Undoubtedly, it would have been a bourgeois and not a social revolution, if the land had not been expropriated and divided. But we were the only party which led the bourgeois revolution to its logical conclusion, and this made the social revolution much easier. The Soviet system which we created is the organ of a Socialist State.

The improvement in the peasants' status, as has oft been repeated, was made at the expense of the working class, resulting from the fact that the Dictatorship was primarily in the hands of the workers. Without this improvement we could not have managed to exist. And now that the peasant is somewhat worse off, it is our duty to go to his aid. This means further sacrifice for the workers, but in the interests of the workers' Dictatorship it is essential that all our energy be exerted in helping the peasant at any cost. Some of our more advanced workers have not grasped this. They are too exhausted.

They regard it as an opportunistic step, a mistake. They say the peasant is our exploiter, he receives all his heart desires whilst the worker starves. Is this not opportunism, they say? But without an alliance with the peasant the political power of the proletariat is untenable. The only way we could approach the peasant was by the change to a food tax. Practically it has not been fully tried, but theoretically this is the only possible way of approaching the economy of a Socialist Society, wherein the small peasant forms the majority.

It is true that the food tax means free trade. Free trade signifies freedom to capitalism. We say this quite frankly. But this is a new form of capitalism—State Capitalism.

State Capitalism in a Capitalist Society, and State Capitalism in a Proletarian Society are two entirely different things. In the first case, it means that Capitalism is recognized and controlled by the State, in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and against the proletariat. In the second case, it is promoted in the interests of the proletariat. With this the question of concessions crops up. It is regarded with suspicion by some sections of the working class. Have we chased our capitalists out—they ask—in order to invite new ones? But in spite of this, its economy is easy to explain to the

working class. The seven years' war nearly ruined us. The recovery of our industry will take several years. We have now to pay for our backwardness and weakness, because, when we wish to learn we have to pay. At the same time we exist in the midst of capitalist States. We are alone, just now, and until the revolution in highly developed industrial countries has freed us from this we are compelled to pay toll to international capitalism. We will thus win time, and this means winning everything!

Electrification

At the same time we must not forget that the only foundation of our economic policy is the large engineering industry. He who forgets this is not a Communist. We have not only to do this in theory, but we have to set ourselves down to practical problems.

Modern large industry implies the electrification of the country. Sweden, Germany, America, have accomplished this while still under the capitalist regime. We have formed a special commission for that purpose, composed of the best economists and technical forces of our country. We have already worked out the plan of electrification. More than 200 specialists took part in that work. In spite of the fact that nearly all of them were against the Soviet Regime, they nevertheless became interested in the work, having to admit from the point of view of science that it was the only way to enable the country to emerge from the economic crisis, and to save the peasantry from want and starvation. To accomplish this plan is not so simple; it requires no less than ten years for its initial work to be carried out. In comparison with Western European countries, what we have managed to do in that direction is insignificant, but the peasant is learning from even that meagre measure. He can see that something is being achieved, where everyone is not working for himself but where the whole State is working. There is no need to regret that we shall have to pay the capitalists hundreds of millions of kilograms of oil, for their help to electrify our country.

In conclusion, let me say a few words on "pure democracy." As far back as 1884 Engels wrote that the united reaction, not only of the Bourgeoisie, but also of the 'feudal element,' was grouping round 'pure democracy.' To analyze the Russian social-revolutionists and the mensheviks, not according to their words, but according to their deeds, they represent a purely petty-bourgeois democracy.

The wiser leaders of the Russian bourgeoisie who have now adopted the slogan 'Soviets without Bolsheviks,' present an extremely original spectacle of defence of the Soviet Power by Cadets, against the social-revolutionists. Such is the practical dialectic of our Revolution. The Cadets are defending the 'Soviets without Bolsheviks,' because they fully realize that the social-revolutionists and the mensheviks are the people whom they must now aid

in the struggle against us, because they hope to establish their rule on the backs of the social-revolutionists and the mensheviks. A dictatorship is a state of acute war, and we are now in such a state. If at the present moment, there is no armed bourgeois expedition against us, it is due to the fact that the broad masses of the working class although not yet under the banner of Communism, nevertheless have advanced so far that they would not permit further intervention. While at war we act in a martial fashion. We do not promise freedom, nor democracy, we do not tell the peasant that he can choose between us. We are ready within limits to grant them concessions, so as to retain power in our hands, and thus lead them to Socialism or to open civil war. All the rest is nonsense, the purest demagoguery.

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November Seventh

By ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

The following account of the historic meeting of the Congress of Soviets, in Petrograd, November 7, 1917, is taken from the author's new book, "Through the Russian Revolution," published by Boni and Liveright, New York, a review of which appears in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, page 228.

WHILE Petrograd is in a tumult of clashing patrols and contending voices, men from all over Russia come pouring into the city. They are delegates to the Second All-Russian Congress convening at Smolny.

Formerly a school for the daughters of the nobility, Smolny is now the center of the Soviets. It stands on the Neva, a huge, stately structure, cold and grey by day. But by night, glowing with a hundred lamp-lit windows, it looms up like a great temple—a temple of Revolution. The two watch fires before its porticos, tended by long-coated soldiers, flame like altar-fires.

That night I saw a laborer, gaunt, shabbily-clad, plodding down a dark street. Lifting his head suddenly, he saw the massive facade of Smolny, glowing golden through the falling snow. Pulling off his cap, he stood a moment with bared head and outstretched arms. Then crying out "The Commune! The People! The Revolution!" he ran forward and merged with the throng streaming through the gates.

Out of war, exile, dungeons, Siberia, come these delegates to Smolny. For years no news of old comrades. Suddenly, cries of recognition, a rush into one another's arms, a few words, a moment's embrace, then a hastening on to conferences, caucuses, endless meetings.

Smolny is now roaring like a gigantic smithy with orators calling to arms, audiences whistling or stamping, the gavel pounding for order, the sentries grounding arms, machine-guns rumbling across the cement floors, crashing choruses of revolutionary hymns, thundering ovations for Lenin and Zinoviev as they emerge from underground.

At ten-forty on this night of November 7th, opens the historic meeting so big with consequences for the future of Russia and the whole world. Dan, the anti-Bolshevik chairman, ringing the bell for order, declares, "The first session of the Second Congress of Soviets is now open."

First comes the election of the governing body of the congress, the presidium. The Bolsheviks get 14 members. All other parties get 11. The old governing body steps down and the Bolshevik leaders, recently the outcasts and outlaws of Russia, take their places. The Right parties, composed largely of intelligentsia, open with an attack on credentials and orders of the day. Discussion is their forte. They delight in academic issues. They raise fine points of principle and procedure.

Then, suddenly out of the night, a rumbling shock brings the delegates to their feet. It is the boom of cannon, the cruiser Aurora firing over the Winter Palace. Dull and muffled out of the distance it comes with steady, regular rhythm, a

requiem tolling the death of the old order, a salutation to the new. It is the voice of the masses thundering to the delegates the demand for "All Power to the Soviets."

Now comes one of the startling paradoxes of history, and one of its colossal tragedies—the refusal of the intelligentsia. Among the delegates were scores of these intellectuals. They had made the "dark people" the object of their devotion. "Going to the people" was a religion. For them they had suffered poverty, prison and exile. They had stirred the quiescent masses with revolutionary ideas, inciting them to revolt. The character and nobility of the masses had been ceaselessly extolled. In short, the intelligentsia had made a god of the people. Now the people were rising with wrath and thunder of a god, imperious and arbitrary. They were acting like a god.

But the intelligentsia reject a god who will not listen to them and over whom they have lost control. Straightway the intelligentsia became atheists. They disavow all faith in their former god, the people. They deny their right to rebellion.

Like Frankenstein before this monster of their own creation, the intelligentsia quail, trembling with fear, trembling with rage. It is a bastard thing, a devil, a terrible calamity, plunging Russia into chaos, "a criminal rebellion against authority." They hurl themselves against it, storming, cursing, beseeching, raving. As delegates they refuse to recognize this Revolution. They refuse to allow this Congress to declare the Soviets the government of Russia.

So futile! So impotent! They may as well refuse to recognize a tidal wave, or an erupting volcano, as to refuse to recognize this Revolution. This Revolution is elemental, inexorable. It is everywhere, in the barracks, in the trenches, in the factories, in the streets. It is here in this congress, officially, in hundreds of workmen, soldier and peasant delegates, it is here unofficially in the masses crowding every inch of space, climbing up on pillars and windowsills, making the assembly hall white with fog from their close-packed steaming bodies, electric with the intensity of their feelings.

The people are here to see that their revolutionary will is done; that the congress declares the Soviets the government of Russia. On this point they are inflexible. Every attempt to beloud the issue, every effort to paralyze or evade their will evokes blasts of angry protests.

The parties of the Right have long resolutions to offer. The crowd is impatient. "No more resolutions! No more words! We want deeds! We want the Soviet!"

The intelligentsia, as usual, wish to compromise the issue by a coalition of all parties. "Only one coalition possible," is the retort. "The coalition of workers, soldiers and peasants."

Martov calls out for "a peaceful solution of the impending civil war." "Victory! Victory!—the only possible solution," is the answering cry.

The officer Kutchin tries to terrify them with the idea that the Soviets are isolated, and that the whole army is against them. "Liar! Staff!" yell the soldiers. "You speak for the staff—not the men in the trenches. We soldiers demand 'All Power to the Soviets!'"

Their will is steel. No entreaties or threats avail to break or bend it. Nothing can deflect them from their goal.

Finally stung to fury, Abramovich cries out, "We cannot remain here and be responsible for these crimes. We invite all delegates to leave this congress." With a dramatic gesture he steps from the platform and stalks towards the door. About eighty delegates rise from their seats and push their way after him.

"Let them go," cries Trotsky, "let them go! They are just so much refuse that will be swept into the garbage-heap of history."

In a storm of hoots, jeers and taunts of "Renegades! Traitors!" from the proletarians, the intelligentsia pass out of the hall and out of the Revolution. A supreme tragedy! The intelligentsia rejecting the Revolution they had helped to create, deserting the masses in the crisis of their struggle. Supreme folly, too. They do not isolate the Soviets, they only isolate themselves. Behind the Soviets are rolling up solid battalions of support.

Every minute brings news of fresh conquests of the Revolution—the arrest of ministers, the seizure of the State Bank, telegraph station, telephone station, the staff headquarters. One by one the centers of power are passing into the hands of the people. The spectral authority of the old government is crumbling before the hammer strokes of the insurgents.

A commissar, breathless and mud-spattered from riding, climbs the platform to announce: "The garrison of Tsarskoye Selo for the Soviets. It stands guard at the gates of Petrograd." From another: "The Cyclists' Battalion for the Soviets. Not a single man found willing to shed the blood of his brother." Then Krylenko, staggering up, telegram in hand: "Greetings to the Soviet from the Twelfth Army! The Soldiers' Committee is taking over the command of the Northern Front."

And finally at the end of this tumultuous night, out of this strife of tongues and clash of wills, the simple declaration: "*The Provisional Government is deposed. Based upon the will of the great majority of workers, soldiers and peasants, the Congress of Soviets assumes the power. The Soviet authority will at once propose an immediate democratic peace to all nations, an immediate truce on all fronts. It will assure the free transfer of lands. . . . etc.*"

Pandemonium! Men weeping in one another's arms. Couriers jumping up and racing away. Telegraph and telephone buzzing and humming. Autos starting off to the battle-front; aeroplanes speeding away across rivers and plains. Wireless flashing across the seas. All messengers of the great news!

The will of the revolutionary masses has triumphed. The Soviets are the government.

This historic session ends at six o'clock in the morning. The delegates, reeling from the toxin of fatigue, hollow-eyed from sleeplessness, but exultant, stumble down down the stone stairs and through the gates of Smolny. Outside it is still dark and chill, but a red dawn is breaking in the east.

RUSSIAN RED CROSS RECOGNIZED

A Russian Telegraph Agency message of the following text is printed in one of the recent issues of the Russian periodical *Put*, published in Helsingfors.

In Finland, as well as in certain other countries, representatives of the old Russian Red Cross, which was abolished by the Government in the reorganization of the country in 1917, have been attempting to convince themselves and others that they are the only true representatives of the Russian Red Cross.

In truth, any arrogation of rights and duties on the part of the former representatives of the Russian Red Cross is a fraud, pure and simple.

The Decree of the Council of People's Commissars, which recognized the Geneva Convention and formulated the rights of the Russian Red Cross, as well as the adoption of new regulations, corresponding to all the requirements of the International Red Cross, by a congress of representatives of Russian Red Cross organizations in November 1918, now make it possible for the Russian Government to consider the question of having the Russian Red Cross recognized by the International Red Cross Committee.

In connection with the general question of their relation to the Soviet Government, foreign authorities dragged out the negotiations, which have now been going on for nearly three years. Within the last few days they were concluded. The "Soviet Russia" Red Cross has been officially recognized.

This means that the Russian Red Cross organizations formerly existing in foreign countries have been irrevocably disposed of, since the rules provide that there shall not be more than one Red Cross organization, officially recognized by the International Red Cross Committee, in each country. The International Red Cross is now officially and directly in communication with the "Soviet Russian" Red Cross.

The Russian Red Cross organizations of older origin are thus bereft of all rights and privileges and may not be considered in any way as representing the Russian Red Cross Society.

White Terror and Red

By ARTHUR HOLITSCHER

The following is one of the chapters of Arthur Holitscher's book "Drei Monate in Sowjet-Russland", a review of which will be found in another column of this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

I was conducted by a friend through the private apartments of Nicholas the Second in the Petrograd Winter Palace. The corner room on the first story, just opposite the bridge leading over to Vassili Island, was the study of the tsar, or, rather, of the tsars. Nicholas the Second had most completely covered the walls of this room with a number of beautifully framed menu cards. Here you may read from the walls what the tsar ate in the course of his reign, at officers' mess, at regimental banquets, in the imperial and royal palaces at Berlin, Potsdam, Rome, London, and Lisbon. Nicholas the Second seems to have devoted himself with enthusiasm to the joys of the table. In the bathroom, over the tub, hangs a sentimental woman's head with an alluring violet blue gaze.

But the most interesting thing to me about this study was the view from the corner window. On the other side of the Neva, I could see not only the Bourse on Vassili Island, but also, at the eastern end of the Island, the Fortress of Peter and Paul, with its gilt cupola, its barracks, its visible and invisible casemates and dungeons. A breach has been made in the encircling wall of the fortress, facing the Neva immediately opposite the tsar's window, and through this breach you can see a small brown-painted building with a pointed gable. This building is remarkable for the fact that it sheltered in the old days those who made attempts on the life of the tsar and were caught red-handed, as well as those who had taken part in conspiracies and, finally, those who might reasonably be suspected of participating in conspiracies. There they stayed for years, for decades, frequently for the rest of their lives. Once a week the tsar—my friends informed me—was provided with a report on the conduct and condition of those who were incarcerated there. Such things as these: Last Sunday X. tried to smash his skull against the wall, to which he is attached by a chain; he has already recovered. Y. has had an attack of violent insanity and the doctor says that this time it is not a simulated attack. Z. has declared that he is ready to name his accomplices in the conspiracy, the existence of which he has hitherto denied, provided he will receive a portion of candy and candied fruits, in addition to his regular prison fare.

And then the tsar, in whose reign these events should happen to take place, would put his signature to the documents, perhaps cast a glance across the river at the little brown building, and then proceed to dress for some ball to be held in the magnificent apartments on the Dvortsovy side, lest he arrive too late to be seen at all.

In the other tsarist palaces, such as that at Reval, the pick and axe are at present at work. A portion of the Reval palace has already been torn down. Two iron gratings of the broken wall were just clattering down the slope, as I passed along the bridge and looked on. For this wing of the palace had once been a prison. It seems incomprehensible to us, Western Europeans, how close was the contiguity of arrogant security on the part of the ruler with the profoundest humiliation of his fettered creatures all over Russia.

The Museum of the Revolution

The Petrograd Winter Palace has now ceded some of its most handsome rooms to the newly created Museum of the Revolution. Here the acts of Denikin, Yudenich and Kolchak are made physically evident by photographs, written documents, relics, and various curious objects; the White Terror, with which these opponents of the communists encircled the capital, Moscow, as with a running sore, has here been fixed and crystallized for the information of coming generations. You see here photographs from Ukraine, Esthonia, Siberia; photographs of human bodies cut to pieces or crushed to pulp—far too awful to permit me to recount in detail; you cannot forget these sights as long as you live if you have beheld them for a moment. Many other curiosities you may here see: the famous fir branch from the terrible forest at Yamburg, the forest of Yudenich, with the scar worked in the reddish bark by the hangman's rope—and under it the trunk into which the hangman, unable to write or count, cut one notch after the other with his knife—one notch for each group of communists that he had despatched on the branch above. There are seventeen such notches.

Less offensive curiosities are also preserved in this Museum, which is still in an incipient stage—interesting material from the archives of the tsar's Secret Police. Thus, there is the correspondence between Haase and Ledebour, in the year 1916, carefully copied on tracing paper. Near by are a number of pages from the folios of the Petrograd Political Police: portraits, profile as well as full view, of Lenin, his wife, Kameniev, Zinoviev, and others, together with precise descriptions. And then there is a great number of graphic charts of revolutionary groups in the large cities as well as the smallest provincial towns of Russia. One of these sheets, which resembles—with its blue and yellow squares, its interesting lines, passing from one square to another—a general strategic map, has for its subject the former revolutionary, now counter-revolutionary, Savinkov and his circle.

Here you find Savinkov, together with his family, then his friends, his comrades, his more intimate as well more casual acquaintances. Even the most remote associations of the individual members of his family, together with the dates of their mutual visits, of the receipt and despatch of letters, etc., are all recorded in a network of beautifully drawn lines, with notes in the finest penmanship and little delicate arrowheads pointing in the necessary directions. This sheet may be taken as evidence of the efficiency attained by the stool-pigeon service of tsarist Russia in its pursuit of all unpopular persons. The same archives also include, in neatly written registers, the lists of names of those who perished, as victims of tsarism, in the hecatombs beginning with January 22, 1905, the bloody birthday of the first revolution, up to the convocation of the Imperial Duma in May of the following year. Impartial estimates place the number of those executed by the government in this period at 1000, of those killed at 14,000, of those wounded at 20,000, of those incarcerated or deported at 70,000.

The Conception of "Terror"

We have become accustomed to apply the word "terror", which comes down to us from the Jacobine vocabulary of the French Revolution, to actions and measures of revolutionary bodies and governments. This concept, which has been spread with a conscious demagogic motive, should be subjected to some revision. The mere addition, customary in recent days, of a word to indicate the color of the terror, does not seem to be a sufficient explanation, for it might give the impression that terror is always a response to similar measures taken by the other side. For what can the words "white terror" mean, when used by bourgeois speakers, other than: "If you had not begun using the red terror, our white terror would surely never have put in an appearance"? It is always the case with small groups, having the power in their hands, seeking to hold in check the overwhelming majority by compulsion and force. There is terror in the word "employer", as well as in the word "capitalism" in general. The autocratic instigators of the world war—and I shall merely touch upon the later phases of its history—made use of terror in their compulsory measures with regard to the life, liberty and conscience of the people, on a scale and with a cynicism hitherto unknown. Though Horthy's bands in Hungary, and the Finnish white guards, and the officers' cliques of Ebert's Germany, the hangmen of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and thousands of others, and the suppressors of American Socialism in the hitherto "freest of all continents", may maintain that they are merely using preventive measures, they are doing nothing else than to widen and deepen the channels of their own frightfulness, through which the world in its imperialist and capitalist stage is rushing to destruction.

The present epoch seems to be less ripe for

forgiveness, for moderation, for Christianity, than any other epoch in the history of the world; it is, therefore, the duty of any community which aims to erect an empire of *pure humanity* to dash the weapons out of the hands of those who would ruin the race. It is a terrible thought to express, but it is true that this can be done only by the use of force. It is the curse of a community that has not yet become divine, that is still much afflicted with earthly ills, and it weighs with particular severity on mankind of the present day, because mankind has become deeply enmeshed in the illusion of the value of its civilization.

The Right to Rule by Force

At the very top of the cupola of the church tower of Peter and Paul—the Naryshkin House, in which we lived, faced this church with its windows and each morning the violent gold of its spire struck my eyes—there is a little weathercock representing an angel holding aloft a sword. The tremendous tempest that has passed over Russia has caused this angel to execute an about face and the sword is now wielded precisely against those who deemed it to be their unquestionable possession for time eternal. The casemates, cages, dungeons of the brown building, of the Fortress of Peter and Paul, of Schlüsselburg, and all the other torture chambers of the tsars have been broken and razed, but

"I know . . . that the monopoly of using force and reprisals, in any 'normally' functioning state, regardless of its external form, is an attribute of the government alone. This is its 'inalienable right', and this right it will guard with jealous care, seeing to it that no private body shall violate its monopoly. Every state organization is in this way fighting for its existence. It is sufficient to picture to oneself the society of the present day, this complicated contradictory cooperation—let us say in such a tremendous country as Russia—in order at once to understand that in the present condition of affairs, torn by every social contradiction, reprisals are absolutely inevitable." (From Trotsky's speech as defendant in the session of the Extraordinary Delegation of the Petrograd Supreme Court, October 17, 1906.)

Up to the summer of 1918 the Bolsheviki made no use of the death penalty. In fact the death penalty had been abolished by the first decrees of the Federated Republic. The Bolsheviki permitted their political enemies to go scot free even when their intentions were absolutely clear, instead of putting them in jail, because it seemed incompatible with the fundamental concepts of communism to deprive men of their liberty merely because they were in the political opposition. The sequel showed this to be a grave error. Wherever such individuals of counter-revolutionary tendency were set at liberty, they immediately constituted focuses of conspiracy, and the Communist Party soon had dead to record in its own ranks because it had not wished to have any dead at all on its conscience. If, therefore, you rebuke the bolsheviki for the fact that they do not practice terror in its "milder" forms and content themselves with incarcerating their political opponents and assigning them to

internment camps, as well as wretched speculators and saboteurs, and that they actually shoot men, sometimes in large numbers, it is not inappropriate to answer with the French proverb: *Que messieurs les assassins commencent* (Let the assassins begin to be gentle).

I confess, for my part, that I consider the work done by a swift bullet to be more humane than the effect of life-long solitary imprisonment on an individual, even though the imprisonment may be terminated by amnesty after ten years. Liberty is worth a thousand times more than death, even the mere physical liberty of motion, of breathing, of wandering over the broad earth . . . *navigare necesse!*

The terror practiced by the communists of Russia divorces from them the socialists of a democratic trend (who also disapprove of the sharpened form of compulsory labor, because they do not understand the necessity of this temporary measure), and yet terror is surely one of the most necessary means of an enhanced self protection on the part of a besieged community defending itself against its enemies. Even Kautsky, the critic of the dictatorship, whom the bolsheviki declare to be a renegade, at a later stage in his development recognized the right of the Anabaptists (as Trotsky shows in his pamphlet "Terrorism and Communism") to practice terrorist measures, because these measures were justified by the conditions of siege. Now, Kautsky must know that

Russia is a fortress besieged in the most frightful manner, a fortress that must by fair means or foul protect itself against internal foes of the idea. It is for this purpose that the people of Soviet Russia have permitted the Soviet Government to establish the Extraordinary Commission.

The head of the Extraordinary Commission—the Fouquier-Tinville of the Russian Revolution—is F. S. Dzerzhinsky, the People's Commissar of the Vecheka, a man of about forty, of soft and even shy manners. They tell me he lived for long periods abroad, that he studied at the universities of Vienna, Berlin and Zurich, and that he is a cultured man of puritanic tendencies and absolutely unblemished character. He has been compared—I do not remember by whom, but I am sure I have read it—with St. Francis of Assisi. It is well known that when in prison at Warsaw (under the Tsar) he took upon himself the repulsive task of daily emptying the refuse pails of his fellow prisoners, "because it is necessary that one should carry out the lowest task for all the others, in order that the others may be relieved from the lowest tasks." Certainly, a sadist would not do anything of this kind. In his capacity of Chief Commissar of this much feared and much respected body, Dzerzhinsky is, in my opinion, performing a similar duty: he is taking upon himself that which is terrible, but absolutely necessary in the communistic society, if Communists are to rule.

Russia's External Economic Policy

By LEONID KRASSIN

"Izvestya", in its issue of September 7, prints an interesting account of the economic relations between Soviet Russia and foreign countries, a shortened version of which appears below. This report by Comrade Krassin was read before a conference of the Tsektrana, the Central Committee of Transport Workers.

FOR three years all the efforts of the Soviet Government were directed toward breaking the blockade and toward establishing economic relations, however fragmentary and partial they might be, with Western countries.

Treaty with England

For almost a whole year we were conducting negotiations with England. These terminated only on March 16, 1921, by the signing of the Anglo-Russian agreement.

This agreement has several somewhat serious defects. The principal one of these is that it is only a commercial agreement and not a political agreement. The second defect is that it grants to each party the right to abrogate the agreement without assignment of cause. It is of course plain that the English Government was here reserving a loophole for the possible eventuality that our situation might become so bad that England might utilize the occasion to dispose of us by delivering an op-

portunity blow. But we were unable to induce the Government of England to conclude a serious and permanent treaty and it seemed to us that even a treaty that provided the right to break it was better than no treaty at all.

We kept in view the fact that once the treaty was concluded, the English Government would find it difficult to break it, because of the stand taken by the masses of the people: in England and all other European countries the masses are in favor, not only of the resumption of commercial relations, but also of political relations with the Soviet power; on the other hand, an attempt in this direction would also encounter the resistance of the English bourgeoisie, a resistance that would be all the greater, the further the commercial relations had advanced.

A further defect of this treaty is the insufficient recognition of our right to dispose of our national property. To be sure, the English Government obligated itself not to confiscate our property with-

out court proceedings, so far as such property might appear in England to be the property of the Russian Government, but the conclusion of the treaty with us is equivalent to recognition of the Soviet Government, and for that reason the English courts will be obliged to consider our property as the property of a recognized state.

The Blockade of Gold

When the blockade of Russia was partially raised, to the extent that, although we had no full liberty to import goods, we were nevertheless permitted to begin collecting goods in Sweden and England, difficulties arose in the matter of gold. To pay for the foreign goods we purchased we had no foreign money. Knowing that gold was our only means of payment, the Entente issued orders making Russian gold unacceptable for payments, and during the first months of 1920 it was very difficult for us to have any price at all fixed for our gold.

The solution was found in the conclusion of an agreement between the Centrosoyuz and representatives of Swedish industry. In addition, a special ordinance of the Swedish Crown Council guaranteed the inviolability of this gold. This was the first breach we made in the blockade against our gold.

The industrialists of England and France found that they were making fools of themselves and our hands were untied. We made a certain valuation of our gold, fixing it at the figure of 105 shillings to the ounce. From that time on our losses on gold have gone down from 5 per cent to 2 per cent and even to $1\frac{3}{4}$. There is danger at present of a new blockade against us, this time a blockade of naphtha instead of gold. Foreign firms are trying to force us to sell them our Baku oil at ridiculously low prices.

Agreement with America

At the present moment we already have an agreement with the Americans who are to feed our children in the starving provinces, and the American Food Administrator, Secretary of Commerce Hoover, sent me a telegram day before yesterday, in which he proposes to make purchases of provisions for us in America. Our object in arranging to pay for these consignments is to set a precedent for commercial purchases in America.

Foreign Trade

But in the field of purchases of provisions, the sole obstacle has thus far been the absence of money in our country, and the impossibility of expending all our gold reserve. We must admit that in these few years we have made considerable inroads on our gold supply. Our international position is too delicate to permit us the luxury of spending all our gold reserve, and for that reason the Council of Labor and Defense and the Supreme Council of National Economy have been obliged to put sharp restrictions upon the appropriations of all the departments. The lion's share of all

allotments has gone to the People's Commissariat of Means of Communication, which has received hundreds of millions of gold rubles.

Thanks to the circumstance that all our purchases and all our sales are concentrated in a single organ, we are already in a position to conduct our purchases under more favorable conditions even than those enjoyed by the great Moscow firms in the days when they were purchasing through technical bureaus.

But at the present time in our party press and in the proceedings of the various heads, centres, and commissariats, there is a very pronounced tendency amounting to the expression of a demand for the "enfranchisement" of foreign trade. This word has become fashionable in foreign trade discussions. If this "enfranchisement" should be undertaken, we should doubtless have to face the greatest danger not only for commerce and the economic interests of our country, but even for the existence of the Soviet state itself. We have seen examples of this in Germany and particularly in Austria.

If we should for a moment picture to ourselves the abolition of the monopoly in foreign trade, and should permit the entrance into this country of foreign buyers, during the famine, with the zero quotation of our ruble, we should be forced to recognize that such an "enfranchisement" would in the course of a few months clean up the last remains of the property still at the disposal of Russia and her people. Not only would the remains of this property be rapidly swallowed up, but we should have incurred obligations to pay with future accumulations of raw materials, and out of these credit transactions the representatives of foreign governments would create such business obligations toward the Entente governments as would ultimately lead to a loss of our national independence.

The Concessions Policy

The matter of concessions has become one of the important points in the development of our industry since December 1920. The concessions, without violating the sovereign rights of the Russian state, must become a factor in increasing the productive forces of the country. We are giving concessions for ten years on the condition that a fixed percentage be paid to the Government.

It is alleged in our country that the concessions policy of the Soviet power has failed. This is untrue. For even before the war, in imperialist Russia, when there was talk of forming syndicates in the Ural, months were required for completing the necessary negotiations, even between friendly groups of capitalists. It is clear that it must be ten times as difficult for us to carry on negotiations with those who desire to destroy the Soviet Government. It is ridiculous under such circumstances to expect these negotiations to terminate swiftly in a period of eight or ten months.

We are nevertheless now conducting negotiations as to a number of important and serious concessions, which will have even political significance.

May I point out the negotiations carried on by us with an English citizen, Leslie Urquhart, who worked in Russia for twenty-five years, and was the representative of the Boards of Directors of a number of English companies having concessions in Kishtym, Tanalyk, etc.

This concession is of the most far-reaching economic importance, since the Kishtym region has produced more than half of all the copper in Russia. There are also important deposits in that region of zinc, gold, silver, and lead. In concluding this agreement we are obtaining a definite per cent share in the finished product. In addition, we have in view a speedy reestablishing of these enterprises in the Ural.

And now for the matter of railroad concessions. It is of course clear that we cannot under any circumstances renounce our monopoly of transportation. Transportation is such a powerful weapon in the hands of the state, and is particularly so powerful a resource from the point of view of war, that it is absolutely inadmissible to transfer it to the hands of private concessionaires. But it is possible that in connection with certain railroad lines, such as the Great Northern Railroad, and in the construction of lines to the Arctic Sea, we may grant such concessions, but these will constitute definite exceptions to our monopoly and will not touch the principle of the monopolization of transportation in general, and cannot therefore prevent us from having full control of all our railroad and water transportation systems.

With regard to the water transportation system, we shall also grant concessions if they afford us the possibility of completing connections between Petrograd and Baku.

Foreign Loan

We are now devoting attention to a great international loan, without which it will be impossible to rebuild Russia economically in a short time. But the question to be answered here is: is it not utopian to speak of such a loan? Our experience in the course of our year and a half of work abroad has suggested to us that the preparations for a loan to Russia are a logical outcome of those general international economic circumstances in which the capitalist countries also are involved.

The interests of capitalist Europe and America themselves imperatively demand that the question of this loan be put upon the order of the day. Europe is languishing in the pains of a tremendous and unprecedented crisis. There are now in France, England and America hundreds of thousands of automobiles, hundreds of thousands of tractors, and all sorts of transportation machinery, locomobiles, instruments, supplies of iron, steel, etc., for which there is no outlet at all, since the French automobile manufacturer cannot sell a single automobile in England, and the English automobile manufacturer cannot sell a single automobile in France. Germany cannot buy; she can only sell, because of her enormous debts, and the idea has

begun to work itself into the minds of the most far-sighted capitalist leaders in Europe that without an economic reconstruction of Russia there is no possibility of attaining a healthy circulation of the blood in this great economic world organization.

I think that the question of a great trade loan is a timely one. Let me say that this question will become acute first of all in France, the same France which has tried, as no other country has, to boycott Soviet Russia in the most stubborn manner, which has been the initiator of all the harm of every kind to Russia, of interventions, uprisings, etc. It will be France in the first place, I think, that must give us money. France must give us money for the reason that, owing to the stupid policy that she has been following thus far and which has brought her to the point of complete isolation, the only way by which she can save for herself even a part of her claims on Russia will be by granting us a new loan. Only on these conditions will France be able to obtain a recognition on our part of any of the debts of the former governments, and the main demand of France on us has been precisely for the payment of this indebtedness. Furthermore, it would be ridiculous for France to expect recognition of her loan at par; at a time when the quotations of Russian obligations on the Paris Bourse are about 15 francs to the hundred.

There are already signs that such a policy is about to be inaugurated. A few days ago Nansen was in Moscow, acting for the Geneva League of Nations. In addition to the philanthropic aid, in addition to the matter of sending individual contributions, the establishment of dining rooms, kitchens, etc., we also discussed the definite question of the granting of a money loan to Soviet Russia, for the immediate needs of the famine-stricken localities, amounting to ten million pounds sterling (about one hundred million gold rubles) at 6 per cent annually, redemption to begin not earlier than after ten years, the guarantee being the bonds of the Soviet Government without any material obligations. This agreement was discussed here and approved in principle. On September 4 Nansen reported on the matter in Geneva. I do not know whether it will be carried through, for the situation now is such that changes may ensue any day in one quarter or another. But all that we are told by persons arriving from abroad, concerning the concrete conditions of this question of a loan of one hundred million rubles, points to the success of the enterprise.

"All citizens able to work have the right to employment at their vocations."

From Article II, Section 10, The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia. Complete official text, 25c per copy, postpaid.

Russia Buys from America

In view of recent attempts in England to throw doubts on the possibility of trade with Russia, the following synopsis of data contained in an official United States Government publication should be of interest.

The myth of the "economic vacuum" has been completely exploded. Statistics published by the American Department of Commerce show that during the first six months of 1921, immediately following the removal of the positive prohibitions against Russian trade, American exports to European Russia exceeded the rate of American sales to the same region in the last normal pre-war years, 1913 and 1914.*

In 1914 American exports to European Russia, including Russian Poland, were \$22,260,062. In the first six months of 1921, alone, according to the official report, \$12,114,062 worth of American goods were sold to European Russia, exclusive of Poland. In other words, American exports to European Russia in the first half of 1921 were more than one half of the total sales for all of 1914.

The report deals with the import and export trade of the United States with European and Asiatic Russia from 1913 to June, 1921. The term "Asiatic Russia," according to the report, vaguely "covers all of Siberia," without reference to the political changes which have taken place in that region during the past eight years, nor to the existing influences of the Japanese occupation, and is therefore quite useless for the purpose of intelligent economic analysis. The figures for Russian exports to America are interesting as evidence of the catastrophic collapse of Russian production early in the war. Exports to America from European Russia fell from \$22,000,000 in 1913 to \$2,000,000 in 1915—two years before the Revolution. Reduced to this meagre figure, Russian exports, fluctuating feebly through the succeeding years of war, declined still further during the revolution and the civil wars. What concerns us chiefly here, however, is the testimony in the report with respect to Soviet Russia as a consumer of American goods in the first half of 1921.

The economists of the Department of Commerce confess the political limitations under which they labor. A footnote warns the reader at the outset that the designation "European Russia," as used in this report, covers "Soviet Russia, the Caucasian Republics, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia." Because of the low visibility from the lookouts of the State Department, which does not politically recognize any one of these separate states, the Department of Commerce must ignore them statistically. Confronted with the largest geographical area in Europe, comprising several autonomous federated republics in addition to three

independent states, ranging through every degree of climate, economy and culture, with separate tariffs, imposts and frontiers, the Department of Commerce, because of this political astigmatism of the State Department, lumps the whole region together under the designation "European Russia." Upon this are piled column on column of statistics quite useless for any detailed comprehension of the course of Russian trade, but from which, nevertheless, certain interesting general indications may be disengaged.

In 1919 and 1920, the booming White Guard years of counter-revolution and invasion, the principal American exports to the region known to the Department of Commerce as "European Russia" were of firearms and explosives for the enemies of the Soviet Government. The total American exports to European Russia (including Russian Poland) in 1919 amounted to \$30,259,745. Of this amount \$12,061,511 represent firearms and explosives for the counter-revolution. Leaving out these munitions, the total of American exports to European Russia, including Poland, in 1919 was \$18,198,234. The sales to European Russia (Poland excluded) for only six months of 1921, in which year no munitions trade was reported, were two thirds of the total sales in 1919, exclusive of munitions. In 1920 American sales to European Russia were \$15,446,832, of which \$5,673,310 were firearms and explosives, leaving a total of other commodities for the whole year considerably less than the \$12,114,062 reported for the first six months of 1921.

It is true that the Bolsheviki have ruined America's profitable trade in the sale of munitions to Russian counter-revolutionaries. But it is equally true that by the suppression of the counter-revolution and by the restoration of peaceful reconstruction the Soviet Government has offered American manufacturers the only field in Europe, outside of Germany, to which American exports in 1921 in commodities other than munitions have been greater than in preceding years. In 1919, according to the report, America sold exactly \$500 worth of agricultural mowers and reapers to European Russia, including Poland, Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin. In the first six months of 1921, American manufacturers placed \$191,253 worth of mowers and reapers in the same region, with Poland and the counter-revolutionists out of the market. In 1919 and 1920 European Russia bought no binder twine from America. In the first six months of 1921 it consumed \$293,494 worth of American binder twine. In the same six months European Russia bought \$7,118,660 worth of American-made men's shoes, which was greater

*"Commerce Reports", published by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., September 5, 1921, page 42.

than the total purchases of the same commodity in any year from 1915 to 1920 inclusive.

These figures, as we have seen, do not report the proportion of sales to the independent Baltic States as compared with those to Soviet Russia. This, of course, does not affect the general inference to be drawn from the report, since the Baltic States are included in the total for all the years given. However, the Department of Commerce seems to possess information with respect to the exact amount of trade with Soviet Russia, which it does not fully reveal but which indicates plainly enough that Soviet Russia is the largest factor in this rapidly increasing commerce.

"Although Soviet Russia began a certain amount of importing in 1920," says the report, "most of this trade was from Germany and Sweden and passed largely through Esthonia, the latter being the first of the European States to sign a formal treaty of peace with Soviet Russia, which it did on February 2, 1920. Very few, if any, American goods seem to have gone direct to Soviet Russia; but a considerable proportion of the American exports to Esthonia doubtless found their way across the Russian border, although the exact amount is difficult to state."

"The period from January, 1921 to June, 1921," continues the report, "shows a total export to European Russia of \$12,114,062, which compares favorably with the yearly figure for 1920. Although separate statistics are not available, it appears that greater quantities of American goods are going to Soviet Russia than in 1920. Exportations from New York in considerable amounts appear in 1921, especially by way of Esthonia. In particular, large shipments of shoes, sole leather, cottonseed, and drugs and chemicals, with smaller amounts of flour, typewriters and automobile parts, have reached Russia as Esthonian transit trade."

Americans Ready to Trade

The period in which this active revival of trade took place, from January to June, 1921, immediately followed the removal of positive prohibitions against American trade with Soviet Russia. On this point the report itself is quite explicit. In one of those naive admissions by which one government department will frequently give the lie to another, the Department of Commerce disposes of the constantly repeated fiction that restrictions on American trade with Soviet Russia were removed in July, 1920.

"Restrictions on direct trade with Russia were removed by the United States on July 8, 1920," wrote the Secretary of State in his famous "economic vacuum" letter to Mr. Compers. This is the version which the Department of Commerce now gives of that empty gesture: "On July 7, 1920, the State Department announced that any American firms or individuals wishing to avail themselves of the opportunity to trade with Soviet Russia were at liberty to do so on their own

responsibility; but it was not until December 20, 1920, that the Treasury Department and Federal Reserve Board gave force and effect to the above announcement" by removing the restrictions on credit and exchange transactions with Soviet Russia. The difference between the fictitious removal of restrictions in July, 1920, upon which the State Department has continually harped, and that effected six months later is sufficiently shown by the rapid acceleration of trade immediately after December, 1920.

The report of the Department of Commerce shows that many American manufacturers, relieved from positive prohibitions, immediately availed themselves of the opportunities of the Russian market. In spite of the campaign of propaganda and coercion which was powerfully waged against resumption of trade with Russia, even after the actual restrictions were removed, these manufacturers profitably disposed of their goods to the Soviet Government. But in order to do so they had to overcome the obstacles placed in their way by the refusal of the American Government to afford them equal terms with their European competitors by the recognition of the Soviet Government and the restoration of the normal facilities for trade. What American trade with Soviet Russia this year might have been if commercial relations had been restored between the two countries can only be judged by the extraordinary traffic which took place against all obstacles. The *New York Journal of Commerce*, reporting last June on the steady increase of American-Russian trade, pointed out the official restrictions imposed upon this normal revival.

"Owing to the position of the American Government in withholding official sanction of trade with Russia until alleged conditions have been complied with by the Soviet authorities and also to the disturbed economic situation existing in Russia, the total volume is far below what it should be." (*Journal of Commerce*, June 15, 1921).

A few days later the same paper, commenting on a shipment of some 45,000 tons of American coal to Russia during May, again called attention to the discrimination against American shippers involved in the official policy:

"The American Government will not issue clearance from American ports for Soviet Russian ports, as it has not recognized the Lenin-Trotsky regime . . . Thus American steamers are debarred from accepting cargoes for Petrograd and other Russian ports." (*Journal of Commerce*, June 24, 1921).

These shipments of coal, by the way, which have been quite extensive during the past eight months, are not specifically mentioned in the Department of Commerce report. They may, of course, have been included under the miscellaneous heading, "All Other Articles," but it is more likely that they are not represented in the total at all. American official statistics of exports to Russia are always, of course, deficient in representing the total movement of American goods, since they do not account for considerable shipments consigned to Scandinavian and European middlemen with Russia as their ultimate destination. On this ac-

count, in past years official Russian statistics of American imports have always been higher than the corresponding American statistics for exports to Russia. This disparity would probably be even greater with respect to the trade in the first half of 1921, when the unwillingness of the American Government to afford even the normal facilities for commerce, and its refusal to allow American ships to charter for Russian ports, forced American business men to seek the Russian market through European middlemen and by various devious routes. It is quite certain therefore that the official American figures of exports to Soviet Russia in 1921, surprising as they must be to those who have been fooled by the anti-trade propaganda, are far from representing the total of actual shipments.

But if this report is surprising to anyone in the volume of the revived trade which it reveals and in the extraordinary shipments of certain commodities, it is even more significant with respect to certain lines of American manufactures in which the sales to Russia during the past year have remained far below the normal pre-war consumption and even farther below the actual immediate need and purchasing power of Soviet Russia. Why, for instance, in a period of general industrial depression, have American manufacturers of railway materials made practically no sales in a

region to which they formerly exported goods worth millions of dollars? It is not because Soviet Russia does not need locomotives and rails, nor because it has not the money with which to purchase them, nor because it does not wish to purchase in the United States. If American manufacturers could sell over \$7,000,000 worth of shoes to Russia in the first six months of 1921, why could not American manufacturers of locomotives and rails do likewise? A recent dispatch to the *New York Evening Post* from Berlin reports that the Railway Purchasing Mission of the Soviet Government has ordered \$163,000,000 worth of railway material in Europe. "These orders comprise, among other items, 80,000 tons of rails for replacing worn-out tracks, 5,000 locomotive tires, and 500,000 boiler tubes. This material will be supplied by Germany. . . Of 700 new locomotives ordered in Germany and 1,000 in Sweden, the first nine German and seven Swedish are en route to Petrograd harbor." (*New York Evening Post*, Sept. 10, 1921). In 1915 American manufacturers sold Russia \$1,500,000 worth of freight cars and none in the first half of 1921. But on August 1 the Canadian Car and Foundry Company announced that it had received a two million dollar order for tank cars from the Russian Government.

Captain Gregory Repeats

WE had thought that the refusal of the *World's Work* to allow us to reprint Captain Gregory's account of his intrigues against the Hungarian Soviet Republic betokened a discreet desire to withdraw the Captain's scandalous braggadoccio from circulation. We were mistaken. There has been no further attempt to suppress the Captain's story; much less any effort to repudiate it.*

The Gregory articles were first published before there was any thought of the American Relief Administration entering Soviet Russia and it was reasonable to suppose they might never have appeared had the possibility of a Russian relief campaign been contemplated. There were rumors that the story caused much embarrassment in A. R. A. circles. It is plain now, however, that these rumors were unfounded. For not only has there been no repudiation of Captain Gregory, but he has been permitted to repeat his entire story word for word in the September number of the English *World's Work*, which did not go to press until after Mr. Hoover had begun his Russian negotiations.

The editors of the London *World's Work* remark upon the timeliness of the Gregory tale as follows:

"Within the last few days we have seen the application in Russia of Mr. Hoover's famous doctrine that political and diplomatic ends may most easily be gained by the

use of economic pressure. He has only agreed to assist in relieving the starvation of Russian millions in return for definite concessions on the part of the Soviet Government in favor of American prisoners in Russia, and the general favorable treatment of American nationals everywhere. This event throws a new light upon the series of articles contributed to these pages by one of Mr. Hoover's agents, Mr. T. T. C. Gregory, who tells in the present issue of his overthrow of the Bela Kun regime in Buda Pesth.**

Captain Gregory, repeating his confession of conspiracy and chicanery, interpolates a few words to bring it up to date.

"It must be remembered," the Captain reminds his English readers, "that he (Mr. Hoover) . . . was feeding and succouring Balkanized Central Europe only as an incident to the fight he was making to throw back the Red wave of Bolshevism. . . . Since then, within the last month, in fact, he has again given evidence of clear vision and of the power of economic assistance in fighting anarchy. The bargain which he has concluded with the Soviet Government of Moscow in exchange for foodstuffs for starving Russians is an admirable example of the creed I have sought here to set forth."

It had been possible to believe that the Captain's indiscretions of last June were merely the unauthorized braggings of a bumptious subordinate. But this theory broke down when the story re-

*See SOVIET RUSSIA, September, 1921, p. 96.

***World's Work*, London, September, 1921.

appeared in an English magazine in September.

Even admitting that Captain Gregory is an egregious braggart, there still remains the plain statement of fact in Miss Lane's biography:

"It was Herbert Hoover in Paris and his man Captain Gregory on the ground who made the counter-revolution in Budapest, made it with their tremendous power of food-control and a skilful handling of the political situation."**

Miss Lane's book was published last year and widely circulated as a campaign document. Political publicity material of this nature is generally subject to a careful checking and approval before publication. We venture a guess that it would be

difficult for Mr. Hoover to disclaim responsibility for Miss Lane's statement.

We revert to this subject with not the slightest desire to embarrass the A. R. A. in its delivery of food to the starving people of Russia. We would not have the memory of the Hungarian experience hamper the shipment of a single ounce of milk to the Russian children. The constant purpose of SOVIET RUSSIA has been to prevent such suffering as is now being endured in Russia. We wish nothing to interfere with the utmost alleviation of that suffering. But we believe it important to keep the record clear.

Can This Go On ?

By LEON TROTSKY

On September 7, at 6 o'clock in the morning, a food train was derailed not far from the railroad station of Koshanka, owing to the fact that the tracks had been torn up by one of Petlura's bands, which are continually crossing the Polish and Rumanian boundary to violate Ukrainian territory.

The train carried about 44,000 poods of seed grain, which is now very precious. This entire quantity was destroyed and many persons lost their lives.

From the wreckage of the cars, presenting a frightful confusion of boards, pieces of metal, grain and human limbs, about twenty corpses were extricated.

When the Petlura people began their work, they were known as the Party of the petty bourgeois nationalist democracy. As they lost their influence with the working masses, they gradually changed into friends of the big peasants and the bourgeoisie. But this epoch is now past. The numerous detachments of Petlura adherents, in many cases numbering several thousand men, have now been defeated and completely destroyed. Their leaders and their general staffs have now no other recourse than to enter the military service of neighboring states. The result is that we are now dealing with leaderless bands, whose former leaders, incapable of military activities, are carrying out the cowardly vocation of espionage in the service of the foreign bourgeoisie.

Those of Petlura's adherents who were still capable of learning a lesson have severed their connections with these bands of traitors and returned penitently to the camp of the Soviet power.

The result was that these bands retained only the last dregs of depravity, individuals that are rotten to the marrow. The organizers and instructors of these bands are hiding beyond the boundary, whence they send them weapons and reinforcements, and the latter recross the boundary into the neighboring states, in order to rest there, and

then return to repeat their shameful deeds of cruel madness.

The tactics of destroying the railroad tracks, in order to accentuate the evils of the famine, are precisely those that were pursued on a much larger scale by the French Ambassador Noulens in 1918. Noulens would now like to resume this work, but fortunately Paris is far away and his arms are not long enough to reach the boundaries of Soviet Russia.

Kishinev and Lemberg (Lvov) are more accessible to him. From those places the bands paid by French money issue forth. It is from there that the disturbers of our work and of our peace set forth.

The protests of our statesmen are answered by the neighboring states with expressions of hypocritical astonishment or with reference to the revolutionary activity of the Communist International; but no expressions of surprise on the part of these ministers will conceal the fact that the Polish and Roumanian General Staffs actually control the raids made by the bands of Petlura, Savinkov and others. The methods and the organization of these raids were worked out, down to the smallest details, with the assistance of several dozen Rumanian and Polish agents, who were recruited from the former Russian and Ukrainian officers once occupying high posts. To make reference in this connection to the communist international is a base calumny. Manifestly this organization of bandits is closely related with ours: manifestly we are offering them hospitality! The Communist International exists in all lands. Only pitiable imbeciles could imagine that such a movement might be kept alive by artificial means. How can the world organization of the Communist International of the working class be compared with the armed bands of Petlura and Savinkov, which were established only for the purpose of inflicting harm on Ukraine and Soviet Russia!

Everyone knows the close tie uniting the great landed proprietors and usurers who emigrated from Russia with those of Rumania and Poland. We

**The Making of Herbert Hoover, Rose Wilder Lane, The Century Co., New York, 1920, p. 353.

are just as well aware of this honorable alliance as we are of the moral bond that unites us with the workers of Poland and Rumania. But it is a far cry from recognizing this moral bond to the point of crossing the boundary with armed detachments. Although we have not the slightest sympathy with the capitalist and feudal regime of Poland, we are nevertheless firmly determined to fully carry out the terms of the peace treaty signed by us; for we want peace. Without the slightest sympathy on our part for the boyars and chakows (the new parvenues of Rumania), we are nevertheless ready to conclude a treaty with them and also observe the terms of this treaty. But we cannot help seeing that our neighbors are continually playing with fire. They are not precisely waging war upon us, but merely set fire from time to time to the roof that shelters our poverty, and when we get angry they simulate indignation. The whole world is speaking of extending aid to starving Russia, some hypocritically, some honestly. But even the hypocrites are confessing by the very fact of their hypocrisy that it is impossible to stand by unfeeling in the presence of such frightful catastrophes. In the very moment when a few modest cargoes of foodstuffs are arriving from America, England, Norway, and Germany, destined to alleviate in some measure the sufferings of the peasant and proletarian families,—at that very moment the bands sent out by Poland and Rumania are setting fire to our food stations, murdering our nursing staff by the thousand, and destroying our food trains. We cannot continue to tolerate this. Of course, if we were convinced that our neighbors were determined to fight us at any price, we should have no other alternative than to prepare a counter-blow, but as a matter of fact they are animated more by folly than by serious determination.

Supported by French imperialists who are risking very little themselves, the Polish and Rumanian adventurers are playing with fire. It is clear that the last Notes of our statesmen will impel the overwhelming majority not only of the Polish and Rumanian workers, but even their bourgeoisie, to remind the adventurous elements of these countries in a categorical and unmistakable manner that it is dangerous to play with fire and that this folly must now cease.

“CLEVER YANKEES”

The ease with which British traders have outplayed their American competitors in the Russian market is strikingly portrayed in an incident related by the American Commercial Attaché at London in an article printed in *Commerce Reports*, Washington, October 3.

“Our commercial intelligence in the handling of export coal is not developed to the point carried by the British,” writes the American commercial expert. “The London representative of an American firm succeeded in landing an order for 15,000 tons of coal from the Soviet Government. An irrevocable credit was established in a New York bank

with the provision that 50 per cent was to be paid on presentation of documents showing that the coal had been loaded and shipped, the balance to be paid against telegraphed notification of the arrival of the cargoes at port of destination (Petrograd). The business was refused by the American house on the ground that the entire amount should be paid against documents lest the boats should either not arrive at their destination or should suffer confiscation on arrival. A British agent accepted the business joyfully and made a shift to procure Swedish boats for the shipment, being conversant with the Baltic situation and knowing that such ships were practically immune from confiscation on any pretext. He further took out Lloyd's insurance to cover the risk of failure of ships to arrive at port of destination. He could have gone a step further and another Lloyd's policy would have insured his profits. All this being arranged, it was an easy matter to get the necessary credit from a British bank.” (*Commerce Reports*, U. S. Department of Commerce, October 3, 1921.)

A LETTER

The following letter from an Italian comrade in Chicago is a fine expression of the spirit of many similar communications which come to us from workers all over the country. (We refer all such inquiries to the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, Room 312, 47 West 42nd Street, New York City.)

To the Editor of Soviet Russia,
Dorogoi Tovariashch:

I read the article in *SOVIET RUSSIA* of Comrade Martens where he says that in Russia there is a great necessity of workers. I am very enthusiastic to go there where we work to enrich the great family: *la Commune*. I think that corruption, prostitution, disease, misery, desolation, hate and luxury tend to disappear in our great Russia; so I am sure, if I can go there, I will better myself and the new society. I think I will better myself and the new society because I never can consume so much as I can produce with the aid of modern machinery.

I am young and strong and willing to give all my energy for the reconstruction of a new, progressive society. My experience is small and great at the same time: I have worked in lumber camps in Washington, Oregon and California, in farms, factories, railroads, coal and copper mines. I am thirty years old and I never served in military destructive business. I wish to go with an organized group of Russians or Americans who understand each other. Although I can speak Italian, Spanish and studied French, if possible I wish to go with the above stated group. I wish I could go to south Russia in an agricultural commune or elsewhere if necessary. I wish you would answer me in full detail how, where and when I can go.

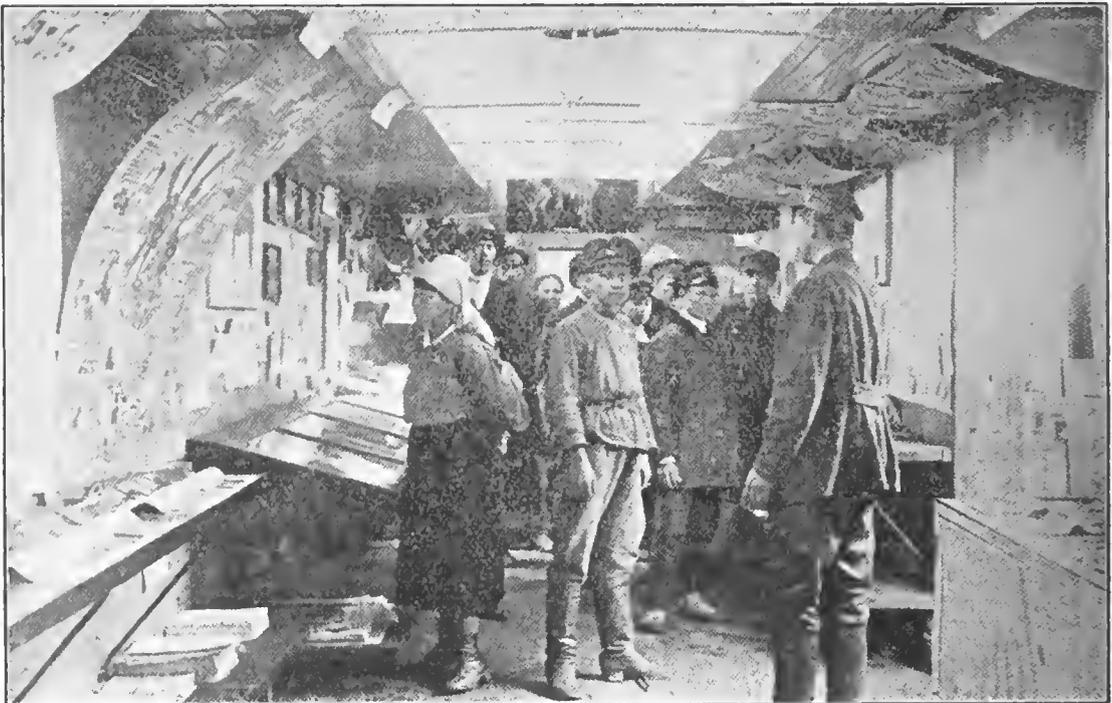
MEDICAL UNIT

The Commissariat for Public Health has authorized the admission of a Medical Unit to Soviet Russia from America. Physicians and nurses wishing to participate should communicate with the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, 47 West 42nd St., New York (Room 312).

CARLOADS OF INFORMATION FOR PEASANTS

*INVITING THEM IN*

The inscription on the train reads: "People's Commissariat of Agriculture. Auditorium Car. R. S. F. S. R. First Soviet Agronomical Train. People's Commissariat for Means of Communication."

*THE MUSEUM CAR*

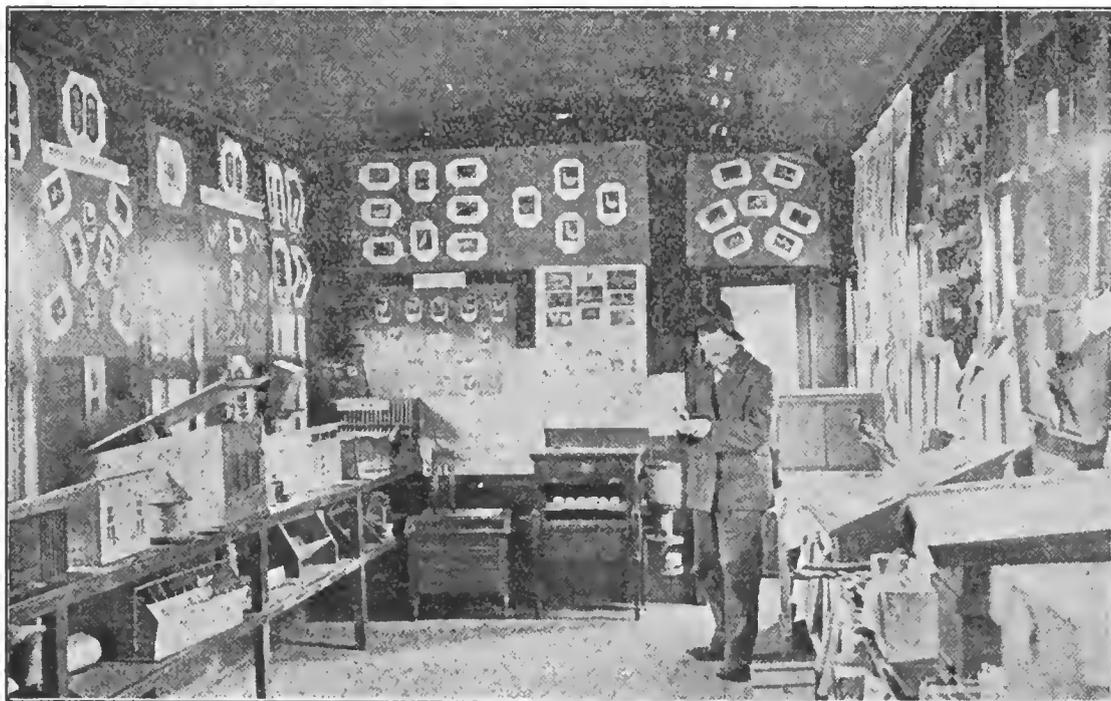
A guide explains the pictures, which include educational posters on proper feeding of cattle, planting, storing grain, etc.

CARLOADS OF INFORMATION FOR PEASANTS



THE AUDIENCE IN THE LECTURE CAR

They are listening to the speaker. The windows admit light, which shows that moving pictures are not being projected. The facial types are not unlike those to be found in rural communities in other countries.



MATERIAL FOR STUDY

These models and pictures teach the farmer how to improve his methods. Incubators, chicken-coops, and other poultry-breeding devices are shown.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INFORMATION

110 West 40th Street,

New York, N. Y.

This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

MR. GEORGE BARR BAKER, head of the American Relief Administration, has been making efforts similar to those of Mr. Hoover to free the minds of "radicals" and newspaper writers of any suspicion that the work of the American Relief Administration in Russia might have behind it any ulterior motive other than that of giving aid to the Russian people. On the evening preceding Mr. Hoover's interview in Washington with four members of the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee,* Mr. Baker addressed a small group of "radicals" in the rooms of a New York club, assuring them of the kindly intentions of his organization in Russia, providing them with statistics of the work already done, as well as of plans for the future, and even going so far as to answer questions,—after, however, having emphatically ruled out in advance the one question that was the most likely to be asked.

The one question that could not be asked, and was not answered, and therefore remained all the more a question in the minds of all those present, was the question: "How about Mr. Gregory?" Mr. Hoover in Washington the next morning did not answer this question either, although he touched upon it. Because of the fact that it has not been answered, it will of course come up again and again, and unless the acts of the American Relief Administration's affairs in Russia give occasion for the formulation of even more important questions, the question of Captain Gregory's share—and that of Mr. Hoover—in the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Government will continue to be asked until the historian with the records at his disposal may set down the facts as they were in Budapest in August, 1919. It is not at all impossible that the story as set down by Mr. Gregory is that of a boisterous, carefree soldier, whose affairs were running so smoothly, and whose American optimism was receiving such slight setbacks in removing all the obstacles that offered themselves to his relief work, that he actually imagined it was he that was overthrowing a government which was in reality being overthrown by others, and that his romantic imagination later surrounded this conception with the wealth of detail that he

set down in *The World's Work* for June, 1921. We all like to be heroes a little, and indiscriminate American readers might enjoy a counter-revolutionary hero as much as the spectacle of the "bell-hounds" "going over the top", or the saga of the modest crusades conducted against quiet newspaper offices by the detective retainers of Senator Clayton R. Lusk. Maybe Mr. Gregory was just trying to give his work in Europe as much publicity and importance as it would bear—and what matter can be more public and important than the overthrow of a foreign government—and a "Red" government, at that?

But if that be the case, why is Mr. Hoover silent? Is he so anxious to spare Mr. Gregory's feelings that he is willing to accept the implication of complicity in a very serious act, by refraining from making a public denial of Mr. Gregory's statements? It will not be sufficient for Mr. Hoover gently to chide Mr. Gregory in private conversation: the great reading public, which has read of the Gregory affair, will never learn of such private rebukes and will assume that Mr. Gregory's story stands as originally told in *The World's Work*.

ONE question of general interest was put to Mr. Baker at the meeting above mentioned, in spite of his emphatic statement, at the outset, that he would not go into any matters of politics, as he considered a discussion of politics at a time when millions were starving to be nothing short of murder. The question, which was put by a lady who was really interested in feeding the starving Russians, was: "Are you going to start a nation-wide drive for funds with which to purchase food, and if you are not going to make use of this method, why not?" Mr. Baker almost showed warmth in his answering statement, which was to the effect that no drive for funds of this kind was planned, and assigned as the reason the fact that there had been too many drives already, that he and his associates were heartily tired of the endless effort involved in the administration of relief activities, and that they would be glad to have "labor" do it. In fact, he even expressed the hope that certain garment workers' organizations would be active in special work preparing clothing for the underclad in Russia, and added that perhaps some of the conditions at present demanded by these workers might be relinquished in order that the Russian people might be sufficiently clothed.

Of course we sympathize with Mr. Baker's fatigue. There is no doubt that the work of the American Relief Administration is very trying. And when publicity matter is brought to the press it emerges in the ensuing prints in a form that, Mr. Baker said, is altered to a point where the effect on the original writer is very distressing. And we also admit that no one is obliged to give money for starving Russian children, or men, or women, or for any other charitable purpose, or to be interested in anything, for that matter. The

*See account of this meeting by Charles Wood, in Magazine Section, *New York World*, Sunday, October 9.

direction of the work and interest of those who may choose their activities is, in capitalist society, determined by themselves. But it is interesting to observe that the first proposed drive that seems to bore the protagonists of mercy in America is one that is suggested in the interests of the working masses of a country ruled by those masses. While the quality of mercy is not strained, it seems quite possible to strain its quantity, and while a great drive for funds, appealing to the generosity of the American people—which experience has shown is very great—would yield enormous sums of money, sums sufficient to dispel all the sharper forms of distress all over Russia, preference is given to the use of means of obtaining funds that will arouse little public interest in the Russian situation, and possibly may result in relatively small income. But the recent suggestion by Mr. Haskell, who is conducting the A. R. A. work in Russia, that the A. R. A. feed also the railroad workers and other adult members of the population, is perhaps an indication that the activities will be expanded to such an extent that new methods of raising money will have to be used. We hope Mr. Baker will succeed in giving much food and other assistance to the Russian people, but we feel that in omitting to make a great public appeal for funds he is neglecting the most promising means of alleviating the distress in which he has been moved to take some interest.

LABOR is doing it — making the drives that are too laborious and irksome for Mr. Baker. An interesting editorial in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* of October 17 discusses this matter in the form of a polemic with a correspondent of the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*. Both are dailies appearing in New York in the German language. A correspondent of the *Staatszeitung* (a paper with strong patriotic leanings, both for America and Germany) complains that the *Volkszeitung* (a Communist daily), in its collections for the purchase of food for Russia, is forging far ahead of the *New York Call* and the *Jewish Forward*, although the *Volkszeitung* is read chiefly by persons of German extraction, while the readers of the *Call* and *Forward* are said to be chiefly Russians. The complaint of the *Staatszeitung* correspondent is that the *Volkszeitung* readers should be giving their money so generously to Russia, while their kinsmen in Germany and Austria are also starving, and while other Germans in America are contributing to funds being raised for relief in Germany and Austria. With tact and clearness the *Volkszeitung* answers the complaint of the *Staatszeitung* correspondent to the effect that doubtless the German readers of the *Volkszeitung* are just as susceptible to pity for distress in Germany and Austria as are those of the *Staatszeitung*. But the fact is, the editor of the *Volkszeitung* goes on, the contributions that are being sent to Russia by Germans in America are not being sent because the recipients are Russians, but because they are proletarians. It is for the workers in Russia that

the *Volkszeitung* is collecting money and purchasing food. If Germany had had its proletarian revolution, and contributions from America should seem likely to strengthen the staying power of the defenders of that revolution, the German workers in America would be just as glad to aid their brothers in Germany as they now are to aid their brothers in Russia. The prime duty of the worker is to further the Revolution, and this can be done now only by working for Russia, collecting money for Russia, sending food to Russia. The readers of the *Staatszeitung*, who are not interested in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, may continue to contribute money to relief in Germany and Austria; those of the *Volkszeitung* will continue to raise money for food for the workers of Russia. The *Volkszeitung*, we understand, has gone well beyond the ten-thousand dollar mark in the total received from its readers for this purpose.

ANOTHER ORGANIZATION that is conducting an appeal along the same lines as the *Volkszeitung* is "The Friends of Soviet Russia", whose National Office is at 201 West 13th St., New York, and whose branches are spread all over the United States and Canada. This body frankly collects funds from persons who sympathize with the Soviet Government, and who want their money to go to feed those who are strengthening the hands of that Government, administering its affairs, fighting its battles, and doing its hard work. In giving food to the children of the Russian workers, these persons are feeding the future supporters of the accomplishments of the Revolution. That this appeal also is meeting with success is shown by the fact that The Friends of Soviet Russia have already raised about \$150,000, of which about \$125,000 have already been expended in the purchase and forwarding of food and in acquiring the necessary insurance and other safeguards.

A CABLE has just been received by the Central Bureau of the Technical Aid Society, New York, signed by Semashko, People's Commissar for Public Health, authorizing the formation and dispatch of a medical unit for Russia, which will be admitted to Russia if it comes supplied with all the necessary medicines, foods, and instruments, in addition to two automobile ambulances. Contributions of drugs and medical instruments for the use of this unit in Russia should be sent to the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, 47 West 42nd St., New York, N. Y.

GENERAL WRANGEL also needs relief. The yacht on which he has been living off Constantinople has been run down—and by a British steamer—and all his jewels and possessions have been lost. The name of the yacht was *Lucullus*, which suggests that Wrangel was not suffering famine conditions before his yacht went down. No doubt the British Government will grant him relief and find new difficulties to urge against trade with Russia.

Correspondence with Poland

The following two notes are again complaints of Polish encouragement to Russian counter-revolution. The attempt to send poison into Russia to be used to wipe out Russian regiments is again mentioned. Full details are given of machinations only hinted at in the Note to Poland of July 4, printed in the October issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. Full texts of Polish replies are not available, although a quotation from one such reply is printed below (III).

I.

From Chicherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to Filippovich, Polish Representative in Moscow.

September 10, 1921.

Dear Sir and Chargé d'Affaires:

After the Russian Government, in its Note of July 4, had uncovered before the Polish Government a wide picture of organized assaults on the Soviet Republic and conspiracies against the Soviet rule, which are continually carried on in Warsaw with the constant support of the Polish authorities, the Polish Government, in its Note of July 11, denied the greater part of the incriminating facts, and on their own side presented a number of accusations against the Soviet Government. At that moment, however, the Russian Government considered it more advantageous not to deal with the matter by way of polemica. We preferred another way, notwithstanding the fact that actually every point, every statement in the Russian Note of July 4 can be substantiated by us with documentary evidence, for instance, in regard to the position and the role played by Count DeVoine-Sologub we have Boris Savinkov's correspondence, which makes it clear that the Polish Government had actually vested in him functions as stated by us, and that he, being in charge of the Russian white guard forces, by instructions of the Polish Government, took measures that Cossack detachments should be appointed to frontier duty, and that the so-called interned former Russian armies should be given the opportunity to do free work in accordance with Boris Savinkov's plans. In the same way, our statement that the second department of the Polish General Staff gave Savinkov's organization the possibility to send poison to Russia is based, among other things, on documents signed by Major Beck of the General Staff. If the plan proposed by us, of having this question examined by a Mixed Commission, had been carried out, the necessary documents would have been produced.

The Russian Government did not continue the polemic, because it still hoped at the time that the Polish Government would be sufficiently loyal in the carrying out of its obligations and of the elementary requirements of amicable neighborly relations, and that it would of its own accord put an end to all the incidents indicated, which were such brutal violations, not only of the Riga Treaty, but of the basic principles of any peaceful relationship whatsoever. After a period of almost two months the Russian Government is forced to admit that it was wrong in this. Not only was the criminal work of Savinkov's organization and of the others not ended, but with the continued close and constant cooperation of the Polish authorities a still greater activity is noticed on the part of that organization, as well as on the part of all white guard bands and organizations at the borders of the Soviet republics. The Polish Government cannot under any circumstances declare that the "People's Union for the Defense of the Fatherland and Liberty" is not known to them, since at the Conference of that Union in Warsaw, held from June 13 to 16, at which all details of its work of provocation, conspiracy and instigation to uprisings in the Soviet republics, were prepared, there was present the representative of the Polish Government, a colonel of the General Staff, who officially promised Savinkov constant cooperation in the name of the Head of the Government and of the whole Polish Nation. Savinkov's publication *Swoboda* ("Liberty"), issued legally in Warsaw, tells, quite unabashed, of the conspiratory and insurrectionary activity

of the Union. More than that, in the Warsaw Jewish newspaper *Naier Haint*, of August 9, No. 181, in an explanation given by Boris Savinkov to a representative of that newspaper, whom he had invited, it is plainly stated: "as regards occurrences that are taking place in certain parts of White Russia, I can firmly and definitely state that the military units having any relation to our organization (*The Union for the Defense of the Fatherland and Liberty*) consist of such chosen and filtered elements, that there can be no talk of any criminals among them." He further states: "I have the possibility of watching every step and action of our detachments scattered over the large territory of White Russia." In his reply to Savinkov in No. 183 of the same newspaper, General Bulak-Balakhovich states: "I declare that it is necessary to arrest the officers Pavlovsky, Voitsekhovsky, Pavlov and others, who are subsidized and manipulated by the Russian Political Committee. These officers were under investigation and indictment while still in my army. Now they have been set free by Savinkov and they continue carrying on his work, and the latest victims of the recent pogroms in White Russia are the work of these officers whom Savinkov defends while he throws all the guilt on my shoulders."

Increased activity among white guard bands at the borders of the Soviet Republics is carried on in closest contact with the Polish authorities and the representatives of the Central Polish Government. We have in our possession credentials found upon killed bandits—white guardists—certifying that the bearer of the credential actually belonged to a certain detachment, subservient to the All-Russian Committee of the People's Union for the Defense of the Fatherland and Liberty, which is attested by the signature of a Member of the Committee, Victor Savinkov. The same persons also carried official certificates from the Second Department of Command of the Polish Army to the effect that the said person is acting in contact with the Second Department. Similar certificates are found on persons commissioned, as is officially stated, "by the People's Union for the Defense of the Fatherland and Liberty, to proceed to Russia to work." At the time when in the Note of July 11 the Polish Government was protesting that none of its institutions was issuing certificates on the basis of the certificates of Savinkov's organization, the issue of such credentials by Polish authorities on the said basis continues to be a matter of daily occurrence. We have at the disposal of the various respective departments of our Government ample documentary evidence of this fact.

White guards, partisan bands of the Union for the Defense of the Fatherland and Liberty, and their agents, crossing the Soviet borders, are now using all their efforts to break up the operations of the Food Tax now being carried levied in the western provinces of the Soviet republics, and which is of most vital importance for all the Soviet republics for a whole year. To carry out the official instructions of Savinkov's "All-Russian Committee", they must destroy and piller the food storehouses and accumulating points, destroy and spoil produce on the way, shoot the food collectors, agitate among the peasants against delivery of grain, and, generally, take all such measures as are officially prescribed by Savinkov's All-Russian Committee to strangle the workers' and peasants' rule with the bony hand of famine. At the time when the wide masses of the people in all countries are shocked by the ghastly news of famine suffering caused by the drought in Russia, the Polish Government is giving the most energetic cooperation to organizations and bands that are attempting to break up the food campaign in the

Soviet Republics and deprive them of the means of alleviating the terrible sufferings of the starving masses.

The close relationship and cooperation between the Polish official organs and the organizations of Savinkov and other white guardists continue to become clearer in the documents in our possession. There is, however, a new fact: an attempt to cover up this connection, and even the very participation of Boris Savinkov in the activity of the white guards, by a system of secret measures. The representative of the Ministry of War, Major Keshkovsky of the Second Department of the General Staff, in a communication No. 32185 B. V. I., dated August 23, notifies the Chief of the Information Bureau of the Russian Political Committee, Victor Savinkov: "desiring to make my communications with you as secret as possible, I shall in future put on my letters the heading *Karl Kraevski & Co.*, and shall sign all secret documents as *Kraevski*. Kindly let me know what guise you will assume for our future correspondence. I consider the secrecy of our institutions to be a necessary condition, and am observing such secrecy in accordance with instructions from my Chief." In a communication No. 01499, of August 25, Victor Savinkov informs Major Keshkovsky: "In reply to your letter of August 23 I have the honor to inform you that henceforth I shall sign *L. Strzalkovski*, Representative of the firm of *Bachevski* in Lvov. All pouches will be despatched exclusively through Lieut. Myslovski." We have in our hands part of the correspondence between Mr. Strzalkovski, i. e. Victor Savinkov, and Mr. Kraevski, i. e. Major Keshkovski. In view of these facts, the Russian Government declares that it can under no circumstances consider itself satisfied with the apparent and fictitious disappearance of a hostile military organization, while it is actually preserved under other names. The Russian Government must, as previously, insist upon actual immediate banishment from the territory of Poland of all the ringleaders who are guilty of all the said hostile, military and conspiratory activities.

Through Major Keshkovsky, under the name of Kraevski, the Polish authorities are continually providing Savinkov's organization with all the official information necessary for them. Thus, for example, on August 25, Mr. Kraevski informs Victor Savinkov that within a few days a Note is to be expected from the Soviet Government on this question. On August 29 Mr. Strzalkovski, i. e. Victor Savinkov, thanks Mr. Kraevski, i. e. Major Keshkovski, for the information supplied, and writes of certain employees of Mr. Gnilyorov, i. e. in reality, various Cossacks, who have entered into an agreement with the firm of Ignatov & Co., i. e., with sympathizers with the Soviet rule. Communications of this nature were repeatedly addressed, previously, by the Savinkov brothers to the Polish authorities. Thus, on July 30, No. 4158, the President of the Liquidation Commission of the Russian Evacuation Committee, Boris Savinkov, notifies Col. Matushkevsky of the Second Department of the General Staff as to 35 officers and 19 Cossacks, asking that they be excluded from the Third Don Cossack Regiment, so that their pernicious activity may thus be discontinued. Major Keshkovsky systematically furnishes to Victor Savinkov, for secret use, the most important official documents. Among this correspondence is a letter from Major Keshkovski to Victor Savinkov, dated August 26, regarding the activity of a so-called Zakordot. From this letter it is evident that in reality Zakordot had incurred the greatest dissatisfaction of the Polish authorities. It is stated in this letter that agents of Zakordot, entering into Savinkov's organization, had been supplying to the Soviet Government documents "confirming the Polish Government's bad faith with regard to the Riga Treaty." Major Keshkovski adds: "the Polish organ of safety, well known to you, with which I am in the closest relations, has already taken the necessary measures." It is apparent from this correspondence that the official couriers of the Polish Government in Moscow are carrying documents of Savinkov's organization from Moscow to Warsaw, and vice versa. Major Keshkovski informs Victor Savinkov of the arrival and despatch of Polish couriers, adding that if Victor Savinkov desires to send or transmit anything

through them, he should apply to Lieut. G. In this way, Mr. Extraordinary Envoy, although you stated in your negotiations with us that you are entirely ignorant of the activity of Savinkov's agents and organization, you are, through your official couriers, who enjoy diplomatic inviolability, keeping up the connection between Savinkov's leading group in Warsaw and his partisans, conspirators and provocateurs in Moscow. Although in its Note of July 11 the Polish Government stated that it is not responsible for anything that may happen on Russian territory, the documents quoted indicate that, quite to the contrary, the Polish Government is entirely responsible for the activity of conspirators and provocateurs sent over the borders of Soviet Russia through its aid.

The Polish Government is endeavoring to weaken the real significance of these facts by presenting counter-accusations against the Soviet Government. In the name of the Russian Government I declare that it is with complete loyalty carrying out the Riga Treaty and stands ready at any moment to remove any condition that may be contrary to this Treaty, if any necessity for such action should arise. The alleged invasions by Russian forces of certain villages on Polish territory are accounted for by the presence in those districts of local bands, the appearance of which, by the way, is brought about by the Polish Government's not carrying out its treaty obligations with regard to the rights of national minorities, and by the persecution of the White Russian population by Polish authorities. These bands, springing up on their own initiative, without any connection with organs of the Soviet power, are falsely adopting the name of Soviet detachments. With reference to the incident in the village of Belaya, it was pointed out by the Russian delegates at the sittings of the Adjustment Commission of the Pollessie district, on August 17 and 20, that as the village is situated seventy-five miles from the border, the appearance of Soviet detachments there was out of the question. On the other hand, however, from the Polish side there are constant invasions and attacks on Soviet territory. No satisfaction in this respect has been received by the Soviet Republics so far. In the same manner, close examination of other accusations brought by the Polish authorities in regard to frontier relations proves their utter baselessness sufficiently substantiated in the records of the Adjustment Commission.

Almost all the concrete facts, with which the Polish Government illustrates its accusations against the Russian Government for breach of contract, refer not to Russia, but to the Ukrainian Government, which will on its own part, in case of necessity, give all the necessary explanations and carry on negotiations with Poland. To that Government also apply the alleged facts in the Polish Note regarding the so-called Zakordot. The accusations made in the Polish Notes exclusively against the Russian Government are marked by their vagueness and are characterized by the absence of substantiation at vital points. In the name of the Russian Government, I declare that it has not supported, either by means of money or by any other means, any organizations or any activities having as their aim the overthrow of the Polish Republic. The Russian Government denies that its institutions have published any proclamations or brochures which advocate the overthrow of the Polish Government or the division of Polish territory. No detachments following such aims have been formed in Russia. The Revkom mentioned in the Polish Note was not an organization for usurping power in Poland, but was simply an organ of the Army, which on the basis of military right was introducing in the occupied provinces a temporary organ of military and civil administration. The Revkom was dispersed in Minsk even previous to the conclusion of peace with Poland. Its former president, Comrade Marchlevski, has long been absorbed in negotiations with Finland and recently has been living permanently in Helsingfors. The military classes mentioned in the Polish Note of July 11 are nothing else than the military-instruction institution of the Russian army. Numerous Poles, desiring to remain Russian citizens, voluntarily join the Russian army and for their instruction there are classes conducted in their native lan-

guage. No hostile purpose towards Poland is pursued by these classes, in view of the presence in our army of persons of Polish nationality, speaking the Polish language. The formation of such courses is exclusively a matter of internal policy of the Russian republic, which does not concern any other Government. As regards the difficulties arising during mutual repatriation of war prisoners and refugees, these difficulties are invariably caused by the Polish Government. It is this government that prevents the carrying out of an exchange that would give them those war prisoners whose return they desire; the Polish Government is constantly complaining that the parties arriving from Russia at Polish receiving stations are too large, whereas they are stubbornly refusing to open a Third Exchange Station in the Polotk district. There is no comparison between the substance of those petty accusations which the Polish Government is making against Russia, and the terrible and enormous guilt of the Polish authorities in connection with the horrible treatment of the Russian war prisoners on the territory of Poland. The Polish Government remains absolutely accountable for the indescribable atrocities which are still being perpetrated with impunity in such places as the Strzalkov camp. It is sufficient to point out that during a period of two years, out of 180,000 Russian war prisoners in Poland, 60,000 have died.

Any complaints which the Polish Government may present on its side the Russian Government will examine in the most amicable spirit as soon as peaceful work may have begun between both parties, which is now hindered by the continued hostile actions of the white guards supported by the Polish Government. The Russian Government does not support any insurgents within the territory of the Polish Republic. If any facts indicating the contrary of this principle will be pointed out, these facts will be removed. The Russian Government has commenced the carrying out of the Polish Treaty with full loyalty and stands ready to continue doing so with all its energy in all its details, but this is possible only when the carrying out of these obligations is mutual. Only when actual peace will come, i. e., when the Polish Government will cease, through the white guards, to make invasions into the Soviet Republics, to break up the food campaign, and to instigate conspiracies in Soviet Russia, only then will come the possibility of that uninterrupted peaceful work which is so strongly desired by the Russian Government. To establish close friendship with Poland is its innermost desire. It is ready to go to any length within the treaty obligations. But as long as the Polish Government, through the person of Savinkov, is carrying on actions hostile to us, it would be strange to expect the Russian Government to hand over Russian gold to the Polish Government to be supplied to Savinkov. Let the Polish Government not think that the famine disaster that has befallen us has weakened the power of resistance of the Soviet Republic against any outside attempts on its order and safety. The Russian Government is waiting for the Polish Government finally to begin the loyal carrying out of the treaty. The plan of a Mixed Commission, proposed by the Russian Government in its Note of July 4, was one of the technical possibilities for the quickest removal of the obstacles preventing peaceful work. The Russian Government is ready to accept any plan leading to this aim, in order that this may be achieved. It does not desire anything better than to live in peace and friendship with Poland. The wide working masses of Russia desire peace with all neighbors. Let the Polish Government at last carry out Article 5 of the Peace Treaty, and permanently friendly relations will be established. The Russian Government firmly believes that the Polish Government will not desire to aggravate the relations still further by further polemics and formal evasions, and will agree to consider measures for effectively removing the causes that are preventing the establishment of the friendly relationship desired by both governments and the carrying out of the Peace Treaty.

Please accept, Mr. Chargé d'Affaires, the assurance of my profound respect and complete esteem.

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

II.

Note by Commissar for Foreign Affairs to Polish Chargé d'Affaires Tit. Philipovich.

Moscow, September 22nd, 1921.

Dear Sir and Chargé d'Affaires.

The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. acknowledges receipt of the Polish Government's note of the 18th instant and of enclosed memorandum and regrets to state that it is unable to consider the note as acceptable in form or satisfactory in substance. The Russian Government having at heart the wellbeing of the peasantry of the regions bordering on Poland and the successful carrying out of the food campaign, cannot remain indifferent to the systematic preparation of guerrilla warfare against the peaceful inhabitants of the bordering Soviet Republic, which is taking place on Polish territory not only with the knowledge, but even with the support, of the Polish military authorities. Basing itself on Clause 5 of the Riga Treaty, the Russian Government has approached the Polish Government with the request to liquidate the activities of the bandit organizations of Savinkov, Balakhovich, Petlura, and others, who have found hospitality and support in Poland, and to remove the leaders of these organizations from Poland. Maintaining silence on the fundamental demand of the Russian Government in its note of the 18th instant, the Polish Government announced its readiness to communicate without delay full particulars about the measures it had already taken to prevent elements undesirable to Russia from crossing the Russian frontier and also its readiness to at once beg for deliberations as to further measures for preventing of such elements from crossing the frontier. Thus the formation, training, arming, and financing of these bandit bands under the almost open protection of the Polish military authorities, especially of the Second department of the General Staff, is to continue indefinitely, and the Polish Government is treating these events as merely a question of the crossing of the Russian frontier by undesirable elements of a bandit and pogromist type. Under such conditions all measures against the crossing of the frontier naturally become illusory. While flagrantly violating the Riga Treaty and destroying every basis for neighborly relations the Polish Government has at the same time presented a whole series of demands to the R. S. F. S. R. By its note of the 8th instant the Polish Government gave to these demands the form of an ultimatum, threatening the rupture of diplomatic relations in the event of the non-fulfilment of the demands enumerated in the appendix to the note; at the same time the Polish Government has refused the proposal of the Russian Government for a simultaneous fulfilment by both sides of the Riga Treaty by October 1st. The Russian Government most emphatically denounces the principle brought forward by the Polish Government that the fulfilment of the Riga Agreement is only binding for one side, and this the more peace-loving side, and considers that by propounding this principle in the form of an ultimatum it was admitting that it had no moral justification. The Russian Government having considered the demands formulated in the appendixes to the note of the 18th instant is in its turn bringing forward in a most conciliatory spirit a series of counter-proposals, trusting that the Polish Government will recognize the obligation of a mutual fulfilment of the Riga Treaty. The demands of the Polish Government, formulated in the appendixes to the Polish Government's note of the 18th instant contain a whole series of postulates of a general character partly already carried out by the Russian Government. But the part dealing with repatriation enumerates the measures which have hitherto been the subject of negotiations by the mixed repatriation commission. With respect to the first point of the appendix the Russian Government does not see any obstacles in the way of the speedy solution of the questions formulated in paragraphs 21 and 53. With respect to paragraphs 4 and 5 the Russian Government will issue the necessary instructions. Paragraph 6 does not appear clear to the Russian Government as it has not

been hitherto aware of any official agitation among the people to be repatriated and the same applies to paragraph 7 and 8, as the Russian Government does not put any obstacles in the way of a repatriation of persons entitled to it by the Riga Treaty. With respect to the second point of the appendix the Russian Government deems it necessary to state that the delay in the payment of the first instalment according to Clause 14 is the fault of the Polish Government. The Russian Government reiterates its readiness to proceed with the payment of the first instalment as soon as the Polish Government will have fulfilled the conditions of the Peace Treaty relating to the removal from Poland and liquidation of the organizations hostile to the Russian Government. With respect to the second instalment, this same will fall due, according to the corresponding paragraph in the Riga Treaty, two months after the payment of the first instalment. With respect to the third point of the appendix the Government reiterates its readiness to instruct its delegation to begin the work of the re- evacuation and other special commissions. All the claims mentioned on this question in the said appendix will be the subject of discussion for the appointed commissions. While expressing willingness to consider in a business-like way all the postulates brought forward in the memorandum, the Russian Government in its turn cannot help pointing out a series of violations of the Peace Treaty on the part of the Polish Government. Hitherto the Polish Government has not fulfilled its obligations devolving from the supplementary protocol to the Reparation Agreement of February 24, 1921, and up to the present has not returned to the Russian Government the 300 persons enumerated in the duly presented list, which fact caused the delay in the repatriation of the Poles interned in Russia. The Russian Government testified that the Polish Government is retarding the reception of refugees from Russia by its unwillingness to improve the machinery of the receiving stations on the frontier. Owing to the famine in the Volga provinces a large number of Polish refugees from those provinces have congregated on the frontiers of the Soviet Republic and are vainly endeavouring to enter into Poland. The Polish Government has refused the Russian Government's proposal to open a third receiving station. The Russian Government cannot help emphasizing the fact that the delay in the reception of the refugees is greatly to the detriment of the poorest among the Polish population from the famine district. The Russian Government considers as a necessary condition of its fulfilment of the Polish Government's demand the simultaneous fulfilment by the Polish Government of the following demands:

1. Persons participating in the organization of bandit and counter-revolutionary attacks on Russia must be removed from Polish territory within the period indicated in the Russian Government's Note of the same date.
2. Persons taking part in predatory incursions into Russian territory and their aiders and abettors must be arrested and brought to trial.
3. The camps of the interned divisions of the counter-revolutionary Russian army and of the interned who are employed on public works are to be moved from the frontier regions into the interior of Poland.
4. The Russian Cossacks on service in the Polish Frontier Guards are to be dismissed and transferred into the interior of the country.
5. The representatives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the Russian representative in Warsaw are to begin without delay the investigation of the material at the disposal of the Russian Government with the object of establishing the guilt of members of the Polish army, and of considering further measures for the prevention of a repetition of such cases in the future.

In order to facilitate the actual fulfilment by both sides of their mutual demands, the Russian Government proposes to postpone the date of their mutual fulfilment from

October 1 to October 5, 1921. In thus giving another proof of its love of peace, the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. trusts that the Polish Government, although it has been retarding in many ways the renewal of normal diplomatic relations, will carefully consider the seriousness of the proposal for the recall of the Polish representative from Moscow, and that it will adopt the only possible way of maintaining neighborly relations: a real and strict fulfilment of the Riga Peace Treaty, based on mutuality for both sides. Believe me, Your Excellency, Your obedient Servant, (Signed) *Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*

GEORGE CHICHERIN.

III.

We are not in possession of the full text of the Polish answer to the above Note, but from *Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna, September 29, we take as much of this text as that paper reprints.

"The second demand (to arrest and bring before court persons taking part in or supporting raids on Russian territory) is a matter of the penal code. The third demand (to transfer the camps of interned Russian counter-revolutionary troops from the border regions to the interior of Poland) is subject to discussion. The fourth demand (to dismiss the Russian Cossacks now in the service of the Polish Border Guards and shift them to the interior of the country) is baseless, as the Cossacks are not engaged in the Polish border service. As for the fifth demand (that the Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs examine, together with the Russian representative, the material in the possession of the Russian Government, to determine the guilt of Polish military men and to discuss measures to avoid a repetition of the incidents described), Poland rejects any attempt to meddle in the internal affairs of the country and declares that it will punish hostile acts against foreign states committed within its territory in accordance with its own laws."

Unfortunately there is no answer in the above to one of the main points of Chicherin's Note, namely, the demand that Russian counter-revolutionists be expelled from Poland and counter-revolutionary activity in the country be thus prevented. Poland is evidently seeking to postpone a definite answer by making use of evasions and subterfuges. The Government at Warsaw is as well aware as its employer, the Entente, that Poland could not bear the consequence of a winter campaign. Even Russia, in spite of the famine, would be capable of dealing a mortal blow to a belligerent Poland.

As yet it is not certain that Poland intends to risk incurring the full wrath of a people in serious straits. Russia continues in her desire to live at peace with her neighbors, so that her great experiment in workers' self-government, now entering upon its fifth year, may be conducted under the most favorable circumstances possible. Compare with this attitude the desperate and frivolous trifling by the Polish Government with the obligations assumed at the Riga Treaty.

PERMISSION TO REPRINT

There is no objection to the reprinting in other papers of material appearing in SOVIET RUSSIA. It is asked, however, that in all such cases due credit be given, and that a marked copy of the issue containing the reprint be sent to the Editor.

A REPLY TO CURZON

We reproduce below the text of a note delivered by Mr. Berzin of the Russian Trade Delegation to Lord Curzon in reply to the allegations contained in the note addressed by the British Government to the Soviet Government, September 7, with regard to the latter's attitude towards the British in Central Asia and Afghanistan. The formal reply of the Soviet Government, the text of which has not yet come to hand, was delivered to the British Representative in Moscow and exposed in detail the falsity of the charges contained in the British note. The source of the astounding accumulation of misinformation contained in Lord Curzon's note is explained by the correspondent of the London *Daily Herald*, who writes from Berlin, September 29:

"Recently I had occasion to observe the suspicious circumstance that a certain part of the material contained in the British Note (September 7) to Russia appeared some weeks ago in the Tsarist-Germanophile emigrant press in Berlin and Prague. Karl Radek (writing in *Pravda*, September 24) asserts that it is known to the Russian Government that this material has been written by the agents of Herr Weissmann (head of the Prussian Secret Service), and had been hawked about in reactionary newspaper offices on the Continent for the best price it would fetch. Except the Russian emigrant press, however, no one had taken it up until one of Sir Basil Thomson's (the head of the British Secret Service) bright young lads comes along and seals the Entente Cordiale between British and Prussian spy service by buying these documents."

Berzin's note follows:

Mr. Berzin presents his compliments to the Marquis Curzon of Kedleston and begs leave to refer to the Note addressed to the Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, Mr. Chicherin, on the 7th September.

Mr. Berzin understands from his Government that its reply to this Note is being handed to Mr. Hodgson in Moscow.

The Russian Government, while fully convinced that the accusations contained in Lord Curzon's Note have no foundation in fact, is making fresh inquiries in order to be able to refute in detail the statements upon which the charges in Lord Curzon's Note are based.

Meanwhile, Mr. Berzin feels that no time must be allowed to pass before pointing out that many of these statements will not bear even the most superficial examination.

For instance, Mr. Nuorteva is said by Lord Curzon to have issued a statement, as Director of the Department of Propaganda under the Third International, on June 20 last. In fact, he has been in prison since March, and has never held any position under the Third International.

Similarly, the other reports, attributed to Eliava, Karakhan, and others have never existed.

Mr. Rothstein, the Ambassador of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic at Teheran, has never been engaged in the forming of revolutionary committees in Persia.

Dr. Hafitz has never been sent to Moscow, or to any other place, by the Soviet Government.

These examples should serve, pending the receipt of a full reply from the Russian Government, to convince the British Government that the charges made are based upon inaccurate information.

There can be no doubt that Lord Curzon and the Foreign Office have fallen victims to the false rumors spread by the Russian White Guards, and of French origin.

It will be recalled that the French Press a short while ago was full of similar statements and insinuations.

Mr. Berzin wishes to impress upon the Foreign Office

that the Russian Government wishes more than ever to promote friendly and sincere relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government, and that it has given the best proof of its good intentions in taking steps, immediately after the signing of the Trade Agreement, to cease all activity and to dissolve any organization in the East which might be construed as likely to give offence to His Britannic Majesty's Government or to constitute a breach of the Agreement.

NEW FORGERIES AHEAD?

It has been a favorite practice of capitalist newspapers to print documents alleged to be signed by Soviet officials, and presenting unfavorable news of events in Soviet Russia, with the object of discouraging persons inclined to be favorable to the Soviet Government. Use is occasionally made of seals and other devices to add credibility to such forged documents.

A message from Constantinople signed by Dr. Kudish, Soviet Russian representative at Constantinople, affords information in advance of possible new forgeries. Forewarned is forearmed.

The text of the message follows:

"During the recent raid by the English on the offices of my Delegation, my Power of Attorney from the Moscow Centrosoyuz, signed by Lezhava, Khinchuk, and Volkov, disappeared. Also the metal seal of the Vneshtorg, September 23. Number 1126.

(Signed) KUDISH.

If no forgeries basing themselves on the signatures added to this Power of Attorney, and making use of the seal of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade (*Vneshtorg*) have as yet appeared, it may be because of the fact that Dr. Kudish's cable has already come to the attention of the circles in which such forgeries are produced. They have thus perhaps been also forewarned.

PLANS FOR A NEW POGROM

The Jewish newspaper *Haint*, appearing at Warsaw, has published the minutes of meetings of the "Committee of Rescuing the Fatherland", at Constantinople. The following participated at this meeting: General A. V. Krivosheyev, General S. G. Kleimovich, the Priest Vostokov, P. S. Lukomsky, General K. N. Slashchev, S. I. Durasevich, V. D. Orlov, V. M. Baranov and A. Petrushevich.

In these minutes details are given of the discussion on the question of organizing pogroms against Jews in Soviet Russia. The plan was advocated with great energy by General Slashchev, who proposed the immediate organization of a suitable group of agitators to be sent to the detachments of the Red Army in cities and towns, there to carry on anti-semitic propaganda and bring about pogroms. The plan was supported by General Kleimovich and the Priest Vostokov. General Krivosheyev also approved the proposition, and pointed out that the "Committee for Rescuing the Fatherland" already had at its disposal an organized group of such agitators, viz: the originators of the Jewish pogroms in Gomel.

At a meeting on February 25, this year, it was decided to organize a series of stations outside of Soviet Russia, namely, in Poland and Germany, and also in the Baltic countries. The Priest Vostokov at one of the sessions, on March 6, proposed that an appeal be issued to the Russian people, concluding with the following slogan: "Forward for Religion, the Tsar, and the Fatherland! Hail to God's anointed, the Archduke Dmitri Petrovich. Long live his faithful and valiant followers!" In the session of March 6, General Kleimovich proposed that instructions be drawn up for agents and agitators, who were to stimulate hatred, not only against the communist Jews, but also against Jews in general, particularly the intellectuals and the workers. In this program agitation, the instructions provided that the food difficulties should be exploited, as well as rumors of "ritual murders", and a warning was included not to hesitate because of fears of an excessive spread of pogroms, as the object this time was to "wipe out the Jews completely". The pogroms were to be organized in such manner that their relations with the monarchist centres abroad should not be revealed. The means necessary for the agitation were to be taken from the fund of 50 millions at the disposal of the High Command for emergency expenses. In addition, it was determined to draw up contracts with the "Russian Conference" at Berlin for the carrying on of pogrom activities and the obtaining of financial resources.

In the discussion there was an interesting exchange of opinions, reprinted herewith.

Lukomsky proposed that Russia, Siberia, and Berlin should be included in the area of activities of the pogrom organizations.

Orlov proposed that agents be also sent to Finland, Poland, and the Baltic countries.

Lukomsky: "I speak of Russia, but do not have in view the present artificial parceling out of the country."

Durasevich: "In the first place we must send out organizers of Jewish pogroms, for these pogroms are the best means of inflicting defeat on our enemies."

General Slashtchev: "We must have firm and determined men, not likely to let their hands tremble or their hearts fail."

Vostokov: "We must send instructions to the priests to preach in the churches against the Jews. We must also organize church processions with prayers for liberation from the Jews and the People's Commissars."

Krivosheyev: "I hope that by our systematic work, with the help of God, we shall attain satisfactory results and take vengeance upon the hateful Jews, and eradicate this dangerous race from Russian soil. We shall be avenged for all the humiliations and insults we have had to bear. We shall wash off the disgrace of the present moment in the blood of the Jews. Long live single undivided Russia and its beloved Monarch!"

All the sheets of the minutes are provided with the stamp of the committee, which is in the form of a cross accompanied by the inscription: "In this sign shalt thou conquer."

Discussions with Rumania on Bessarabia

A NOTE directed to the Rumanian Government on August 13 by Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine complained of the support secretly given by Rumania to Ukrainian counter-revolutionists in Rumania, Bukovina and Bessarabia. A Petlurian agent captured by the Soviet forces had confessed to official dealings with the Rumanian military authorities, which had for their purpose the support of certain counter-revolutionary and military organizations with which it was proposed to attack Soviet Ukraine, notably in the Odessa district, where they expected to secure assistance from bandits and from the German colonists.

The note to Rumania, signed by Chicherin for Soviet Russia and by Rakovsky for Soviet Ukraine, expressed the hope that the Rumanian Government would promptly suppress these perfidious activities, failing which the Russo-Ukrainian Soviet authorities would, in self-defense, be forced to pursue the counter-revolutionary bands across the Dniester. Assuring the Rumanian Government of the peaceful desires and intentions of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, the note stated that orders had been given to the Red troops near the Dniester

to avoid any action likely to give the appearance of aggression. The Rumanian Government was asked to instruct its military authorities to disband all White Guard units formed on Rumanian soil for the purpose of crossing the Soviet frontier.

Addressing the Moscow Soviet on August 30, Leon Trotsky pointed out that under the guise of the famine relief question a new orientation and regrouping was taking place among the capitalist powers with respect to their attitude towards Soviet Russia. "The crisis raging throughout the world," said Trotsky, "imperatively demands that Russia be included in the world's economy. This is now acknowledged by the bourgeois business men, merchants, capitalists and industrialists, and, to a lesser degree, at least by the shrewder of the politicians. The philanthropic aid which is now being talked of and prepared is essentially intended to pave the way for the contemplated penetration of foreign capital. We take cognizance thereof and are not in the least perturbed. On the contrary, we see this as a step forward. It must be noted, however, that while the general calamity of the famine has demonstrated to the shrewder

bourgeois politicians that outside of the Communist Party there is no force capable of organizing Russia, the Russian White Guard émigrés and their interventionist associates believe, with some reason, that if the present moment for intervention be neglected it will never occur again. As heretofore, Paris remains the center of this mood. An attempt of French military intervention is now, of course, out of the question. But before finally deciding to negotiate with Soviet Russia, France, or at least certain groups in France, are not averse to making one last attempt by pushing forward the small vassal states of the Entente.

"There is no serious ground for apprehension that the efforts of the French interventionists in this direction will now find any very sympathetic response in Poland. Commercial and industrial interests are driving Poland eastward, and these interests dash all the hopes of the petty bourgeois dreamers. But the case is undoubtedly less favorable with respect to Rumania. The Rumanian Government has hitherto resisted all efforts to regulate relations with Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine. Not even desiring to regulate correctly its relations with the Soviet states, the Rumanian Government, encouraged by the French interventionists, is attempting to fortify the Bessarabian border with the aid of Petlurian bands. The Chicherin-Rakovsky note on August 13 scarcely revealed a tithe of all our information on this subject. It is sufficient to trace these Petlurian bands far enough to arrive ultimately at certain Rumanian headquarters at Benderi, Kishinev and even at Bukharest. Jonescu, the Rumanian Foreign

Minister, has declared that the Chicherin-Rakovsky note created the greatest surprise in the Rumanian ministerial council. They, forsooth, did not know anything about the facts mentioned in that note. But we know these facts only too well. The surprise of the Rumanian cabinet, however extraordinary, does not dispose of the facts. If the official Rumanian Government knows nothing about these facts, then there must be in Rumania some unofficial government organizing Petlurists behind Jonescu's back. If an invasion of the Ukraine by new Petlurist bands, organized and armed in Bessarabia, should cause a new wave of banditry and guerrilla warfare, we should risk losing, from depredations, incendiary raids and military activity in this prosperous agricultural territory, more bread than philanthropy is preparing to give us. We therefore say to the Entente Governments: "You have organized a commission to investigate the question of Russian famine relief. It would be well for this commission to begin by investigating Bessarabia for the purpose of identifying those Petlurist bands which are menacing the Ukrainian granary and consequently threatening further sufferings to the starving Volga. On our own part, we would aid such a commission by vigilantly guarding our own frontier—which we do anyway."

"We are firmly convinced that our diplomacy by its firm and insistent policy will compel the other side to contemplate all these questions with open eyes, eschewing political evasions and equivocations and arriving at correct relations on the basis of a peace treaty."

Those Who Go to Russia

By JAKOB FRIIS

The distinguished Norwegian writer who contributed the following article to "Social-Demokraten," of Christiania, Norway (issue of August 3), has paid a number of visits to Russia since the Revolution, and has just returned to Norway from the Third Congress of the Third International, as well as the Congress of Trade Unions, both of which were held at Moscow.

"For the political adventurers who journey back and forth between Christiania and Moscow . . . the seriousness of life has not yet become apparent."—*Morgenbladet, Christiania, August 1, 1921.*

I.

A few days after we returned from Russia, I met one of the Norwegian printers who had been working in Russia during the Congress. He was the youngest of them. As far as I know, he had nothing to do with the Party, at least he had not been a strong party member before his departure.

"I long to go back to Russia," he said to me.

"Are you out of employment?" I asked.

"Not at all," he answered. "I have a very fine job. But all the same—"

I did not question him further as to the reasons

for his desire to go back. I merely saw by his facial expression that he really meant it.

Russia is a country where everything is serious. It is a country of battle, of enthusiasm, of death, of infinite suffering. Memory upon memory of life-long value comes up when you remember this. Memories of men, either as individuals or as great masses. But it is always first and last—men. A society that is dissolved and forming itself anew, masses of men who are grouping themselves in accordance with their fundamental instincts, who have re-crystallized into new groups, after the storms of war had dispersed them. A society in which politics is not the striving for power of petty Philistines, but a struggle, soul against soul, in the people and for the people. Where membership in the dominant party means a sense of duty and labor, of will and discipline, to death—.

II.

From the biggest to the smallest you deal first and foremost with—men. First take Lenin. He is Russia's ruler. He descends on the Congress like a storm. He has hardly had time to read over the speeches. He is raging against the "super-radicals" and thunders against them. He castigates Bela Kun like an infuriated professor who has just taken a noisy class by surprise. And then, having delivered his punishment, he passes on to more important work. And on the next day he has regrets—as if we were not all young at one time! And then he turns back to the young men. Of course we must proceed energetically, he tells them now. A Revolution cannot be accomplished without an exertion of the will, without the youthful, aggressive love of battle. To be sure you have sometimes committed follies, but you are, nevertheless, the children of my heart. That is Lenin's way, the "old man's" way, and all love him. His wrath is terrible. His gentleness makes men of young creatures.

Or consider Trotsky. He is energy personified. Agile, like a young athlete, he hastens across the Red Square by the side of the well-gloved General Brusilov, while the troops stand at attention. Like a comrade to his comrades, he calls out "Zdrastvuite Tovarishchi!" to the soldiers, as he passes along their ranks. He mounts the platform. He speaks in concise sentences. It is as if Björnson and George Stang were rolled into one. At the Congress a few days later, he outlines the main features of world economy with the aid of statistics and diagrams. He is now as cold and sober as any man of science could be. One of the young radicals makes the sly objection that it is good to know that the man before us is the head of the Red Army, for it is he who best of all has taught us that the Revolution is not to be gained by statistics but with the sword. Whereupon Trotsky answers that as a war minister he has had to pay just as much attention to the statistics of his soldiers' trousers, not to mention their underwear, as to the sword. Good statistics are a good sword. They are the objective factors in Revolution and are no less important than the subjective factors. Intelligence and will, both of superhuman dimensions—that is Trotsky.

III.

The Congress closes at two or three o'clock at night. All the participants pour out of the Tsar's Palace. The Russian Delegation marches at the head, singing. Through the Kremlin gate they move out on the Red Square. Under the Kremlin Wall a halt is made at the grave of Sverdlov, the first president of the Soviet Republic. A woman leads the singing. Now the moving Revolutionary funeral song, full of tears and pain. This is the Third World's Congress after the Russian Revolution—"Was this its grave-song that we have just heard?" one speaker asked. "No, a thousand times no! By the graves of the dead we swear our allegiance to Life. The Revolution lives in

our will and our understanding. Long live the World Revolution!"

IV.

Harbingers of death reach us again and again. The latest overtakes us on our homeward journey. Among the dead was Sergeiev, head of the Russian Mine Workers. The brightest of mind and strongest of faith, the least theoretical of all the trade-union men in Russia. He had come up to our room one evening, in conversation with Bull, Scheffo and me. And what knowledge he had, this man of the world of labor! He had lived a number of years in Australia, had tilled the soil and made a home there. He went back to his own country when the Revolution made Russia a home fit to live in. Again he worked the soil, this time in the wild forest of industry. He could tell you with full detail about the situation in the mining industry all over the country, how much was being produced, how much could be produced—he was an administrator of nature's superfluity . . . a healthy, sound optimist, a knight of labor. Accidentally, I came upon him the day before he left, and asked him what he thought of the Trade Congress. In a few swift strokes, he indicated its historic significance to me with clarity and deliberation. We embraced each other at parting in the good old Russian manner and hoped that we might meet again in good health. I promised to bring back a ball with me for his little boy when I should return.

V.

Although Russia has been cut off from the world it is yet the centre of the world. Many of us met and became friends there although we had come from all the corners of the earth. Many already have found their last resting place there: John Reed, Augusta Aasen, Hewlett, comrades of many nations. Many who had been sentenced to imprisonment in their home countries because of their opinions there found freedom and friendship. That is why Russia is hated by all the police officials of the bourgeois class, who feel that Russia is obstructing their manipulations. First and foremost Russia is hated by the higher servants of the bourgeois press. Poor devils, they take themselves and their dirty trade seriously—that is, the worst of them do. The best of them become cynics, who daily crush the voice of conscience in their breast. Soviet Russia does not need to be defended against these wretches. Nor do we who know and love Soviet Russia feel any need of defending ourselves. In Russia we learned the real meaning of life, in Russia we conceived a well-grounded contempt and compassion for people of the bourgeois journalist type. They are the offal of capitalist society. The worker sells his labor-power but not his soul. The capitalist pays for his liberation from work and loses the peace of his conscience. The bourgeois journalist seils both his labor power and his soul, and gains neither freedom nor an easy conscience from the transaction. Of all the exploited, he is the most pitiable.

Russia and Scandinavia

The publication of the Agreement between Russia and Norway on Page 223 is prefaced with this general review of Russian relations with Scandinavian countries.

The three Scandinavian countries were among the very first to conduct negotiations with representatives of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. For months the latter's representatives have lived, from time to time, in the capitals of these three countries, patiently negotiating with powers that would perhaps themselves have been ready to conclude definite treaties after a short lapse of time, but which seemed never to be able to reach the point of an actual consummation of an agreement, owing to the fact that larger powers were standing behind them and issuing instructions—perhaps orders—to them. Our readers will recall the negotiations that took place just one year ago in Christiania between Litvinov, acting for the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and the Norwegian Department of Commerce. Just at the moment when the commercial agreement between the two countries seemed about to be signed, the negotiations were rudely broken off by the Norwegian government, and Litvinov went home, his mission unaccomplished.

The course of events in the other Scandinavian countries has been in the main just as disappointing. Litvinov was permitted to negotiate with O'Grady at Copenhagen for many months, but the only direct fruit of this work was the agreement on the exchange of prisoners between Great Britain and Russia, which was signed at Copenhagen by these two representatives on February 12, 1920. No negotiations seem to have been conducted by Litvinov with the Danish government, in whose capital he was living, at least none that led to any conclusion. In Sweden there have been many commercial deals between the Soviet Government and local industrial enterprises, but the Swedish government has thus far observed an attitude of reluctant toleration only for these commercial transactions, and has subjected individual Russian citizens to some molestation—which, by the way, has also been their lot in Norway and Denmark.

Trade Agreement with Norway Now in Force

There are now signs that the unfortunate attitude of the small Scandinavian powers is being replaced by a more reasonable one. We are glad to be able to announce that at last the trade agreement has been signed between Norway and Soviet Russia. The reader will find the complete English text, which is, by the way, the official text, elsewhere in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. The cablegram with which the Russian Telegraph Agency greeted the new document is printed herewith:

Stockholm, September 2.—A trade agreement between Norway and Soviet Russia was signed today at Christiania. Platon M. Kerzhentsev, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in Sweden, signed for Russia, and the Norwegian Minister of Trade, Mowinckel, signed for Norway. The agreement recognizes the Soviet

Russian Trade Delegation as the only official representative of the Russian Government in Norway. The official representatives of the Soviet Government are accorded by the agreement practically all the rights given to the diplomatic representatives of other countries.

Like all announcements concerning Soviet Russia, this one came as a surprise. In fact, the attitude of the capitalist press in all countries in its treatment of Russian questions has produced a mental reservation on the part of readers that is so strong that they hardly take anything that they read on Russia with any degree of seriousness. The Norwegian papers, for weeks, during the progress of the negotiations at Stockholm between Kerzhentsev and the representatives of the Norwegian Department of Commerce, have been speaking so skeptically and scornfully of the possibilities of an actual treaty, that the mind has hardly been prepared for an announcement that the treaty is actually signed and in effect. But as time goes on we shall adapt ourselves more thoroughly to the lies of the newspapers and shall recover more blithely and swiftly from the discouragements resulting from their outrageous misrepresentations. Russian official sources had not made any concealment of the fact that the treaty was approaching acceptance by both sides. Thus a Russian Telegraph Agency message of July 30, appearing in several Scandinavian newspapers, tells the following concerning the progress of the negotiations:

"In the last few days negotiations have been going on between Kerzhentsev and the Norwegian Government's delegation for the conclusion of an agreement between Russia and Norway, and the wording of the agreement is now in final shape. There remain for consideration only a few minor changes in some of the clauses. Kerzhentsev is now going to Moscow to report personally to his government on the course of the negotiations with Norway and Denmark."

Norwegian Government Not Frank

The Norwegian authorities were not so frank in publishing the probable outcome of the discussions on the agreement, and a Christiania newspaper, *Social-Demokraten*, in an editorial contained in its issue of August 1, reports that when it asked the Chairman of the Norwegian Negotiations Committee, Mr. Director Giverholt Hansen, what were the facts with regard to the progress of the conversations at Stockholm, it appeared "that on the Norwegian side there is by no means such full information as to the results of the negotiations as one might be justified in expecting after reading the official Russian communication" (given here). To be sure, it was difficult for a time to come to an agreement concerning the wording of the document. The draft had to be submitted again and again to the Norwegian government, and new negotiations had to be begun from time

to time. But Commercial Councillor Hansen seemed to be unable to give any concrete information concerning the new demands alleged to be raised by the Russian side. Under these circumstances it was difficult for Norwegian citizens, including the editors of Norwegian newspapers, to make any inferences concerning the repeated delays in the negotiations, which must have been chiefly due to objections raised by the Norwegian side. *Social-Demokraten* for instance, in the above-mentioned editorial, calls attention to the fact that the information given by Mr. Hansen does not accord with what the paper had learned from other sources, to the effect that the Russian representatives had shown the best of faith in their readiness to bring the negotiations to a conclusion and to remove all obstacles, as well as to grant to the Norwegian side the benefit of the doubt, by assuming that that side also was animated by the same spirit. "Russian circles have assured our representative that since the Danish-Russian negotiations, which were only begun a few weeks ago, had led to the probability of an immediate understanding after not more than two or three short sessions, it should now be possible to arrive at an understanding in the Norwegian-Russian negotiations which have now been going on for several months." The comment with which the editorial writer concludes his article is this: "The present government may rightly maintain that the former government was responsible for the slow progress of the negotiations, and can make political capital both within and without, by bringing the negotiations now that it has the chance, to a successful conclusion. At this moment it looks as if the new government is also not likely to lead to any result of advantage to the country. If it wishes to free itself from the suspicion that it is merely continuing the former government's procrastination in its negotiations with Russia, we must demand that it explain to the public the new disputed questions that are alleged to have been injected into the controversy by the Russian side. Surely the Russian representatives have nothing that they wish to have concealed. In fact, the Russian side has every interest in forcing the Norwegian government to cease its sabotage in the negotiations with Soviet Russia."

Postal Relations with Norway Resumed

But the incident is now closed; the commercial agreement between Russia and Norway has been signed, and while we have not yet received the text of this document, we hope soon to be able to supply our readers with a translation of it. The text originally proposed by the Russian government, as well as the comments by Norwegian officials one year ago, will be found in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, Vol. III, No. 26 (Page 642, December 25, 1920). Further steps were taken in the resumption of relations between the two countries even before the signing of the agreement on September 2. On July 10, postal relations were opened be-

tween Soviet Russia and Norway, which provided for the sending of only first class mail and newspapers. On August first, the postal privileges were extended and provisions were also made for forwarding registered mail from Norway to Russia.

Sweden and Russia to Have a Cable

Sweden meanwhile has completed her negotiations with Soviet Russia, and seems at last to have given permission to the Great Northern Telegraph Company, which owns a cable system terminating at Petrograd, to open its telegraph service with Russia during the fall. "The preparations for resuming cable relations between Stockholm and Petrograd are now in full progress and the Swedish telegraph office has declared its readiness to take up the service as soon as the cable has been put in good repair." (*Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm, August 9.)

But, while the Swedish government has not yet felt quite ready to sign an agreement with Russia, some of the Swedish industrial magnates seem not to be afraid to accept Russian orders, and the government is reluctantly giving permission for the execution of these orders.

Russian Locomotives Made in Sweden

A message to *Dagens Nyheter* makes clear that orders have been successfully placed, and that the men who did not permit themselves to be frightened by lying reports or machinations were farsighted in their view:

"Trollhättan in these days is a sight that knows no equal in Swedish industrial centers. Of course there are a number of factories in this locality, as well as elsewhere, that have closed down, but there is no sign of unemployment. The largest industrial enterprise of the neighborhood, Nydkviat and Holm's shops, have not only been able to keep at work all their old workers, but have even employed a number of new hands, who were thrown out of work by the curtailment of production by other local factories. Quite a number of unemployed from other districts have obtained employment here."

The explanation of the great activity now being shown by Nydkviat and Holm is to be found in the Russian locomotive orders. These orders—the biggest assignment ever made to Swedish industries—have been the subject of endless red tape, and old factory owners have shaken their heads dubiously when the matter of these locomotive constructions was mentioned. The whole thing was regarded as a fantastic Bolshevik plan worth no more than most such "inventions". Very few really believed that anything would actually come of these locomotives. But while all these prophets of misfortune are still at work, operations at the Nydkviat and Holm works are proceeding under full steam and the first three locomotives will be ready for delivery at the shops within a few days. The factories have been expanded to accommodate the work.

Swedish Unemployment Going Down

"The establishment has been increased to almost double its former size since the execution of the Russian orders began. New hosts of workers already have jobs. And

more than this—a great deal of work has been assigned to other industrial establishments, thus also affording employment to other workers. It is estimated that now no less than 20,000 hands are making a living in our country by the construction of these locomotives. At Trolhättan there are now employed considerably more than 2,000 men, including office help. In the Eskilstuna factory and that of Gamle Munktell there are 700 men. In addition to the workers in the mines and shops to which Nydkvist and Holm have given orders. *As a matter of fact, the Russian locomotives are the only work that the Swedish machine shops are now turning out.*"

As Director Nydkvist tells the *Dagens Nyheter* correspondent, almost two years have passed since a Swedish locomotive rolled out of the shops. Some idea of the proportions of the work now in hand may be obtained from the fact that the Russian locomotive orders involve a sum of 230,000,000 crowns (about \$50,000,000 at the present rate of exchange) and that one thousand locomotives are to be delivered. Altogether, the Swedish railroads operate about two thousand locomotives.

Nydkvist and Holm have thus far collected about 15,000,000 crowns worth of material. A small part of this sum is going to Germany, the remainder falling to the lot of Swedish industry.

Mr. Nydkvist also said that the transportation problem was not a serious one, as two ways were open. The locomotives might either be taken over the tracks by way of Falun and Haparanda, and over the Finnish railroad lines to Petrograd, or they might be transported by sea via Gothenburg. The choice will depend entirely on the question of costs. The first alternative depended on an offer from the railroads in question, and this they have already made. A number of offers have been made for the sea route and only the signing of a contract remains to be accomplished.

"We are merely waiting to see which is cheaper. There are no practical differences in the way. A few days ago the first locomotive with the Swedish gauge ran from Cassel to Hamburg. Russia has already received other locomotives, both from Germany and Austria, and the transportation has proceeded without a hitch, in spite of the difference in gauge (width between tracks). On this subject Professor Lomonosov pronounced these prophetic words: 'If a German can do it, so can a Swede.'"

How Reports Are Distorted

One of the editors of the Norwegian Socialist daily, *Social-Demokraten*, Comrade Scheflo, recently visited Russia, and the issue of his paper for July 22 printed a short interview with him on the subject of the famine in Russia. A number of bourgeois papers had printed a telegram reporting that 110,000,000 people were afflicted with famine and pestilence, while the same Norwegian newspapers were simultaneously reporting great disturbances in Moscow and Petrograd. To correct these reports, Editor Scheflo stated that in the two months he had been in Russia there had been absolute quiet both in Moscow and Petrograd, although he admitted that "the workers in the great cities are suffering great want and practically are starving." He further said that in the Volga district there was great distress among the

people. But he placed the number of starving people at not more than about ten million. The bourgeois press had therefore exaggerated only to the extent of one hundred million people.

In Norway, as in other countries, the capitalist press seems determined to exaggerate conditions in Russia either in one direction or another. Either—in order to deceive themselves into believing that the hated system is about to die—they overstate its difficulties in an outrageous manner, or—because they wish that no help may be given to the adherents of the hated system in their distress—they belittle every difficulty, especially the need for food, in the country where the new system lives. Norwegian government officials have joined in the general campaign of lies in both these directions. Thus, the Norwegian Storting, the country's parliament, was recently discussing the proposition made by the government to donate 700,000 crowns to purchase food to help the suffering Russian peasants. One of the members of the Storting, Editor Hambro, opposed the proposition and referred to Scheflo's remarks in the *Social-Demokraten* as his authority for the fact that—and he pretended that he was quoting Scheflo's words—"the reports of famine in Russia were an expression of the usual lying tendencies of the bourgeois press." And later on in the discussion, Councillor of State Mowinckel—the same man who later, on September 2, signed the commercial agreement with Soviet Russia for Norway, which the reader will find on page 223 — said that as the conditions in Russia were "so idyllic as Scheflo points out, the Soviet will probably be not at all grateful for this gift." Mr. Mowinckel knew that he was trying to give an erroneous impression and was fully aware that the Soviet Government was not exaggerating when it asked that help be given to its starving people, and he knew also that the gift of 700,000 crowns to purchase fish for the Russian people in Norway was based upon the knowledge of these conditions by the Norwegian people. It is interesting to add that the Soviet Government was grateful when it was informed that the Norwegian Government would send these supplies and expressed its thanks in a telegram to that effect.

Fish, Wine, and Policy

It may be that the Norwegian government consented to yield to the demand of the people to grant money for the purchase of fish for Russia, only because it wished to help out the fish merchants who had been having great difficulty in disposing of their enormous stores of herring and other sea food this year, but the fact remains that this food is to go to Russia and the Russian people will be glad to get it.

Norway has recently had a very interesting experience with imperialism on a small scale. It will be recalled that Norway is a prohibition country, and, by the way, a country in which prohibition was introduced against the will of

the capitalist class as a result of long agitation by the workers themselves. But Spain is a wine-exporting country which used to purchase much Norwegian fish. Owing to the fact that Norway has not changed its prohibition laws in order to make it possible for the Spanish wine-merchants to export their wines to Norway, Spain has closed its ports to Norwegian fish. This explains in part the great difficulty the Norwegian sellers have had in disposing of their supplies of fish. It is amusing to add also, while it has nothing to do with the present subject, that serious discussions have also arisen between Spain and Iceland because of the fact that prohibition is beginning to be enforced in the latter country, which therefore can no longer import Spanish wines, and will probably soon find that Spanish ports will no longer be ready to receive Icelandic herring. Possibly this may mean that Icelandic fish merchants will soon offer to sell their wares to Soviet Russia.

Relief with a Vengeance

In Scandinavian newspapers also it is pointed out with much glee that the Russian workers and peasants are making the Soviet Government responsible for the misfortunes that have now befallen the population of the country. Of course, the working-class papers call attention to the fact that this is not the case, that the great masses of the people have not the slightest desire to overthrow or change the Soviet Government, that they know very well that if this government should fall, the people would perish in the most savage chaos. *Social-Demokraten* puts the matter in these words:

"They know also that the resources still left in Russia after seven years of war and civil war are being utilized to the full by the Soviet Government, which, ignoring all private considerations, is exerting all its energy to help the suffering population. If the aid which the Soviet Government is giving is insufficient, this is due in the first place to the lack of means of communication. Thus it is impossible to get grain from Siberia in any satisfactory quantities. The bad condition of the railroads, in its turn, is a direct consequence of the war and civil war. This is so self-evident that it needs no further proof. The chief responsibility for the famine in Russia lies at

the door of the counter-revolutionary generals and the governments which enabled these wretches to harry in Russia.

"Meanwhile, counter-revolutionary circles in Western Europe cannot give up the idea that the famine in Russia may be utilized in order to damage the Soviet Government. Efforts are being made to have Western Europe offer its help under such conditions that the Soviet Government will be obliged to decline to receive such 'help'. Here in Norway the newspaper *Tidens Tegn* is actively working for this fine plan—of course not in so many words, but it is nevertheless clear what they have up their sleeves.

"We may however assume that the Norwegian government will not yield to this agitation. The goods that are sent by Norway will surely be delivered to the Russian authorities without any onerous conditions. But very probably there will be goods delivered from other countries, the givers of which are animated by entirely different purposes than to help Russia, and which Russia will therefore have to refuse to receive. It is therefore necessary that the working class all over the world shall aid in giving food to Russia.

"The Norwegian working class must also take part. The secretariat and the central executive committee of the Norwegian Workers' Party have already discussed the matter, and within the next few days an appeal will be sent out for a collection. The Norwegian workers will here have an opportunity to show their solidarity with the Russian working class. And we do not doubt that the collection will show a good result."

Denmark's Workers Aid

News just reaches us in a letter from Denmark that the workers in that country, like their brothers in Norway and Sweden, are beginning to respond nobly to the call of the starving millions in Russia. We are told that the Danish Communist Party, together with the opposition faction in the trade unions, and the Young People's Social-Democratic League of Denmark, have sent out a joint appeal to the workers of the country to give aid to Russia. For the purpose of organizing this assistance, a committee of members of the three above-named organizations has been appointed. This committee has already sent out collection lists as well as set a day, namely August 18, as "Russia Day", on which the workers are encouraged to give up a day's pay for the famine sufferers. This, of course, is a method that has already been followed in other countries for the purpose of relief for Russia.

Trade Agreement between Russia and Norway

The following is the full text of the Agreement, in the official version, as signed at Christiania, which is in English. Owing to this circumstance, we have made no attempt to edit or improve the language of the Agreement.

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and the Royal Norwegian Government, who are both desirous that—pending the re-establishment of normal diplomatic relations—trade and commerce between the two countries should be forthwith resumed, have concluded the following Preliminary Agreement, viz.:

Article I.

1. The R. S. F. S. R. Government agrees to grant free admittance to a Delegation of the Norwegian Government, consisting of one or several authorized official representatives (head of the Delegation and his official assistants) and several trade agents and their staff of secretaries, experts, translators, clerks, etc. The Norwegian Government, on the same conditions, grants admission to a

Delegation of the R. S. F. S. R. Government.

The number of official representatives and trade agents shall be mutually agreed upon.

2. Provisionally the number of the members of each Delegation, together with the said staff, coming from Russia and Norway, respectively, is fixed at 20, this number being subject to increase by mutual agreement.

3. The heads of the Delegations of both countries will have quality and full power to act in the name of their Governments.

4. The official Delegation of the R. S. F. S. R. in Norway should be regarded as the only representative of the Russian State.

5. If either of the contracting parties should want to appoint any of the said trade agents to reside and carry

out the functions ordinarily performed by consular officers—according to the present agreement—at places outside of the capital of the respective country, they may do so subject to the approval in each case of the other party.

Article II.

1. The official representatives and trade agents enjoy immunity of person, domicile and private property, and shall be exempted from all compulsory obligations and services whatsoever, whether civil, naval, military or other, and from any contributions imposed as an equivalent for personal service. They shall be free of any central or local taxation and enjoy all other privileges of that kind which are granted to the official representatives of other foreign governments, and shall have the right of egress.

2. The respective Governments will extend to members of the staffs of the respective Delegations, including persons already domiciliated in the respective country, the same liberality as is under equal circumstances usually, in conformity with the law of nations, accorded to the staffs of diplomatic missions.

3. The official representatives of both countries shall have the right to use the flag and other official emblems established by the laws of their respective countries.

Article III.

1. The Delegation shall be granted the rights enjoyed by persons having a legal status and all consequences arising therefrom, such as the right of appearing before the courts of the country in question as plaintiff or defendant, and of entering into every sort of commercial, credit, and financial transactions within the limits of the laws of the respective country. For this purpose, the Delegations of both countries should, as regards civil disputes arising in connection with this agreement, be granted the right of bringing actions and to appear before the said courts with full legal effect.

2. The Heads of both Delegations shall further be empowered to receive—on behalf of their mandators—notice and citations brought against the latter before the Russian or Norwegian courts, respectively, regarding the fulfillment of contracts made under this agreement.

Article IV.

1. Both Governments declare that they will not initiate nor support any steps with a view to attach or take possession of any funds, goods or movable or immovable property, belonging to the other party or its nationals, lawfully imported into or acquired in the respective countries after the conclusion of this Agreement.

2. As long as the present Agreement is in force, property belonging to the Russian Government shall in Norway enjoy the immunity extended under international law to the property of friendly governments and shall especially not be subjected to Norwegian jurisdiction or sequestration by Norwegian authorities. The previous stipulation does not, however, apply in the case of legal actions arising in connection with contracts, acts, and events, taking place under this Agreement.

The Russian Government gives a corresponding guaranty as regards property belonging to the Norwegian Government.

3. The stipulation laid down in §32 of the law relating to civil procedure, dated August 13th, 1915, and implying that an action may be brought in against a person who has no general forum (venue) in Norway, shall not be applied with respect to the Russian Government and its official representatives.

4. If—as a result of any action in a court—the effectiveness of the stipulations of this article should to some extent be reduced, either of the parties have the right to terminate this agreement forthwith.

Article V.

1. The official representatives enjoy the right of free access to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the respective country in matters relating to their Governments, to the carrying out of this Agreement, to trade relations, or to the defense of the interests of their nationals.

2. They enjoy also the right to grant visas and pas-

ports, and to certify documents, and all other rights of that kind which belong to official representatives of other foreign governments in the country in question.

Article VI.

1. The official representatives and trade agents enjoy the right of freely communicating with their own Government and its official representatives in other countries by way of telegraph, wireless, or mail, and the right of sending and receiving telegrams in cipher, the dispatches of the Delegations being forwarded on basis of priority as official Government dispatches of the respective country. The Delegations enjoy also the right of dispatching and receiving couriers with sealed bags—which shall be exempted from examination—the total weight of sealed bags brought by such couriers not to exceed ten (10) kilograms per week.

2. The official representatives and trade agents have the right of freely receiving by couriers or mail all sorts of periodicals and books, appearing in their own country, for their personal use or for the benefit of their staff.

3. The Government of each country pledges itself to assist the respective Delegations to the best of its ability in finding residences and premises necessary for living and carrying on their work.

Article VII.

Passports, powers of attorney, and similar documents—issued or certified by the competent authorities in either country—shall be treated in the other as if they were issued or certified by the authorities of a recognized foreign government.

Article VIII.

1. The members of the Delegations and their staffs engage themselves to abstain from any political propaganda and not to interfere with the internal affairs of the respective country.

2. The Delegations of both parties shall abstain from entering into any service or receiving any commission from any government, firms, or private persons of any other country than their own.

Article XI.

1. Russian and Norwegian merchant ships, their masters, crews, and cargoes, shall in ports of Russia and Norway, respectively, receive in all respects the treatment, privileges, facilities, immunities, and protections which are usually accorded by the established practice of commercial nations to foreign merchant ships, their masters, crews, and cargoes visiting their ports, including the facilities usually accorded in respect of coal, water, pilotage, berthing, dry-docks, cranes, repairs, warehouse, and, generally, all services, appliances, and premises connected with merchant shipping.

2. Each of the contracting parties consents to permit free transit of goods from and to the other country, in accordance with the laws of the respective countries, always provided that nothing in this stipulation shall entitle either party to claim the benefit of special transit agreements made by the other party with any third country. Such transit goods may be reshipped, stored or re-exported, subject to the restrictions resulting from the laws of the respective countries. They shall be exempt from custom duties and transit dues in any form.

Article X.

Both contracting parties agree, simultaneously with the conclusion of the present Agreement, to renew exchange of private postal and telegraphic correspondence between both countries, as well as dispatch and acceptance of wireless messages in accordance with the existing international post and telegraph regulations. As regards telegraphy in cipher, the provisions of article six herein shall apply.

Article XI.

The commercial agreements and transactions between the two countries should be based on the following principles, viz.:

a) The monopoly of the foreign trade—as far as Russia is concerned—belongs to the Government of the R. S. F. S. R., which works through the Commissariat for Foreign Trade and its organizations.

b) Every commercial agreement and transaction which has been made with some private persons or groups who are not working on behalf or with the consent of the Government of the R. S. F. S. R., will be regarded as a violation of such monopoly, with all consequences, arising out of the Russian law in the matter.

c) The monopolization of the foreign trade by any party cannot be regarded by the other party as a reason for imposing any custom duties or claiming any compensation.

Article XII.

The present Agreement shall not prejudice any existing claims for the payment of compensation or the effecting of restitution of either party or of its nationals against the other party.

Article XIII.

This Agreement shall enter into force as soon as ratified by both Governments. If either of the parties should wish to terminate the present Agreement, it should give six months notice thereof. When such notice shall have been given, the only new transactions which shall be entered into under this Agreement, shall be such as can be completed within the six months.

Article XIV.

If the termination of this Agreement should be noticed or agreed upon, the official Delegations are accorded the right to stay in the country during the time necessary for the complete winding up of commercial transactions and the selling off or export of the goods belonging to their Governments, but not exceeding three months.

P. M. KERCENTZEV

JOH. LUDW. MOWINCKEL

Christiania, September 2, 1921.

NEW ORDER PLACED IN SWEDEN

GOTHENBURG, SWEDEN. — *Götenborgs Handels Tidning* reports that the Baltic Stock Company has received from the Russian Commercial Delegation in Stockholm a number of large orders for agricultural machines and separators. More than two million crowns (about \$400,000 at the present rate of exchange) are involved. Most of the goods are already in stock, which will make it possible to make deliveries without for the present increasing the company's production to a great extent. A number of minor operations are to be carried out at the Arvika Works.

Austria Delivers Weapons to Her Enemies

A consignment of 150 carloads of munitions for Poland and Hungary has been attracting much attention in Austria of late, in view of the fact that the consignees will probably use them both against Austria and Russia. The following is taken from "Die Rote Fahne", Vienna, September 10, 1921.

WE are in a position to publish the following document, which was sent by the Military Attaché of the Polish Embassy in Vienna to the Hungarian Embassy in Vienna.

To the Royal Hungarian Embassy in Vienna
Reg. No. 1784 (Confidential! 1921)
Vienna, September 1, 1921.

The Polish Government, through its Embassy in Vienna, takes the liberty to communicate the following to the Royal Hungarian Government:

In view of the fact that the last shipments of war material—consisting of four carloads of arms and munition, being transported across Chekho-Slovakia in charge of the French Embassy—were held up in Brünn by reason of insufficient facilities for safeguarding them, the Polish Government has decided to route further consignments through Hungary.

In the month of September, 150 carloads of war materials, consisting chiefly of "Field Guns", 8 centimetres (05 model), Field Howitzers, 11 centimetres (99 model), and Machine Guns, Schwarzlose System, condemned as "scrap", will be forwarded. Colonel Von Wolf-Schneider, of the Polish General Staff, will come to Vienna for the purpose of supervising and directing this transport, in, and out of, Austria, in accordance with the latest agreement of the Polish Military Attaché with the Hungary Embassy.

The Polish Government requests the Royal Hungarian Government to grant its official protection to these consignments while on Hungarian territory. Colonel Von Wolf-Schneider will place at the disposal of the Royal Hungarian Embassy all documents necessary for the forwarding of the 150 carloads in question.

There is no danger that this consignment will be held up in Austria, as all necessary measures have been taken to safeguard it.

(Signed) COL. PROCHASKA, M. P.
Military Attaché of the Polish Embassy.

It is irrefutably manifest from this document that the Austrian Government also has expressed its willingness "officially to protect" this consignment of munitions destined to aid in the overthrow of the proletarian rule, even though such decision may have been expressed only in secret. The fact that Poland is arming itself with feverish haste against Russia, that it is being provided with great masses of munitions for this noble purpose, is fairly well known. It is also clear that Hungary is cooperating body and soul in the support of these plans against Soviet Russia. What do our social-democrats say to the fact that the state whose "democracy" they so much praise, in which they are so "mighty" and so "vigilant", that Austria should encourage these plans, hand in hand with Hungary, that the Polish Embassy should be able to declare the transport of these munitions through Austria to be quite secure, to be even more secure than the route through Chekho-Slovakia?

But the matter increases in seriousness and gravity when we consider it in connection with the Hungarian question. While the Austrian Defense Guards are engaged in serious encounters with the Horthy bandits, the governments and speculators are trading together, and munitions are rolling over the tracks into Hungary to crush the Russian workers. And now we understand better why the reaction in Hungary and Germany is again behaving so blithely. Poland's plans of attack also, together with a simultaneous instigation of mon-

archist conspiracies in Russia, are in line with the general onslaught of world reaction, and demonstrate how widely planned the whole business is. It is in truth high time that the working class should put an end to this reactionary rabble, it is high time that it should use its power to secure itself while there is still a chance. What, we ask, is the Committee for Control and Munitions doing? Is it sleeping, if the Polish Government can express itself as so sure of its affairs? The railroad workers must exert every means to discover and hold back the 150 cars and the countless other cars that are trickling through Austria loaded with "scrap iron". The whole working class must at last wake up and question what is going on here.

And one point more: a reading of the above document will show why the Entente, making use of Hungary for such purpose, permits Hungary to do everything it likes, and what a childish illusion it would be to expect the Entente to give us any help against Hungary.

The munitions now moving into Hungary are of Austrian origin; our workers are therefore creating the weapons that are being taken from Austria and handed to Hungary and Poland in order to be used against the Austrian and Russian workers. Workers, see to it that these weapons do not reach the hands of your worst enemies. It is time to wake up.

The Kashir Electrical Station

By L. C. MARTENS

Senator Joseph I. France, who inspected the construction of the Kashir Electrical Station, during his recent visit to Soviet Russia, writes to us concerning this operation: "I visited this plant, the building of which is an important engineering feat. I was delighted with all I saw there. It is a great step forward in the direction of the electrification of Russia."

THE idea of building a powerful regional electrical station on the shores of the River Oka near the deposits of the local low-grade fuel, known as "Moscow district brown coal," is by no means new. It was suggested long before the Soviets were in power, but did not reach the stage of execution because of the endless quarrels between the well-known capitalist Vtorov, and the Deutsche Bank, while the pre-revolutionary authorities were completely indifferent to the project.

The fuel crisis caused by the World War and the destructive civil wars, necessitating the most systematic utilization of the natural resources of Russia, including the local low-grade fuels, led the Soviet Government to establish a national policy in this respect.

With the acceptance at the Eighth Congress of Soviets of the general program of electrification of the country, the construction of regional power stations became of immediate importance. The first step in this project, even before the final elaboration of the program adopted by the Congress, was the construction of the Kashir regional electric station, with a capacity of 80,000 kilowatts, situated one hundred versts from Moscow, and about the same distance from the tracts containing the Moscow coal deposits. The station is designed to supply electric power to the city of Moscow and the Moscow industrial region, and also to the industrial establishments of the city of Serpukhov, the Machine Construction Works of Kolomna, the Ozer Textile Industries, the neighboring villages, and the railroad shops at Kashir.

The construction of the Kashir Station was organized on March 25, 1919. Building was commenced, after the preparation of the site, on June 10 of the same year.

The work is being carried on as rapidly as

possible, and at the present time (August, 1921) the main structure of the station is completed. There have been set up two turbine units of the Brown-Bovery type, of 12,000 kilowatts each, one of which, of 3,100 voltage, will begin to operate in October, 1921. These turbine engines will be served by ten boilers; two of the Babcock and Wilcox type, with a heating surface of 300 square meters each; four of the Garbe type, with a heating surface of 450 square meters; and four, of the Sterling type, with a heating surface of 550 square meters. Of these, two Garbe boilers and two Babcock and Wilcox boilers are already in place. The equipment of the pumping station has been completely installed.

In view of the large quantity of ashes yielded by this coal, mechanical ash-removers, operating on the chain system, will be installed with blowers under the furnaces.

The directors of the building operation, as the result of two years' experience, estimated that the erection of the station, requiring the work of about 5,000 to 6,000 workers and office employees, would require extensive provisioning from Soviet farms. For this purpose the Government first assigned three Soviet farms with a total grain and garden area of two hundred desyatins, and later added three more farms, making a total area of one thousand desyatins. This area of grain and vegetable land, rationally cultivated, will afford the necessary products for the workers, who thus need not waste their energy in the search for food, but may give all their strength to the speedy completion of the electrical station and the invigoration of the industrial life of the Moscow region with this up-to-date and powerful plant. Incidentally, the Soviet farms connected with the building operation, which now include a large dairy farm, ex-

tensive vegetable farms and grain fields, hot beds and green houses, will become a model for Soviet agriculture.

EDUCATION IN SIBERIA

The following data are summarized from the official report of the Siberian Department of Education. The report comprises the provinces of Omsk, Tomsk, Altai, Semipalatinsk, Yenisseisk and Irkutsk. No information had been received from other parts of Siberia at the time the report was completed, May 1, 1921.

The educational activities in Siberia among adults are summarized in the following figures:

Schools for adults	631
Extension Courses	85
Educational Circles	99
Clubs	334
People's and Peasants' Houses	616
Reading Rooms	4,129
Circulating Libraries	2,233

The number of schools for children is shown in the following table:

Grade	May 1, 1921	Nov. 1, 1920	Increase (+)	Decrease (-)
Primary	9059	7756	1303	
Secondary (grammar and high schools)	345	379		34
Total	9404	8135		
Teachers ...	16,789	13,480	3309	
Pupils	577,394	462,905	114,489	

The progress of education for the past 24 years appears from the following table:

Year	Number of Schools
1897	2542
1911	3766
1919	6410
1920	8133
1921	9404

Thus, within the past ten years the number of schools has been trebled.

In addition to the general schools, a large number of schools have been established for the aborigines, where instruction is given to the adults in their native languages. There are 247 schools of that kind for the Kirghizes and 38 for the Tatars. The same nationalities have also a number of primary schools where the children are taught in their native tongue, namely, 709 schools for Kirghiz children and 283 for Tatar children.

The work of the Department of Education is seriously handicapped by the lack of text books, pencils, and so forth.

DR. DUBROWSKY'S NEW QUARTERS

We are asked by Dr. D. H. Dubrowsky, Representative of the Russian Red Cross in the United States, to announce that on November 1 he will give up his present offices at 47 West 42nd St., New York, and will establish his headquarters in Room 1104, World's Tower Building, 110 West 40th St., New York. All communications to Dr. Dubrowsky should be sent to the new address after November 1.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912 OF SOVIET RUSSIA, published monthly at New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1921
State of New York)
County of New York) ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Horace S. Reis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of Soviet Russia and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the data shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Name Of	Post Office Address
Publisher: Kenneth Durant,	110 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.
Editor: Jacob W. Hartmann,	110 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor: None.	
Business Manager: Horace S. Reis,	110 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)
Kenneth Durant, 110 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.
Solo owner.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (if there are none, so state.)
None

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing a grant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this grant has on reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is— (This information is required from daily publications only.)

Horace S. Reis,
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September, 1921.
Edmond Livingston Brown,
Notary Public, Queens County
(Seal)
Queen's County Clerk's No. 1282
Edmond Livingston Brown
Notary Public
Queen's County Register's No. 1283
Certificate filed in New York County
Clerk's No. 117, Register's No. 3140
Commission expires March 30th, 1923.

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Books Reviewed

THROUGH THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By Albert Rhys Williams. New York: Boni and Liveright. 1921. 311 pp.

Albert Rhys Williams was one of the few American correspondents in Russia during 1917 who was not content to retail the lurid fiction about Bolshevism aims and ideals which passed current in respectable diplomatic and financial circles. He met Lenin, Trotsky and other Communist leaders; and, what is still more important, he spent much of his time with the Russian workers and peasants, learning their problems and coming to look at the Revolution from their viewpoint. Since his return to America he has been a tireless and effective worker in the cause of resisting intervention and telling the American people the truth about the Soviet Republic.

His present work does not pretend to be a complete documentary history of the Revolution. It must rather be considered a story of some of the most exciting episodes of the November days, and of the intervention in Vladivostok, told with the fervor and vividness of a man who has actually witnessed the scenes which he describes. The human aspects of the Revolution are always emphasized. Mr. Williams is never at a loss for an apt anecdote, usually drawn from personal experience, to illustrate the varied reactions of soldiers, peasants and workers to the course of events.

At the same time the essential significance of the November upheaval is not obscured. By summing up, in simple language, the reasons why the Russian workers and peasants were dissatisfied with the Kerensky Government, and the gains which they secured by the establishment of the Soviet power, he clarifies and defines the issues of the Revolution.

Every chapter in Mr. Williams' book is a brilliant achievement in dramatic writing. Perhaps the best in this respect is the account of the unsuccessful uprising of the Yunkers in Petrograd, in which the Telephone Exchange was captured and held for a time until it was retaken by the Red Guards. The author not only saw but actively participated in this affair, and his appeal to the victorious Red Guard was a powerful aid to their commander, Antonov, in persuading them to spare the lives of the captured Whites. The story of the meeting of the Soviet Congress on November 7, 1917, appears in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

The sailors of the Baltic Fleet were a bulwark of the Revolution in its early days. The author describes a visit to a battleship in this squadron, showing how the old servile discipline exacted by the naval officers of the Tsarist regime had given way to a new proletarian discipline, based upon the ideal of co-operation in a common cause.

Intensely interesting is Mr. Williams' account of his trip from Moscow to Vladivostok on the Trans-Siberian Express. At one time the train was held up by a very determined band of peasants and soldiers who had heard a false rumor that the Tsar was escaping on it. They searched every car for possible hiding places, displaying an interest in the fate of the "Little Father" which was in rather striking contrast to the royalist sentiments habitually imputed to the peasants by emigre theorists. The author devotes a chapter to the reception of the train at Cherm, one of the most terrible of the Siberian penal colonies maintained by the old regime. Mr. Williams was profoundly impressed by the singing of the "International" by these former convicts, the true disinherited of the earth. On leaving the colony one of the members of the local soviet, with the friendliest intentions in the world, attempted to present him with two sticks of dynamite,—a gift which was gratefully but firmly declined.

After seeing the revolution in Petrograd the author witnessed the counter-revolution in Vladivostok. The contrast between the two movements, as brought out in the author's vivid narrative, is indeed striking. The one was the act of the Russian masses; the other the act of foreign invaders. The revolution was ushered in by

great throngs singing the historic hymns of working class struggle; the counter-revolution was greeted only with the strains of the Red Funeral March.

In his concluding chapter Mr. Williams reviews the developments in Russia since his departure from Siberia. He stressed a point that cannot be too often insisted upon: the drain upon the human resources of Communist Russia by the unprovoked wars which accompanied the Allied blockade. The author makes this tragedy very real by calling the roll of Communist workers whom he had personally known, Voskov, Sukhanov, Melnikov, Yanisher and others, and showing how all sooner or later gave their lives to the Revolution.

Eleven Soviet posters, reproduced in color, make the book the handsomest volume on Russia that has yet appeared in this country. There are also forty well-arranged photographs of revolutionary scenes.

Nothing in the book may safely be skipped,—not even the appendices. Here may be found salient extracts from the dramatic story of the death of a Red regiment, which appeared in SOVIET RUSSIA in 1919, and an abridged account of the notorious Kolchak "Death Train", taken from *The American Red Cross Magazine*. There is also a reproduction of the manifesto of the Samara Anarchists, and a definite refutation of the "nationalization of women" canard, together with several other documents of historical interest.

A. C. F.

БОРЬБА ЗА ПЕТРОГРАД: 15 октября — 6 ноября 1919 года. Государственное издательство. — The Struggle for Petrograd: October 15—November 6, 1919. Petrograd: State Publishing House, 1920. Paper, 320 pages.

This large pamphlet is an exhaustive documentary history of the few weeks in the Fall of 1919—just two years ago—when, fast upon Denikin's occupation of Orel, only one hundred and fifty miles south of Moscow, came Yudenich's sudden dash to take Petrograd. In these few weeks the onslaught of Yudenich was frustrated—after it had almost met with success. When you look through the Third Section of the book (it has five sections and an Appendix) you may imagine yourself reperusing the American newspapers of two years ago, the same newspapers that are now oozing with kindness and benevolence for Russia and her people. For the Third Section is chiefly a collection of lying telegrams and sophisticatedly reasoned articles, quoted chiefly from English newspapers, assuring their readers either that Petrograd is about to be taken, or that Yudenich has already taken it—not to mention a Paris telegram to the *Daily Chronicle*, reporting the evacuation of Moscow! We had almost forgotten even the name of this "Northwestern Russian Government", of which Marguerite Harrison speaks in a Helsingfors letter to the *Daily Chronicle* (November 3). Particularly interesting to Russian readers must have been the three editorial comments quoted in this section from the *Daily Chronicle*, *Daily News*, and *Daily Mail*, proving unquestionably the active participation of England in the Yudenich adventure.

An excellent idea of the extent to which the city of Petrograd was prepared to meet the penetration of the enemy, had he been able to enter the city, is afforded by the numerous illustrations, showing great piles of sandbags around Smolny Institute, the Triumphal Arch, along the Neva Quai, and at every important street crossing, with machine-guns set up at points enabling them to sweep Nevsky Prospekt, Voznesensky Prospekt, and all the other great thoroughfares. Pictures are shown of trenches dug in the streets, of auditorium interiors with barricaded windows, of steel shields for special detachments of machine-gunners. There is little doubt that life in Petrograd when it met the threat of Yudenich two years ago must have been just as exciting as when—just two years earlier—it deposed the Provisional Government and seized the great buildings of the State.

At the end of the book, in an Appendix, are two little essays: "Two Heroes—Paris and Petrograd," by Bystryansky; and "The Paris Worker of 1871 and the Petrograd Proletariat of 1917," by Leon Trotsky. The difference between the Paris and Petrograd episodes is fortunately great. The short period of the Commune was a succession of defeats, with news of discouraging hostility everywhere; the short episode of the defense of Petrograd was brightened at every step by news of successes elsewhere in Russia, and by the consciousness that even if the city should fall, the Revolution would none the less survive.

J. W. H.

Ко дню пятидесятилетия со дня рождения Владимира Ильича Ульянова (Ленина), 23-го апреля 1870-1920 г. —From the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) to His Fiftieth Birthday, April 23, 1870—1920. Moscow, 1920. 48 pages, paper, album size.

Each one of the 43 pages constituting the actual text of this mine of information looks like a large comparative table, with parallel columns showing a number of simultaneous happenings in juxtaposition. In fact, the whole book is a continuous chronological table (prefaced by a short introduction, dated April 23, 1920, by L. Kamenev) in which the main events in Lenin's physical existence and literary career are placed side by side with the contemporary happenings and currents of Russian political and economic life. At first there are few columns to the table (only three), and the general facts of Russian history are of course more important than the events in the life of the boy Lenin. As the Revolutions advance, however, the columns split up, and each of the main political currents becomes important enough for a rubric all its own, until again, after the November Revolution, comparative simplicity is restored and the notes on Lenin's writings again become sparse, and the data under "Main Facts of Policy" are expanded to great fulness. The present reviewer wishes he had been able to use this splendid array of material when he wrote a very defective article on Lenin for an American encyclopedia three years ago, and also, that he had been able to add some of the titles it contains to the *Bibliography* of Lenin's writings that was printed in *SOVIET RUSSIA* for April 10, 1920, and also, that the Lenin of *SOVIET RUSSIA* had appeared on April 23 instead of April 10, as it appears that April 10 is the Old Style date—which now means April 23. And let us hope that a similar tabular statement may soon appear to cover the main points in Trotsky's life. As yet no authoritative year of birth has been assigned for Trotsky, and no one even thinks of asking the month and day.

J. W. H.

V. БЫСТРЯНСКИЙ: Коммунизм, Брак и Семья. — V. Bystryansky: Communism, Marriage and the Family. Published by the State Publishing House, Petrograd 1921. Paper, 68 pages.

The title of this pamphlet may be misleading. One might expect to find in it a minute exposition, from the communist point of view, of the form which the institution of marriage and the family will take in the free socialist commonwealth of the future. The book of course contains nothing of the kind, for the simple reason that the Marxian method, which the author faithfully employs throughout his work, decidedly excludes the possibility of any concrete predictions for the future. Only the most general outlines could be given in this respect, and this was already done more than seventy years ago in Friedrich Engels' original draft of the *Communist Manifesto*, in which he says: "Communism will change the relations between the two sexes into purely private relations, concerning exclusively the persons directly involved, in which society will not interfere. It can do this because it will abolish private property and socialize the education of children, and at the same time will destroy the two bases of modern marriage—the dependence of woman on man and of children on their parents, as a consequence of private property." And the author of this booklet adds

that this is about all that a Marxian can say about the relation between the sexes under communism. "The victory of communism," Bystryansky adds, "presupposes the complete extinction of the state, the disappearance of all external compulsive norms that up to the present have regulated the mutual relations of human beings; quite naturally then will also disappear all the decrees which were issued in the transition period by the proletarian state, in the realm of matrimonial and family relations."

Having thus, in his first chapter, outlined the communist position on this matter, the author proceeds in the second chapter (pp. 9 to 27) to give a very interesting résumé of the history of woman throughout the ages, beginning with the legislation of the Babylonian king Hammurabi (2300 B. C.), and touching Egypt, Greece, the Roman Empire, the Celtic countries, the changes brought about by the Christian religion, the Dark Ages, the Renaissance, the "epoch of gallantry" before the Great French Revolution—finally describing the present capitalist period. This chapter is extremely interesting—in fact, it might have formed a separate monograph on the status of woman throughout history, with special reference to the literature of the various epochs. In dry legal terms the general aspect of the various forms of this status, and especially of the degradation of woman, is thus summarized in a quotation from the famous Vienna Professor Anton Menger: "It may be asserted that every social alignment of forces, whether it is founded on wealth or political, religious or social influence—as a general rule brings forth a corresponding amount of sexual immorality. . . . In general every rich man—unless he voluntarily concentrates all his non-romantic desires on one particular woman—can even now buy as much sexual satisfaction as he will find fit" (p. 28).

The protest and revolt against the prevailing form of sex and family relations is the subject of Chapter V, the most interesting of all (pp. 30 to 48). The socialist system of Plato, with the accompanying emancipation of woman and the supplanting of traditional marriage by a state-regulated system of eugenics, which was sarcastically attacked and distorted by Aristophanes, the free-love gospel preached by Diogenes, the teachings of Amalric of Bena (in the 13th century) and of his sect "The Brethren of the Free Spirit", the communist sect of the Adamites who appeared among the Taborites during the Hussite wars, the abolition of monogamy by the Anabaptists of Münster, the ideas expressed in the "Sun State" of Campanella, in the teachings of the great Utopian Socialists of the first half of the nineteenth century Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, and many disciples of Saint Simon, many socialist Utopian romances, such as William Morris' "News from Nowhere", or Anatole France's "On the White Stone", or A. Bogdanov's "Red Star"—are all manifestations of the incessant struggle which the best spirits of all times have always waged against the degradation of the sex relations brought about by the various systems of class rule.

The Russian Soviet system, being still a transition form between the old and the new world, has not yet accomplished that ideal condition in which the relations between the sexes will be completely a private affair. There are still special marriage laws containing all kinds of regulations—but they were mainly issued to further the struggle against religion and the church, against the direct and indirect pressure still exerted by these hard-dying cultural fossils on great masses of the population.

The book contains also certain interesting data on prostitution in present-day Russia, and on the increase of the number of marriages concluded since the November Revolution. One of the main factors of this increase was the economic independence of woman—a consequence of the Revolution.

M. S.

ARTHUR HOLITSCHER: Drei Monate in Sowjet-Russland. Berlin: S. Fischer, Verlag, 1921. Paper, 255 pages.

Zinoviev, whose book on Germany was reviewed in last month's *SOVIET RUSSIA*, was permitted to spend twelve days in Germany. "Three Months in Russia" is the title

of Arthur Holitscher's book, and it may be that the ratio between these two periods—twelve days and three months respectively—represents the relative importance, in the eyes of the world, of present events in the two countries named. Zinoviev, still a young man, with the utmost difficulty obtains permission to spend a short period of time in Germany for a specific purpose. He rushes through the country, closely guarded by comrades, closely guarded also by spies and police officers. He has little time for aesthetic reflections, he is too much concerned with the real things that are going on, with the importance of watching closely the various types of socialists who are displaying an interest in the affairs of Soviet Russia. Holitscher, already an old man, is invited by Soviet officials (by Karl Radek, while still a prisoner in Berlin) to go to Russia, makes his preparations in a leisurely and comfortable manner, as befits the pampered and self-conscious child of literature, is offered every facility on his journey into and through Russia, is treated without suspicion and with much consideration. It is natural that Holitscher's stay should have been extended over several months and that his comment should lack the swiftness and sharpness of those made by Zinoviev on Germany, and should instead rather quiet and sentimental reflections on his own experiences and observations in Russia.

Although many books have been written on Soviet Russia, both by friends and by foes, it seems still possible for new things, at least new observations, to be set down. This is one of the books that contain new observations. Even a hasty glance through its pages will reveal a number of incidents that have not been so well treated before—and on the whole the treatment is sympathetic, while not unquestioning or fulsome. For instance, there is a chapter called "The Decline of the Intellectuals" (with an appendix: "Shaliapin"), which describes in gloomy colors the "House of the Scholars" and its sad and somewhat neglected occupants, housed in the great double-winged palace of the former Grand Dukes Vladimir Alexandrovich and Kyrill, fronting the Neva Quai and the Millionnaya. Like ghosts of departed prophets the great men of Russian science wander through the great apartments and simulate a little activity to justify the special treatment accorded them, although everyone knows that even they do not receive enough food or warmth to make any serious intellectual work possible. Rather pretty is Holitscher's reflection on a number of large red sandstone blocks which the last tsarina of Russia, Alix von Hessen, had deigned to transport from her home near Darmstadt to Petrograd. Apparently she had desired to transplant into her new northern home some of the color to which she was accustomed. But "on one of the first Sundays after the victory of the November Revolution, the Petrograd workers, soldiers and peasants tore down the wall of red blocks erected by the former empress. They seem to have conducted the operation with not much ceremony and care, and the Hessian sandstone lies in confused chunks before the Winter Palace and along the Neva Quai, the grass growing between the stones. From the standpoint of color, it is a rather pretty spectacle." Interesting narrations are given of short procedures in the People's Courts, which are often held out in the open street, and in which anyone participates who happens to come along.

Holitscher visited a number of other cities, besides Moscow and Petrograd, but space forbids us to follow his journeys through all of them. But one of the cities he visited should be specially mentioned here, not so much because of the importance of Holitscher's visit to it, or even because of the fact that he was accompanied by no less a person than Clara Zetkin, but because of the fact that of all the big cities of Russia, it is the one least frequently mentioned in other countries, and seems to be generally overlooked as a great industrial centre, even by persons who are otherwise well acquainted with Russian conditions. This is the city of Ivanovo-Voznesensk, situated about 100 miles to the northwest of Moscow, and containing the most important textile works in Russia. This city was beginning to be of great importance in

Russian commerce and industry before the opening of the European war, and owing to the stimulus given to war industries during the last few years, has further increased in importance. It has long been known in Russia as the greatest centre for the production of the durable and low-priced "Moscow cloth", which was beginning before the war to compete with imported cloths from Germany and elsewhere.

The chapter "White Terror and Red" (pp. 194-204) will be found printed in this issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*.

Zinoviev is an objective and un sentimental man. In *Twelve Days in Germany* he looks on things as they are and sees the German conditions from the inside, without any unnecessary reflections on the nature of the German psychology or peculiarities of the German race. When he describes the numerous types he meets at Halle, he takes them as individuals and analyzes them on the basis of their social and economic environment. Not so the older and more sentimental Holitscher. In spite of the latter's predisposition to favor Communism, in spite of his obvious ability as an observer and recorder of visible things, he is still afflicted somewhat with the tendency to interpret when he lacks a real intellectual basis for interpretation. This is not a racial difference between Russian and German—it is a difference between Zinoviev and Holitscher. But even Holitscher, with all his love of fancy abstractions, occasionally has glimpses of the truth that the differences between the races are not as they seem: "The fatalistic trait, which is inherent in the blood of the half oriental Russian, is very quickly communicated, with the aid of reason, when the latter has recognized the necessity of iron measures, to the Western European, and even in overwhelming form" (p. 209).

GERTRUD MEYER-HEPNER: *Mutter und Kind im kapitalistischen Deutschland*. ELSE BAUM: *Die proletarische Mutter und das Kind in Sowjetrussland*. Berlin: Franke Verlag, 1921. Paper, 48 pages.

KATJA PALJANOFF: *Die Arbeiterin in Sowjet-Russland*. Berlin: Franke Verlag, 1921. Paper, 40 pages.

These pamphlets are intended to give German workingmen and workingwomen an idea of the great care given to women and children in Soviet Russia, as compared with the neglect they are treated with in Germany. And in both pamphlets it is clearly brought out that the neglect in Germany is a direct outcome of the capitalist system, while the care bestowed on them in Russia is an integral part of the work of the Soviet system. No better illustration of this could be had than the fact, stated in the former book, that while 482,000 tons of barley were used up in Germany in 1920 for the manufacture of beer, only 5,000 tons went into the production of malt extract, which is a necessary food for children and pregnant women. In the same period, of the small quantity of malt extract actually produced, 80,000 kilograms were sold abroad in spite of the urgent need in Germany. Needless to say, the workers of the world have already learned from pamphlets of this kind that such a selfish manipulation would be impossible in Russia today.

SOWJET-RUSSLAND UND SEINE KINDER: *Herausgegeben vom Komitee Arbeiterhilfe für Sowjet-Russland*. Der Malik-Verlag, Berlin-Halensee, 1921. Paper, 28 pages.

HELF! *RUSSLAND IN NOT!* Verlag: *Auslandskomitee der Arbeiterhilfe für Russland, Kurfürstendamm 76*. Berlin, 1921. Paper, 48 pages.

These two pamphlets, which appeared in Germany within the last few weeks, are being sold there at a low price (2 and 3 marks, respectively), which appears—in spite of the present ridiculous equivalent of the German mark in American money—to yield some measure of profit to justify the imprint: "Net Proceeds Go to the Hungry in Russia!" The former of the two pamphlets ("Soviet Russia and its Children! Issued by the Committee for Workers' Aid to Soviet Russia") consists chiefly of tales and incidents that give one a feeling of personal observation in Russia, con-

cluding with a few articles pointing out the great distress of the Russian children and the necessity of helping them at once. Taken together with the group of pamphlets we have just reviewed above, which call attention to the superior care bestowed on children in Russia, as compared with Germany, this little book should strengthen the German workers in any effort they may make to support the system that is trying so hard to feed the little ones of their brothers in Russia. One of the most striking stories in the collection is the first: "The famous Child Specialist", which tells of a well-known physician in Kiev, who retains for a while—although he consents to work for the children, under the Bolsheviki—his prejudices against the proletariat, but who is obliged by the tricks of fate to continue his ministrations under a White occupation, which definitely disgusts him with bourgeois practices and makes him a partisan of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

The second ("Help! Russia is in Distress!") is a less propagandist and more complete presentation of the case. It begins with an article on the proportions of the disaster and the measures already taken to combat it. Next come various official and unofficial appeals, including Maxim Gorky's Appeal of July 12 to Gerhart Hauptmann, together with the latter's reply. It is a peculiar vagary of the artistic temperament (or is it merely the artist's class-consciousness?) that Gorky should appeal for aid to Russia's starving population on the ground that it once included in its numbers the names of Leo Tolstoy, Dostoyevski, Mendelejev, Pavlov, Mussorgski, and Glinka, and that the former Social-Democratic Elector for the District of Erkner, Gerhart Hauptmann, should conclude his answer with the words: "I may confidently say that both our people and our National Government are united in the ardent desire to give aid to the extent of their powers." Other articles in the little book are from the pens of Arthur Holitscher, Franz Jung ("The Murman Railway"), John Reed ("The Dead of the Revolution"), Alfons Paquet ("Moscow"). There are numerous illustrations and a translation (by Max Barthel) of Demian Byedny's *Communist Marseillaise*. It is unfortunate that none of Byedny's vigorous and popular proletarian poetry should as yet have been printed in English. A talented translator, well versed in both idioms, will be needed for the task.

Probably the cost of printing will prevent the publication of relief pamphlets of this kind in America.

J. W. H.

Н. М. ЛУКИН (Н. Антонов): Максимилиан Робеспьер.
H. M. Lukin (N. Antonov): Maximilian Robespierre (1758-1794). State Publishing House, Moscow, 1919. Paper, 127 pages.

И. СТЕПАНОВ: Жан-Поль Марат. Пятое исправленное издание. I. Stepanov: Jean Paul Marat. Fifth improved edition. State Publishing House, 1921. Paper, 40 pages.

For the bourgeois historian both the French and Russian Revolutions had "good" and "bad" men. Started by the "good" ones, the Mirabeaus, and Lafayette, the Milyukovs and Kerenskys, the Revolution by some adverse fate slips from the grip of its originators to fall into the clutches of bloodthirsty fanatics and monsters such as Robespierre, Marat, Lenin, Trotsky, etc., until, the red madness having run its course, its history is written by the victorious counter-revolutionists.

The "bad" men of the Great French Revolution have for a century occupied the most disreputable corner of history's rogues' gallery. All the dignitaries of historical research, the Hippolyte Taines of all nations, have strained the vocabularies of abuse to give an appropriate characterization of these two men. The French Republic that erected the tomb "Aux Invalides" to the memory of Napoleon, who caused the death of at least ten thousand times as many people as the Reign of Terror of 1793-1794—has officially endorsed the counter-revolutionary verdict on the great protagonists of the Republic—by consistently refusing to erect monuments to them on the public squares of Paris.

The Russian November Revolution has honored these two men, repudiated by the heirs of the great upheaval of

1789. Robespierre and Marat now have monuments in Soviet Russia, and their memory is celebrated by books issued by the State.

The two books are not exactly biographies. We do not learn very much about their lives—for the authors were chiefly interested in presenting the economic and political situation and the history of the five years of the Revolution (1789-1794) as connected with the lives of the two men. Only the first chapter of the book on Robespierre (page 10 to 14) is purely biographical; it shows the intellectual influences that formed the great "Incorruptible".

The author of *Maximilian Robespierre*, far from heaping unmitigated praise upon the head of his hero, pictures him with all his limitations, his narrow "theism" that made him see in atheistic propaganda a crime against the Revolution, the unscrupulousness with which he tried to destroy not only the lives but also the good names of his opponents from the left, surrounding Jacques Roux and Hébert Chaumette, the head of the Paris Commune of 1793; his disregard for the rights of the workingmen which let him retain in his days of power the infamous *lois Chapelier*, of 1790, which forbade the workers to form unions or to strike; the including of workers' wages among the commodities which were subject to the "maximum" (i. e., whose prices were fixed by the government and could not exceed a certain limit). But on the other hand, we behold Robespierre champion of democracy and universal suffrage against the plutocratic electoral system backed by the Girondists; we see him advocate admitting the masses to the National Guard instead of only the "active", i. e., the wealthy citizens; we see the humanitarian protesting against the cynical and bloody exploitation of the colonies; the pacifist opposing the "revolutionary war" started by the Girondists with the intention of distracting the attention of the masses from the Revolution—a war that was secretly backed also by all the revolutionary elements who expected the restoration of the old system from a successful foreign intervention; we see him applying the measures of price fixing and progressive tax to the profiteers.

The author dispels the current historical legend that Robespierre originated the Reign of Terror and shows that the Terror began long before the rule of the Jacobins in the Convention, and that in 1793-1794 it was a political necessity for Revolutionary France. He also explains how the current of events necessarily changed Robespierre's ideas: in 1791 he was still opposed to capital punishment, and, although a convinced democrat, was not yet a republican. Page 78 contains a very clear characterization of the three phases of the Revolution: "The Revolution of July 14, 1789 forced the king to share his power with the rich bourgeoisie. The revolt of August 10, 1792, which overthrew the monarchy, brought about the political rule of the big bourgeoisie. Finally, as a result of the revolt of May 31 and June 2, 1793, the power passed into the hands of the petty bourgeoisie. A new period in the course of the Revolution was inaugurated, the period of the dictatorship of the *mountain* and the Jacobins, which lasted up to July 27, 1794."—This was the period of the power of Robespierre, but it could not last, as it represented a class that, in spite of its political radicalism was economically backward and therefore had no future. Robespierre fell on July 27, 1794, mainly because his implacable struggle against the "left" elements had lost him the support of the greater portion of the Paris poor. He was supplanted by the representatives of the upper bourgeoisie, who made of France what it is now and what Messrs. Milyukov and Kerensky would have made of Russia. But the Russian Revolution is based not on an economically doomed class like the petty bourgeoisie, but the rising industrial working class; and thus—there is little hope that history may "repeat itself".

Much more blackened than that of Robespierre is the name of Marat—and more "justly" so, we would say. For everything in him was repellent—his ragged dirty appearance, caused by the literally "underground" existence which he was compelled to lead for more than three years (beginning 1789) to escape the persecution of the Milyu-

kovs and Kerenskys of the time; his scientific hypotheses (in the domain of natural history), which were ahead of their time and were only confirmed much later (a sufficient reason for Taine to brand him a lunatic); his relentless hatred of the privileged classes, inspired by the idea that if the revolution is to live its enemies must die; and, last but not least, the fact that in that historic epoch he already had a clear conception of the various class antagonisms within the "third estate"—while Robespierre was still indulging in the delicious classless gospel according to which there are two categories of citizens the "good" ones (the "patriots", as the revolutionists were called at that time) and the "bad" ones (the counter-revolutionists).

Earlier than any of the other champions of the Revolution—already in August 1789—he took a decided stand for the Paris poor, sneering at the National Assembly that tried to feed speeches to the people instead of bread. This was a decidedly cynical attitude and it is not astonishing that Kerensky, in his day, declared that he would "never become the Marat of the Russian Revolution."

Almost half of the pamphlet on Marat is filled with quotations from his famous periodical *L'Ami du Peuple*—whose fate during the first three years of the Revolution somewhat reminds one of the persecutions that the Petrograd *Pravda* had to undergo in the corresponding period of the Russian revolution. It is amazing how the predictions contained in his paper were borne out by subsequent events. His vehement accusations against Mirabeau and Lafayette as conspirators in behalf of the monarchy, his scathing denunciation of the bloody suppression of the

mutiny of Nancy against thieving monarchist officers, his attacks against the profiteers and speculators, made him the best hated man of his time, and he was accused not only of being the instigator of bloody murders but also of being the agent of a foreign power that was interested in spreading discord within France in order to weaken her forces. All this has a familiar ring.
M. S.

RUSSIAN FRONTIERS CLOSED

Persons intending to travel to Soviet Russia are again warned that the frontiers of Russia are closed and that no persons will be allowed to enter the country without previous permission from the Soviet authorities, according to the following cablegram received by Charles Recht, Attorney, 110 West 40th Street, from Leonid Krassin, the Russian Soviet Representative in London:

London, October 13.—We authorize you to announce that the frontiers of Soviet Russia are closed and that nobody will be allowed to enter without proper visa from Moscow or from a representative of the Russian Soviet Government abroad. No steamship company has been authorized by any proper authority to accept passengers for Russia. Prospective immigrants are warned to disbelieve all promises of steamship companies in this respect. Persons disregarding this notice must bear all responsibility and consequences of their action themselves.

LEONID KRASSIN.

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The Problem of Relief

By L. KRASSIN

(Address by the People's Commissar for Foreign Trade and head of the Russian Trade Delegation in London, at a conference on Economic Recovery and World Peace, held at the Caxton Hall, London, October 12, 1921.)

IN the name of the Russian Soviet Republic, and on behalf of millions of Russian workmen and peasants, who have sent me to this country, I beg to thank all those present for the assistance and sympathy shown by them to us in our hour of national calamity.

The failure of the crops in Russia, and the hunger itself, particularly in the provinces affected this year, are not some rare occurrence, but recur periodically. In 1891 there was a failure of crops extending to twenty provinces; in 1906 four provinces suffered from the same calamity, while in 1911 it again affected ten provinces. The pre-revolutionary governments of Russia had to spend hundreds of millions of rubles for relief of the starving population. The reason for these periodical bad harvests must be sought in the droughts which appear from year to year, the system of agriculture prevailing in those parts of Russia not being proof against unfavorable climatic conditions. The eastern and south-eastern parts of Russia, with their fertile soils, have grown from year to year the same kind of grain, which have extracted from the soil the same elements.

In years of good harvests, this system gave abundance of grain, while, on the contrary, in drought years the abundance gave place to a total absence of grain, even for the population itself. The years of war have still further reduced the standard of husbandry of the Russian peasants, and the mobilization both of men and horses, coupled with the absence of a fresh supply of machinery from abroad, have led to a further deterioration of the methods of soil cultivation.

The intervention, and the blockade which followed, have played further havoc with Russian

husbandry. The Czecho-Slovak rising, the war against Soviet Russia conducted by Kolchak with the full assistance of the Entente Powers, the total cessation of all supplies from abroad, the disorganization of transport, and the general impoverishment of the peasantry, completed the ruin of agriculture in those provinces of Russia.

At this very moment, while we are assembled in this hall, millions of men, women, and children are starving in the Volga and south-eastern provinces of Russia. People are eating grass, or clay, or all kinds of substitutes, in order to stave off the danger threatening them. The approach of winter, which has already begun there, will increase the sufferings many times. To death from starvation will be added death from cold, and all kinds of epidemic diseases will spread far beyond the actually starving provinces.

What assistance can be rendered to relieve this calamity?

Immediate Relief Measures

In the first instance, of course, help must be sent direct to the suffering population by way of purchases and deliveries of bread and fats, by providing communal kitchens for feeding the children and the aged. The refugees must also be assisted. The population must be supplied with clothing and shoes, with medicaments and soap. Medical aid must be organized, and sanitary measures taken to check the epidemics.

Twenty millions of people are affected by the calamity; hundreds of thousands, and perhaps even millions, are facing actual death.

The Russian Government, the Trade Unions, the Co-operative Societies, the local authorities, and

the whole population of Russia generally, are resorting to the most desperate and heroic efforts to provide relief and assistance. Never before has the whole of Russia been animated by so unanimous a zeal. But the resources of the State and the country, exhausted from the war and revolution, are inadequate to deal properly with the situation. It is imperative that speedy aid should come from abroad; aid in the shape of money, food, clothing, medicaments. Every contribution, every parcel sent to Russia, every pound or even shilling, will relieve some suffering, and will probably be instrumental in saving a human life. We are specially calculating on the assistance and support of the working classes and labor organizations, because more than once have the workmen and peasants of Russia received from the laboring classes of Europe timely and heartfelt aid in moments of dire necessity.

Guarantees by the Soviet Government

The question is often raised about guarantees for the proper distribution of relief.

But in this respect the Soviet Government has done everything possible. The American Relief Administration, Dr. Nansen, and other philanthropic organizations have concluded agreements with the Soviet Government, which agreements provide for the proper control of every parcel and every contribution on its way from the frontier of Russia up to the very mouths of the starving people. There is plenty of impartial and authoritative evidence, from men who have visited Russia and have taken part in the work of relief, that these agreements are strictly fulfilled, not only by the central, but also by the local authorities of Russia.

So, for instance, the workers of the medical relief administration of Dr. Nansen's organization, Colonel McKie, M. P., of Canada, who has lately returned from Russia, and many others, bear witness to the above. And it is only people who wish to obstruct the work of relief who continue to assert that there are not sufficient guarantees.

Lasting Measures

But the work of direct relief to the starving population, however important and urgent, does not solve the problem. It does not prevent the possibility of the recurrence of a similar calamity in the future. The policy of the previous governments of Russia was usually confined to rendering some assistance during the famine years, while it was necessary to concentrate on the elimination of the causes of the famine. It is necessary to study its origin, and to devise a whole scheme of State measures for putting an end, once for all, to the possibility of such a bad harvest occurring again. The Soviet Government has already approached this task, and has created a special committee, consisting of a large number of the best agricultural experts and economists of Russia, who are studying the problem in its entirety. A scheme has already been drafted of measures tending to

improve Russian agriculture by utilizing the spring floods to combat the consequences of droughts, improving the technique of land cultivation, and providing for the supply to the peasants of agricultural machinery and implements. The results of the work of experiment stations existing in the suffering provinces point to the necessity of changing the system of land cultivation in this region. Measures are being taken to prepare for the cultivation of such crops as maize or millet, which are more proof against drought, and for changing the whole system of rotation of crops by introducing root crops and feeding grasses, which can secure a more stable harvest independently of climatic changes. To this are added such measures as an increase in cattle-breeding, and its introduction in those parts of the country where it was absent up till now, owing to the whole of the husbandry being concentrated on the cultivation of grain. This is a tremendous program requiring for its realization vast means and many years. But there is no other way. Before this work has been completed, the danger of famine cannot be regarded as wholly eliminated. The measures undertaken in order to provide public work for the population are being devised on the lines of the above scheme.

Hostility and Threats

Up till now both Russia and its Government have had to devote their utmost efforts to resisting the attacks and attempts emanating from abroad and directed against the State and social order which, about four years ago, were established in Russia by its laboring masses. The Russian Government, not being up till now recognized by other Powers, although not at present engaged in any actual war, is still under the necessity of combating the hostile policy of foreign powers, and, as the experience of the last few weeks has shown, its very work of relief is being made use of for political pressure upon the Soviet Government.

What would you say of a doctor who, at the deathbed of a patient, should stipulate that some fee previously due should be paid before his aid is rendered? But that is how the question of aid to Russia is being put at the moment, in the resolutions of both the Paris and Brussels Conferences. It is clear that such an attitude helps the famine and not the famine-stricken population. The first condition for a radical fight against the famine is the cessation of such a policy of hostility and perpetual threats against Russia.

The discontinuance of the policy of intervention, the conclusion of a formal peace, and the complete recognition of the government which the Russian people has chosen for itself, and which it has supported during four years of war against the world — these are the requests which we make, basing ourselves on the right of a people of a hundred millions to live and be governed in the way it prefers.

All true friends of the Russian people, and all those who truly wish the Russian peasants to be

saved from the famine and from the possibility of its recurrence, must recognize the simple justice of this request.

Aid from the Western Workers

The cessation of the policy of intervention and pressure on the Soviet Government would certainly greatly facilitate the fight with the famine. But the countries which are industrially more developed could give Russia more direct and more practical support, with great advantage and benefit for themselves. The position of the masses in Western Europe and America can in no way be regarded as satisfactory. The economic crisis and unemployment are undermining the welfare of the most wealthy and cultured nations. The very machinery, implements, and materials which are urgently required by the Russian peasants in order to restore the starving provinces of Russia to their position as the granary of Europe, once held by them, are lying useless in your stores and factories, owing to the absence of buyers, or could be easily manufactured in your idle workshops.

The most simple and most expedient way out of the crisis would be to combine the work of aid to Russia with measures tending to reduce the unemployment in the western countries. But of

course the Russian peasant has no means to pay now for those goods, and some form or other of credit would be required. Such active assistance, however, by providing means of production and allowing the millions of Russian peasants to double or even to treble the harvest in an immense territory, would bear abundant fruit within the next few years; and not only the interest, but sinking charges on such a loan would be easily repaid. The realization of this scheme may meet with great difficulty. But such countries as England and France, which found hundreds of millions of pounds to support those armies of Kolchak and other generals that ruined the peasantry of Russia generally and that of the starving provinces in particular, can find also the money required for the work of restoration.

Every well-meaning citizen who sympathizes with the millions of people there in the East doomed to death from starvation, and who at the same time is occupied with the problem of unemployment in other countries, must think over this scheme. He must spare no efforts to bring to bear the necessary pressure of public opinion upon those institutions on which it depends to put into effect speedy relief measures for the starving regions of Russia.

The Causes

By VICTOR SERGE

THEY are numerous and complex. One must recall them, however, in order to ascertain those responsible and the consequences thereof. In a certain, but not over-important degree, they are characteristic of the Russia of the old regime which suffered almost periodic famines without the "civilized world" bothering to think about it. In four years of terrible revolutionary struggle the evil heritage of the old regime still exerted its nefarious influence upon the land. The ignorance of the peasants and their primitive methods would alone have sufficed to produce a veritable catastrophe in a year of drought. The extent of the calamity, however, is not due only to these social and climatic conditions. We must direct our attention to some others.

1. *The War*

M. Charlea Rivet (of "Le Temps") describes, in a book which he has devoted to the last of the Tsars and to Rasputin, with what superior disdain the Ambassadors of the French Republic at St. Petersburg regarded the moujiks, that enormous reserve of cannon-food for war. . . . At the time when the readers of "Le Temps" were reading every morning that "the Cossacks were two days' march from Berlin," the Allies only counted on the Russian cannon-fodder to slow up the formidable war machine of the Central Powers. The figures of the Russian losses were enormous, so great that one scarcely sees war cripples in the cities and villages of Russia—they are dead. The number of bayonet attacks against the German artillery had not been

multiplied without paying a fearful price in blood. The lives, the strength of the Russian fields were exhausted at last. As the destruction of transportation followed suit, as the war devoured an enormous number of horses torn from work in the fields, the death of the best, most vigorous men brought nearer the death of Russian soil. These are things which should be brought to mind from time to time.

2. *The Blockade*

Why should one be surprised at the spectacle of thirty million Russian peasants starving to death? The Russian famine has been deliberately planned, planned and organized for years, with all the resources of modern technology. The most noted statesmen of two worlds have several times deliberated thereon. French, English and Americans, in the luxury of the salons of Versailles, deliberately condemned the innumerable Russian people to famine. The entire press approved the decision—the parliaments, millions of bourgeois voters, all cultured, patriotic, humane, Christian people raised no protest. Those who saw the poor collapsing in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow, in the winter of 1919, succumbing to gradual starvation, who have seen horses perishing in the snow in the streets of the Russian capitals every day, who remember the one-eighth of a pound of bread then distributed by the Communes to the workers, who have not forgotten that a European newspaper never entered Red Russia at that time—they know too well that the famine is the inex-

piable crime of international reaction, inexpiable because committed with the fullest complacency and serenity of spirit.

An absurd crime. It has not killed the Russian Revolution. It was based on a false calculation. Revolutionists are always hungry! They know how to hold out against hunger. But the children are dead. The aged and weak are dead. The scientists, the poets—the entire helpless elite of humanity—are dead. And now they are organizing—sometimes with the assistance of intellectuals who made no protest against the blockade—relief for the survivors.

3. *The Civil War*

The civil war has raged over the provinces now devastated by the famine at least four times. Each time the armies of reaction have pillaged the houses, destroyed the implements and murdered the men. It was in the Volga regions that the Czecho-Slovaks, incited by the English and French military missions, took up arms in 1918 to cut off Russia from its grain supplies in the Urals and in Siberia and starve it into submission. There it was that Savinkov and the members of the Constituent Assembly established their White government with the aid of the Allies. It was there that Kolchak launched his new offensive on the eve of his recognition by France. With every advance of the counter-revolutionary armies the White Terror decimated the peasantry, the horizon was covered with the flames of burning villages, the cattle were led away, the railways torn up and the bridges destroyed. . . . The "*Daily Chronicle*", "*Le Journal*" and the "*New York Times*" announced (let us not forget it!) these victories: "Admiral Kolchak has blown up two bridges on the Volga. . . ."

Everyone today knows how large a degree the Russian counter-revolution was the direct crime of foreign capital. It is only too easy to name those responsible therefor.

4. *Counter-Revolutionary Elements*

Certain elements of the counter-revolution have known how to turn the conflict between the revolutionary city and the country still in its petty-bourgeois, religious and conservative mentality to their own advantage, aided by the deplorable circumstances which compelled the Soviet government to make use of requisitions for the nourishment of its armies. The small insurrections in the Volga regions, fomented by the Right Socialist Revolutionaries or by the clergy, ran into the hundreds. The conflict between the town proletariat and the peasant middle class, it may be stated, although it has profound economic and psychological causes, has been rendered acute by the war and by the blockade. The greater part of the excesses to which they led would have been easily avoided if the proletariat in the factories had been able to furnish the villages manufactured articles in exchange for the grain demanded. But the proletariat was fighting on seven broad fronts, the factories were shut down, and the counter revolution had

seized our fuel supplies—Denikin, the Don, and the English, Baku.

5. *The Famine an Episode in Class War*

It will be easily realized that, if in 1918, that is, immediately after the victory of the workers in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow, the European proletariat had compelled the reaction to respect and recognize the young revolution, then so enthusiastic and ready for the most herculean tasks, if a small part of the energy devoted to the carrying on of the war had been expended in the improvement of agricultural implements, in the creation of irrigation canals, in the education of the peasantry, the drought would not have been able to destroy in a few weeks the crops of a region larger than France. . . .

If, under the present state of affairs, the drought has been able to devastate the most fertile regions of Russia, it is only because the scourge raged over a soil where war had destroyed the tools and the fruit of human labor, over a people, decimated, exhausted and discouraged by infinite affliction, over a land where seed, wagons, horses, and above all knowledge are lacking, because a determined attempt had been made to destroy everything.

If the beautiful plains of the Volga, burnt by the sun, seem to have become a desert, it is due to the fact that for four years the entire capitalist world has not ceased to desire the death of the revolution, of this revolutionary people.

That must not be forgotten! The day after the end of the butchery perpetrated from 1914 to 1918, the rulers of the old world, the rich, committed this second crime against humanity—the blockade, the attempt to assassinate the Russian people. When the bourgeois philanthropists are stirred by the thought of the death of thousands of babies in the government of Saratov; when the scribblers who, in 1919, estimated the advantages of the blockade as an inexpensive, and, compared with military intervention, very sure method, speak of help for Russia; when Noulens is appointed to aid starving peasants; let us not forget, comrades, to denounce the crime and to brand-mark the criminals. There still are battles to be fought; the help for Russia will inaugurate no armistice between the reaction which has starved us, and now pretends to come to our assistance in order to better accomplish its work of death, and the starved Revolution. The Russian famine is only a tragic episode of the international class-war. The American captains of industry who are sending to Petrograd and Moscow the humanitarian personnel of Mr. Hoover, followed by cargoes of rice and condensed milk do not doubt it—relief for Hungary paved the way for the Horthy regime. If they give at all, it is because the pressure of the masses and the troubled conscience of the mob compel them to do so; it is because they cannot do otherwise; and because they are waiting for a favorable turn of events to give the revolution a finishing blow. To watch over them, to combat them, to denounce them, is, more than ever, the duty of us all.

Sketches from the Famine Area

(Published in the special famine number of the Moscow "Pravda".)

THE first shock came when we arrived at Kir-sanov. There was the usual rush on the platform; the vendors were shouting, the bells ringing, the engines screeching. In the midst of this bustle, just by the entrance, lay a small, grey, slightly moving bundle. One of the passengers trod on it and stopped, wondering what it was. After looking at it closely he appeared to be startled; and in a hesitating voice, as if not believing his own eyes, asked:

"Comrade—boy—what are you doing here? What's the matter?"

The bundle of rags began to move, and out of it emerged the tiny face of a child, with sharply outlined features and flushing cheeks. The child looked at the inquirer with its dim eyes and dropped its head again.

"I—I'm lying here," it muttered, falling off into slumber.

Instantly there was a crowd of onlookers. Standing round the child they all tried to understand, to find out the trouble—though it was all clear without explanations. The thin little body was flaming and shaking, seized either with fever or the agony of death. The incredibly tattered clothes, made obviously of sacks, covered the withered little body in such a way that it showed through everywhere as if completely bare. Dirty and weedy it was, seething with myriads of parasites, and the trembling little hands kept unconsciously moving as if trying to scratch.

"Boy, say where you come from—what's your name? Why are you here? Where's your mother?" came questions pelting from the crowd.

The child remained silent. Only the word "mother" seemed to awaken it, and it made an effort to lift itself.

"Ma isn't here— She got lost—" he said, in a hoarse voice, and dropped on the ground again.

"Must be a Polish refugee," remarked somebody. But at this moment the platform bell rang three times, and the whole crowd dashed to the train. A minute later the train was tearing away, while on the empty platform, near the entrance, there remained lying a slightly moving, grey, and dusty bundle.

* * *

At the next station a boy of between six and seven, wearing an enormous cap, came up to the carriage door and stretched out his hand.

"Mister, give me some bread," said he, with an air of severe determination.

The man did not answer, but kept fussing about, trying not to see or hear the little figure standing at the door; his own children were inside the carriage. But the boy would not leave off.

"Give me something—give me a bit of crust,"

said he, stretching out his hand, obviously determined to get something this time.

There was no response.

"Have pity on an orphan," said the boy, in an unexpectedly serious and quiet tone, as if he was speaking direct to the man's conscience.

"You little rascal!" shouted the man, struck with amazement. "An orphan? You little liar!"

"Have pity on an orphan," repeated the child, with a non-childish seriousness. "Mother died at home. Father cut his throat. Give me something—a crust, or a potato."

The man clasped his head. Then suddenly, as if some enlightenment dawned upon him, he asked the boy: "Do you think you could cook a cracked egg?"

The boy thought for a moment and, stretching out both his hands, nodded: "I can. Give it to me."

Holding carefully the cracked egg—like a treasure of untold value—the boy walked away. The man followed him with his eyes, and, shaking his head, only said: "Ah! what children there are nowadays! Something has gone wrong with the world!"

Indeed, everywhere the children one sees are enfeebled, but they look serious, sad, and hard. They walk, beg, carry water, make bonfires, guard the heaps of household rubbish, bend under the weight of enormous bundles. And all the time, seriously and sullenly, they look in the eyes and faces of the grown-ups.

* * *

A soothing evening calm fills the outskirts of a big city. The white walls of the central buildings in the distance are delicately tinged with pink and gold. The birds are softly chirping in the gardens.

In a little dusty street three figures are huddled together under a wooden hoarding. A mother, prostrate and delirious, is murmuring something through her blue lips, while two little girls clinging to her sides keep breathing at her, trying to warm her cold and stiffening body. The mother has put her arms round the little heads and in her last embrace is whispering fervidly—perhaps praying, perhaps struggling to say something, to explain—

The street is empty and quiet. Only the stars glimmer faintly in the sky, as if ashamed to look down.

* * *

Another street. Two boys and a girl have brought out into the street a lid of a newly made coffin, put it on the pavement like a trough, and sitting round it keep bowing to the passers-by.

"Give something to bury mother."

Small money-notes drop into the lid. With patience and in silence the children sit and bow.

The Arrival of the Seed-Grain

(The well-known Russian publicist Bachvetiev has pictured the arrival of the first shipment of seed in the Volga Province in the following words:)

At first there were only vague rumors. A timid ray of hope went through the land. From village to village the rumor swelled like an avalanche. Somewhere seed was being collected. The first transport soon arrived in the Volga region. "Lenin himself" was in command of the troops that were to compel the satiated to help their hungering brothers. Everybody did not believe these rumors to the same degree, but they nevertheless began to prepare the fields. Soon the first refugees began to return to their home districts. Then the first shipments of rye arrived from the "fortunate regions". And everybody wondered. As if the child graves had suddenly disappeared, as if the limbs were no longer swollen with hunger typhus, as if the aged had ceased to spit blood,—the seed-corn was arriving. These words were more effective than the most inflammatory speeches. The people were again restlessly bustling about the abandoned, uncultivated fields. Old and young set themselves to the plough. Those who had sold their horse drew the plough themselves or worked with spades. For only those who had already ploughed their fields received seed-corn. The women who had lived on magic charms the entire period were chased back to the villages. The belief in the coming of the Anti-Christ, which had found a large following, disappeared.

And the seed was actually arriving. It was being unloaded day and night, in the towns, at the railway stations. Never was work more willingly done than then. Railway and transport workers, many far advanced in years, competed with the Red Guards. Without complaining, half-starving, ragged men unloaded millions of poods at the designated places. Instead of doubt the infinite patience, the characteristic of the Russian peasant, again came to the surface. The corn-piles were carefully watched, but one did not need to employ one's own guards; the peasants are the best watchmen.

To steal the corn from Mother Earth,—that the peasant cannot do. The sacrilege would be too great. "It has been sent for her, not for us", says the peasant. And after! Even if the people die it doesn't matter; an empty field is worse than death.

The peasants are but now beginning to think of themselves, after the joy of the first seed passed away, of inevitable death, of the children who would have been better never born. . . However there is no more to be seen of the former panic in the villages of the Volga region. Hunger snatches away the children, swells the arms and legs of the adults and causes the teeth of the strongest youth to drop. The people are waiting however, calm and composed. They believe help is coming! And, feverish and with burning eyes, they listen to every report from the fortunate re-

gions, from the places where they eat every day, where the people do not yet know the taste of grass, bark and wood-shavings.

REQUIREMENTS IN MACHINERY

The following table shows the urgent requirements of eleven famine provinces:

Province	No. of Farms	Ploughs	Seed Drills	Reapers & Binders
Samara ..	512,804	136,000	17,000	12,500
Saratov ...	435,076	83,000	10,000	7,500
Astrakhan .	198,492	24,000	3,000	2,250
Ural	43,275	9,000	1,200	850
Turgai ...	140,992	36,000	4,500	3,250
Kazan	445,888	54,000	6,800	5,000
Simbrisk ..	305,513	45,000	7,400	4,000
Ufa	500,543	82,000	10,000	7,500
Orenburg .	344,592	76,000	9,700	7,000
Viatka	593,561	100,000	12,400	9,000
Stavropol .	178,213	70,000	8,700	6,350
Total..	3,698,949	715,000	90,700	65,200

The above are required to make up the actual deficiency for the area now under cultivation; the State Economic Planning Commission also report that this area could easily be extended by 16,000,000 acres if 30,000 tractors could be obtained.

Apart from the machines referred to above, there is an actual shortage, for reaping the hay crops, of 100,000 mowing machines and 90,000 horse-drawn rakes.

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A Sitting of the Allied Famine Commission

A Faithful Report by Karl Radek

(In October a special famine number of the Moscow "Pravda" was composed as a voluntary contribution by the printers and journalists of Moscow and sold at 1000 rubles per copy for the benefit of famine relief. Among many interesting contributions was the following parody on the proceedings of a counter-revolutionary body.)

The delegates of the Famine Commission of the Allied Powers gather. They have partaken of a good breakfast and feel the dignity of the occasion. The French premier, M. Briand, is in the chair.

BRIAND.—Gentlemen, I call the session to order and suggest that we elect as chairman of the commission M. Giraud. (*A Russian specialist of the English Delegation jots down a few words on a piece of paper which he hands to the English Foreign Minister, Curzon. The latter indicates that he wishes the floor.*) My suggestion seems to meet with opposition from our English friends. I shall therefore assign my reasons. M. Giraud was a long time a textile manufacturer in Moscow. As he was obliged to devote his attention chiefly to the development of the productive forces of that poor country, he could not give his working girls enough to eat, and yet he succeeded, by encouraging religious ceremonies, in maintaining the spirit of those unfortunate women in at least a satisfactory condition. In general, it will be difficult to stamp out hunger in Russia. We must, however, at least win the minds of the hungry for the Allies. That is my reason for proposing M. Giraud.

CURZON.—My attention is called by a young friend in the English delegation, who is acquainted with the Russian language, that these damned Bolsheviks, who have not yet lost their boldness, might make the name of the very honorable M. Giraud an object of their frivolous jokes. His name reminds one of the Russian word *zhir*, ("fat"), and Demian Bydney will soon be writing poems to the effect that the "fat-belly" ought to feed the hungry. I propose that we elect M. Noulens as chairman for he was at the head of a commercial organization which sold goods to Wrangel. Recently he transported these goods to Poland in order to smuggle them thence into Ukraine. He therefore has experience in the fight against hunger, which can be overcome only by the benefits of trade.

BRIAND.—There you go again. You know very well that Noulens was the first man to organize hunger in Russia. You are trying to compromise the whole business in order that you may have a free hand in Russia.

CURZON.—M. Briand's revelations astonish me. I had no suspicion that our friends had intervened in Russian matters. But I am convinced that M. Briand's fears are unfounded. The Russians are acquainted with the recent services of Noulens in furthering trade with Russia and will take pleasure in contemplating this converted sinner.

BRIAND.—Very well, we accept. If the Bolsheviks

reject Noulens, that will be evidence that they are not worthy of any assistance. (*Noulens takes the chair.*)

NOULENS.—Gentlemen, our commission has no political aims. We are to speak of famine, not of politics. Every time we speak of politics, we come to blows, which continue until hunger once more gathers at the breakfast table. (*Shouts of: Bravo!*)

GENERAL PAU.—Nothing is further from my mind than politics. But I should only like to know what is to constitute our work. I am a pious Catholic and of course regard the providing of rain as God's business. If there was a drought in Russia, it was a punishment sent by God.

CURZON.—(*Takes a little English Bible out of his pocket. He carries it always with him attached to a silken cord.*) "Feed the hungry and give drink to the thirsty," is the word of God, our Father.

GENERAL PAU.—To be sure, but this work of charity has always been left to the Church. Let the Bolsheviks admit the Jesuits to Russia! I might call attention to the fact that my friend Riabushinsky promises us a very favorable effect from the bony hand of hunger on the rebellious spirit of the Russians. (*Kerensky and Milyukov stick out their heads from behind the curtain, tag at Briand's sleeve, and whisper something to him.*)*

BRIAND.—Gentlemen, we must show our goodwill to the Russian people by helping them. If, owing to the evil nature of the Bolsheviks, we are unable to help them, the bony hand of which the illustrious soldier has just spoken will be all the more effective. I propose that concrete motions be discussed.

CURZON.—We cannot send grain to Russia. (*Cries of: Why not?*) We have no grain. America has the grain. It would not be just to make all other countries the catspaws of American influence in Russia. (*The American delegate shouts: We have not asked you to! The Japanese delegate grins amiably at Curzon and at the American Ambassador Harvey.*) We must get grain in Russia itself. Let us establish credits for our export firms. Our merchants will purchase grain in Siberia, Ukraine, and the Northern Caucasus, and sell it to the Russians.

*In a public speech in the summer of 1917, under the Kerensky regime, the prominent Russian capitalist Riabushinsky said: "When the bony hand of hunger clutches the Russian worker by the throat he will come to his senses." This cynical saying became a byword of the Revolution; hence the concern manifested by Kerensky and Milyukov as portrayed by Radek.

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR HARVEY.—Not a bad idea. In that way they will create a commercial apparatus of their own in Russia, make profits of 100 per cent, and cut us all out. The Germans were not wrong when they spoke of the English hypocrisy. (*Confusion of shouts, Briand shouting loudest of all.*)

BRIAND.—Have you already consulted your friend Stinnes? They tell me the Boche bought up Skoropadsky's estate in Ukraine.

NOULENS.—Gentlemen, the amiable course of our conversation thus far has shown that the question has not been sufficiently worked out. We must appoint an investigating commission to go over all the preliminaries. I suggest that we dissolve into sub-committees. One of them should study the history of the alimentation of Russia from the period of Rurik to Tsurupa. (*Shouts of: Hear, hear! So that's their game!*) I see that our English friends consider this insufficient. I therefore propose the appointment of a special commission to investigate the English methods of bringing about and suppressing famine in India. (*Shouts of: Such impudence!*) Furthermore, Russian statistics have always been poor. We must undertake in Russia a census of population, cattle and crops. Of course, we must do this ourselves, for to use the statistical data of Mr. Popov, Superintendent of the Russian Statistical Office, would be a *de facto* recognition of the Soviet Government. But I proceed: What is hunger? This conception is relative. We must determine scientifically how little a Russian need eat in order not to die. In this business of not dying the Russians have developed altogether new methods. We must also see to it that they do not overeat at our expense. Even Mr. Lyman Brown, representative of the great-hearted American philanthropy, has kept this constantly in mind. I believe, gentlemen, that it will take us several months to carry out this program. (*Cries: And how about the hungry peasants in Russia in the meantime?*) The English Prime Minister, Lloyd George, has himself pointed out in the English Parliament that the famine in Russia is the greatest catastrophe the world has seen in centuries. How then will it be possible for us to combat so great a catastrophe in the period of a few months? We shall surely approach the solution of the question in these months. (*Shouts: You are already approaching the solution; you have sent soldiers to Upper Silesia and aeroplanes to Rumania.*)

BRIAND.—Gentlemen, we are somewhat fatigued. That is why the debates are running away with themselves and assuming the character of mutual recriminations (*Cries: The old rascal!*) which cannot redound to the advantage either of friendly relations between the Allies or of the cause of poor hungry Russia. *Res sacra misere!* Therefore, I suggest that we adjourn our session and have something to eat. After lunch we can elect the committees.

NOULENS.—Gentlemen, our first session has advanced the question of aid to famished Russia by

at least one step. The Allied powers have shown the Russian people that in spite of the crimes of the Bolshevik Government they are mindful of the millions and millions of Russian soldiers that fell in the cause of the Allies. The Russian people shall know that we have not forgotten them and that we shall proceed after lunch to the election of the Committees!

(*All rise. General Pau crosses himself. Giraud wipes away a tear in spite of the difficulties he encounters in raising his adipose hand. Curzon turns the pages of his Bible. The doors open. A lackey announces: Luncheon is served.*)

AMERICAN WORKERS GET CONCESSIONS

The Siberian Revolutionary Committee has made an agreement with a group of American workers for the leasing of some coal deposits in the Kuznetsk Basin. The main terms of this agreement are as follows:

The Siberian Revolutionary Committee agrees to deliver in Kemerovo a sufficient quantity of building materials for workers' dwellings. In 1922 there will arrive in Kemerovo 2800 workers who will be entrusted with the operation of the Kemerovo mines and the chemical, brick and lumber mills attached to them. Moreover there will be given to this group of workers ten thousand desyatins (about 4000 acres) of agricultural land for cultivation, whose products will be used for feeding the workers. The Workers' Co-operative is also granted the right to obtain cement from the Yashkin cement works and cast iron from the Guryev Mill, on condition that they will furnish skilled workers for those mills. Lastly, the same co-operative is granted a lease for two brick works and one leather factory in Tomsk. The Workers' Co-operative is granted a lease for two brick works year the output of all the enterprises. The entire output of coal belongs to the State. Only beginning with the second year is the Co-operative permitted to retain one-half of the output for developing its enterprises. The enterprises shall be managed by the workers themselves under the supervision of the Soviet authorities.

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Achievement and Promise

By N. LENIN

(Petrograd "Pravda", October 20, 1921)

NOVEMBER 7 is the fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The farther this great day departs from us, the clearer becomes the meaning of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia, the more we realize also the practical experience of our work as a whole.

This meaning and experience can be described briefly as follows:

One of the direct immediate problems of the Russian Revolution was the bourgeois-democratic problem: to destroy the remnants of medievalism, to eradicate them, to liberate Russia from this barbarism, from this disgrace, from this heaviest drag upon any culture or progress in our country.

We have a right to be proud that we accomplished this cleansing more resolutely, more rapidly, more bravely, and more successfully, from the standpoint of influencing the masses of the people, than did the great French revolution more than one hundred and twenty-five years ago.

The Two Revolutions

Both the Anarchists and the petty bourgeois democrats (the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists are the Russian representatives of this international social type) spoke and continue to speak much nonsense concerning the relation of the bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist proletarian revolution. The correctness of our understanding of Marxism on this point, of our interpretation of the experience of previous revolutions, has been fully confirmed in these four years. We, as no one else, carried the bourgeois democratic revolution to completion. We are advancing, consciously, resolutely and ceaselessly toward the social revolution, knowing that it is not separated by a Chinese wall from the bourgeois democratic revolution, knowing that only the struggle will decide how far we shall ultimately advance, what part of the tremendous task we shall accomplish, what of our victories will remain intact. We shall see. But even now we can see that prodigies have been accomplished—for a ruined, exhausted and backward country—in the socialist transformation of society.

Let us define the bourgeois democratic element in our revolution. It should be clear to the Marxists. As illustrations we must take only concrete examples. The substance of a bourgeois democratic revolution consists in the liberation of all the social institutions of a country from medievalism, serfdom and feudalism.

A Herculean Task

What were the main manifestations and remnants of serfdom in Russia in 1917? Monarchy, nobility, land tenure, land exploitation, the position of woman, religion, oppression of nationalities.

Let us take any of these Augean Stables left uncleansed by all the civilized governments in their bourgeois democratic revolutions 125 or 250 years or more ago (1649 in England); take any of these—you will see that we have swept them clean. In some ten weeks, from November 7, 1917, to the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, we accomplished a thousand times more in this field than did the bourgeois democrats and liberals (Cadets), and the petty bourgeois democrats (Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists) during the eight months of their power.

These cowards, babblers, self-admirers and puny Hamlets waved a paper sword and did not even destroy monarchy! We threw out the whole monarchist rubbish as no one ever did before. We left not a stone standing of the ancient structure of nobility. The most advanced countries, such as England, France, Germany, are not even yet rid of traces of "nobility". The more deep-seated roots of nobility, such as the remnants of feudalism and serfdom in landholding, we eradicated completely. It "may be argued" (there are scribblers enough abroad, Cadets, Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists, who have time for such arguments) what will be the "final outcome" of the land policy inaugurated by October Revolution. We do not care to waste time now over such arguments; we are settling this argument and numerous other related arguments in actual struggle. But it cannot be denied that the petty bourgeois democrats "co-operated" for eight months with the land holders who retained the traditions of serfdom, whilst we, in a few weeks, swept from Russian soil both the landlords and all their traditions.

The Accomplishment

Take, for example, religion, or the disabilities of women, or the oppression of non-Russian nationalities. These are all problems of the bourgeois democratic revolution. The wretched petty bourgeois democrats chattered about these things for eight months. Not one of the advanced countries has been able to solve these problems completely by bourgeois democratic means. With us they were solved by the legislation of the October revolution. We have fought religious superstition, and are still fighting it effectively. We have given to all non-Russian nationalities their own republics or autonomous districts. We have no such hideous baseness in Russia, no such archaic rubbish as disfranchisement or inequality of women, this outrageous relic of medievalism, perpetrated by the greedy bourgeoisie and the stupid petty bourgeoisie of all other countries.

This is more than the bourgeois-democratic revolution could accomplish. One hundred and fifty or

two hundred and fifty years ago the advanced leaders of this revolution promised the people liberation from the medieval privileges, from the inequality of women, from state-endowed churches, from oppression of nationalities. They made many promises, but fulfilled none. They could not fulfill them, for their "respect" for the "sanctity of private property" interfered. In our Proletarian Revolution there was no such "respect" for these cursed medievalisms, nor for this sacred "private property".

Reforms as Byproducts

But in order to strengthen the victories of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, we had to go farther, and we did go farther. We solved the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the course of our main proletarian revolutionary task. Reforms, we have always said, are by-products of the revolutionary class struggle. Bourgeois-democratic changes, we said, and proved by deed, are by-products of the proletarian socialist revolution. The Kautskys, Hilferdings, Martovs, Chernovs, Hillquits, Longuets, MacDonalds, Turatis, and all the rest of the heroes of "two and a half" Marxism, cannot understand this relation between the bourgeois-democratic and proletarian-socialist revolutions. The first grows into the second. The second incidentally solves the problems of the first. The second reinforces the work of the first. Struggle and struggle alone decides how successfully the second can outgrow the first.

The Soviet order is the living fact and evidence of this outgrowth of one revolution from another. The Soviet order is a maximum of democracy for the workers and peasants and at the same time it represents a break with bourgeois democratic ideology and the appearance of a new, universally significant type of democracy: proletarian democracy, or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Let the curs and swine of the dying bourgeoisie with its petty bourgeois democratic hangers-on heap upon us abuse, imprecation, and derision for our mistakes and mishaps in the construction of our Soviet order. We do not for a moment forget that there have been many mishaps and mistakes. How could a task of such world significance as the creation of an absolutely new type of government order be accomplished without mishaps and mistakes? We shall strive steadfastly to overcome our failures and our mistakes, to improve the application, still far from perfect, of Soviet principles. But we have a right to be proud, and we are proud that to our lot fell the good fortune to begin the construction of a Soviet State, to begin this new epoch of history, the epoch of the domination of a new class, oppressed in all capitalist countries, but everywhere heading toward a new life, toward victory over the bourgeoisie, toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, toward the deliverance of humanity from the yoke of capitalism and imperialistic wars.

The True Slogan

The question of imperialistic wars, the question of the present world rule of financial capital, which inevitably creates new imperialistic wars, promotes unexampled national oppressions, robbery and plunder, and the strangling of the weak, backward and small nations by a handful of "advanced" powers; since 1914, this question has been the fundamental problem in the policy of all countries. It is a question of life and death to tens of millions of people. It is the question whether, in the next imperialist war, resulting from capitalism, which the bourgeoisie is preparing before our very eyes, 20,000,000 men will be killed, instead of the 10,000,000 killed in the war of 1914-1918, in addition to those killed in the "small" wars not yet ended. It is the question whether in this coming war, which is inevitable if capitalism endures, 60,000,000 men will be wounded, instead of the 30,000,000 wounded in the war of 1914-1918. With this question our October Revolution opened a new epoch of world history. The hirelings of the bourgeoisie, the Social Revolutionists, Mensheviks, and all the petty-bourgeois, so-called "socialist" democracy of the world, scoffed at the slogan of the "transformation of the imperialist war into civil war." But this slogan proved to be the only true slogan; unpleasant, of course, and harsh, but nevertheless true, amidst the darkness of the most subtle, chauvinist and pacifist lies. These lies are collapsing. The Brest-Litovsk Peace has been exposed. The significance and consequences of that peace still worse than Brest-Litovsk, —the Versailles Peace—are daily being still more mercilessly exposed. In the sight of millions and millions of thinking people, seeking the causes of the war of yesterday and the causes of the inevitable war of tomorrow, there looms with increasing clarity and certainty this terrible truth: that it is impossible to escape the clutches of the imperialist war and its inevitable imperialist peace;* it is impossible to escape from this hell by any other course than through a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution.

The Answer of the Slaves

Let the bourgeois and the pacifists, the generals and the petty bourgeois, the capitalists and the philistines, and all the faithful Christians and all the knights of the Second and the Two and a Half International, furiously curse this revolution. With no flood of malice, calumny and lies can they drown the historical fact that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years the slaves have answered the war between slave-holders with an open proclamation of the slogan: We shall turn this conflict between slave-holders over their spoils

*Here Lenin interjects parenthetically in the Russian, "If we had the old spelling I would write two words with their two meanings." There is one word in Russian, "mir", for "peace" and "world", distinguished in spelling, but not in pronunciation, by the old orthography.

into a war of the slaves of all nations against the slave-holders.

For the first time in hundreds and thousands of years this slogan has grown from a vague feeble expectation into a clear, definite political program; into an active war of millions of the oppressed under the leadership of the proletariat; into the first victory of the proletariat, the first victory in the work of ending wars, the victory of the allied workers of all countries over the allied bourgeoisie of various countries, the bourgeoisie which makes peace and conducts war at the expense of the slaves of capital, at the expense of hired workers and peasants and all the toiling masses.

The Work Is Begun

This first victory—not the final victory—was won by our November Revolution against the most extraordinary odds, with unheard of sufferings, and in spite of tremendous failures and mistakes on our part. As if it were possible for one backward nation to defeat the imperialist attacks of the most powerful and the most advanced countries of the world without suffering defeats and making mistakes! We are not afraid to admit our mistakes, and we shall look at them soberly in order that we may learn to correct them. But the fact remains a fact, that for the first time, in hundreds and thousands of years, the promise to answer the war between slave-holders with a revolution of the slaves against all slave-holders has been fulfilled and is being fulfilled in spite of all difficulties.

We have started this work. As to when and in what period of time and where the proletariat will complete this work, is a question of little importance. What is important is that the ice has been broken, that the road is open, that the trail is blazed.

Continue your hypocrisies, Messrs. Capitalists of all countries, "defend your fatherlands", Japanese against Americans, Americans against Japanese, French against English, and the rest!

Knights of the Second and the Two and a Half Internationals, with all the pacifist gentry and Philistines of the world, you may continue to hide under fine writing, in new "Basel Manifestos" the truth about the conflict against imperialist wars. (On the style of the Basel Manifesto of 1912!) It was the first Bolshevik revolution that liberated at a single stroke the first hundred million people from the jaws of imperialist war and imperialist peace. The revolutions to come will rescue from such wars and such peace all humanity.

The Present Task

The last, the most important, the most difficult, and the most incomplete portion of our work is economic construction, the laying of the economic foundation for the new socialist structure in place of the destroyed feudal and half-destroyed capitalist structures. It is in this most important and most difficult task that we have made the most failures and mistakes. As if it were possible to begin such a new world task without failures and

mistakes! But we have begun it. We are doing it. We are correcting now by our "new economic policy" a number of our mistakes, we are learning how to continue without these mistakes the building of the socialist structure in a country of small peasants.

The difficulties are immense. We are used to contending against immense difficulties. It is not for nothing that our enemies have called us hard as rock and have said that we were the representatives of a "break neck" policy. But we have learned also—at least to some extent—another essential art in revolution, the art of flexibility, the ability to change our tactics rapidly and radically, to reckon with changed general conditions, taking a new road for the accomplishment of our aim, if the old road proves, for the moment, inexpedient or impossible.

The Necessary Transition

We thought that by awakening first the general political and then the military enthusiasm of the masses we should also be able to solve immediately, by this enthusiasm, the equally great economic problems. We thought, perhaps we expected without sufficient reason, to solve, by means of direct decrees of the Proletarian Government, the questions of state production and state distribution of products on a communist basis in a country of small peasants. Life has shown our mistake. It was necessary that we pass through a number of transition stages: State capitalism and state socialism, in order to prepare—by many years' hard work—for the transition to Communism. Not alone by enthusiasm, but on a basis of self interest and by economic calculation, with the aid of enthusiasm created by the great revolution, in a country of small peasants you must build strong bridges through state capitalism to socialism; otherwise you will not reach communism, otherwise you will not bring tens and tens of millions of people to communism. Thus we have been taught by experience. Thus we have been taught by the general course of the revolution.

The New Policy

And we, who during the period of four years have learned somewhat how to take sharp curves (when sharp curves are demanded), begin to learn diligently, attentively, and assiduously (though not sufficiently attentively, diligently and assiduously) the new curve, the "new economic policy". The Proletarian state must become a more careful, more zealous, more efficient "boss", a wise wholesale merchant; otherwise it cannot put a country of small peasants economically on its feet. There cannot be any other transition to communism under the present conditions, when we have beside us the capitalist—at least for the present capitalist—west. The wholesale merchant, as an economic type, would appear as far removed from communism as is the sky from the earth. But it is just such a paradox that leads in real life from small peasant economy through state cap-

italiam to socialism. Personal interest increases production. We must first of all have at any cost an increased production. Wholesale trade binds millions of small peasants together in common economic interest, leading them to the next step, to various forms of common action and unity in industry itself.

We have already begun the necessary reconstruction of our economic policy. We have already achieved in this field some partial, it is true, but undoubted successes. We are already finishing, in this field of education, the preparatory class.

Learning with perseverance and assiduity, testing every step by practical experience, not fearing to change many times the work begun, not fearing to correct our mistakes, attentively considering their significance, we shall enter the next class. We shall complete the "course", even though the conditions of world economy and world politics have made it longer and harder than we desired it to be. No matter how hard the sufferings of the transition period, no matter what the pain, hunger and destruction, we will not, at any cost, lose courage and we will bring our task to a victorious end.

Symposium

(The following statements were prepared especially for our readers by a number of Americans recently returned from Soviet Russia to whom we put the following question:

"As the result of your observations in Russia what do you consider most important for readers of SOVIET RUSSIA to know about that country?"

In publishing the replies received to this question, we of course assume no responsibility for the opinions expressed by the writers who represent many interesting varieties of personal experience and sentiment. In view of diversity of these witnesses the unanimity of their reports is all the more striking.)

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

(Secretary-Treasurer, Trade Union Educational League. Entered Soviet Russia May 1, 1921, as correspondent for the Federated Press; left Russia in August. Immediately on his return to America, Mr. Foster wrote a book on his Russian experiences, of which a review is printed in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, on page 278. Mr. Foster is now addressing meetings in Western American cities, in the interest of relief to the Workers' Republic of Russia.)

WHILE in Russia I made every effort to get the views not only of the predominant political group, the Communists, but also those of the opposition parties: the Mensheviks, Anarchists, Syndicalists, ex-bourgeois, etc. In my investigations I was allowed to go where I pleased and to associate with whom I wished. I feel that I had a fair chance to observe the real situation and to build up an opinion of my own.

The result of my trip is that my faith in the Russian revolution has been enormously strengthened. I feel sure that it will accomplish its great purpose and that the reaction will never again get the upper hand in Russia. It is true that the situation is one of heart-breaking difficulty, especially with the complications brought about by the famine, but forces are at work that will resolve it successfully. The supreme problem of to-day is the economic problem. The world's industrial experts say that the Communists cannot solve this and still adhere to their main program. But this is an old story with them and their like. They said right after the October revolution that the new Government was absolutely impossible and could not last two months. Yet here it is now, four years later, stronger than ever. The political

"impossibility" has been brilliantly achieved, as the whole world has had to admit. And the same is true in the matter of the defense of the revolution. When Russia, without an army and paralyzed by the blockade, sabotage, etc., was besieged by a multitude of foes, backed by world capitalism, the military wiseacres assured us that the Soviet Government was doomed. But it did not fall. On the contrary, by one of the greatest military efforts on record, it succeeded in driving back all its enemies and in making its foes respect its power. The military "impossibility" has been solved. And so it will go with the "insoluble" industrial problem also. Even as the workers solved the overwhelmingly difficult political and military problems so they will solve that of industrial rehabilitation. The whole country, now freed from war for the first time, is turning its attention to the industrial situation, and I, for one, am confident that its difficulties will be overcome—to the surprise and dismay of the bourgeois world.

Just now, I think, a double campaign of publicity is necessary: First, to acquaint the people generally with the terrors of the famine and the blockade, and to bring home to them a sense of their responsibility to relieve these conditions; and second, to point out thoroughly to the rebel elements here the true meaning of the new economic program now being put into force in Soviet Russia. There is altogether too much ignorance on this subject, too much nonsense about the Communists inviting the capitalists back into control in Russia. We cannot have too much light on the great industrial problem and the measures that are being applied to solve it.

JOSEPH IRWIN FRANCE

(United States Senator from Maryland. In a letter to SOVIET RUSSIA, Senator France writes: "I undertook the journey to Russia as a private citizen, because I believed that it was imperative for us to know more about the Russian situation if we were to formulate rational plans for the restoration of Europe and of the world." Remained in Russia one month, leaving on July 28, 1921.)

FROM my observations of Europe and Russia, I am convinced that there has been carried on in the United States a systematic campaign of misrepresentation concerning all that has been transpiring in Russia during the last four years. The purpose of this propaganda has been to prevent the establishment of commercial and diplomatic relationships between the United States and Russia. This propaganda has been carried on in the interest of other nations and has been contrary to the advancement of the best interests of our country.

I am convinced, from what I have observed in Russia, that the present Government will not be overthrown, since it commands the confidence and support of the Russian peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Russian population.

The economic, social, political, and industrial organizations of the great nations as they exist today—of the United States, of England, of Germany, of France—are not the result of any plan nor the consequence of the adoption of any theory. Each national organization is the result of the play and inter-play, of the action and reaction and inter-action of individual and social forces. The same individual and social forces which have created the United States are now at work in Russia creating a new Russia, a Russia which will be quite comparable to our Republic in all of its institutions. It will retain its Soviet form, but it will not be a Communistic government as we understand the meaning of that word. It will, rather, tend to be a government socialized to the extent that Germany was prior to the war. The railroads, the public utilities, the natural resources, and all enterprises which are charged with public use, will be operated by the Government, while large and small manufacturing concerns and business enterprises of a private nature will be carried on with private capital by individuals.

There is no more important task to be performed than that of re-establishing friendly relationships between the Republic of the United States and the Republic of Russia. A commission should be sent at once to Russia to confer with the Russians concerning all points of dispute between the United States and Russia, to settle amicably all points of difference, to adjust the question of Russia's outstanding obligations, with a view to recognition by the United States of the Russian Government when satisfactory arrangements have been made.

The recognition of Russia by the United States would enable Russia to go into the money markets of the world to borrow two billions of dollars which she should expend at once for the purchase of immediate necessities. The purchase of a large

portion of these necessities from the United States would go far toward the revival of business here.

LEWIS S. GANNETT

(In Russia five weeks as correspondent of "The Nation". Left Russia July 7, 1921.)

MOST readers of SOVIET RUSSIA probably know a great deal more about Russia than I do, and probably are more cheerfully optimistic about Russia. If I were to try to impress any one thing on them, it would be that a revolution is not, never has been, and never can be, a picnic. It is easier to swell with emotional enthusiasm about the revolution in America than in Russia. You do not get enough to eat in Russia, and you do not have as comfortable and clean a bed, and you have a lot of work to do. And even for revolutionists military victory is a simpler and easier thing to achieve than economic victory. The task of economic reorganization is long and harsh. Results do not show quickly. Sympathizers with Soviet Russia will do well to realize the complexity of revolution. Compromises are being made in Russia, and to many these compromises will in the coming months bring discouragement and disillusionment. Those who will be disillusioned are those who still have illusions, those who have had too simple a conception of revolution and who have seen its first victories through a magnifying glass. The most important thing for readers of SOVIET RUSSIA to know is that the Russian Revolution has ceased to be merely a Russian phenomenon, or even merely a revolutionary phenomenon—that its future development may well lie chiefly outside of Russia, and that with the slackening of the pace of evolution in the period of reaction which we are passing through, its effect may—for the present at least—come in more peaceful and less capricious fashion than its most ardent supporters had believed. In 1810 the French Revolution might well have seemed dead and effectless to real revolutionists, but the yeast was at work throughout Europe. Another kind of yeast is at work today.

ANNA J. HAINES

(Representative of the American Friends Service Committee, the organization of the American Quakers, which is distributing food, clothing, and medicines to Russian children. Was in Russia from July, 1917, to July, 1919, and from December, 1920, to September 19, 1921.)

NO one who has been in Russia during the past year, and more especially no one who has made the sad trip to the Volga Valley, can fail to say that food, nourishing ready-to-eat food, is the most immediate need of the Russian people.

When a children's home caring for 100 orphaned and deserted infants has to employ a two-horse garbage cart to carry away its daily output of 14 or 15 dead babies, dead not from epidemic or other diseases, but because they cannot live upon the grass bread and meat soup which is the only food in the neighborhood; when older children and grown-up people, who in the hope of find-

ing a more fruitful home had walked 50 miles or more to the nearest railroad station, die from hunger and heart exhaustion before they get a chance to board a train; when one has seen these conditions and realizes that they are being repeated in almost every town and village over an area as large as that of all the states of our Atlantic seaboard, one forgets the new economic and political and social problems that had once seemed the most important actualities in Soviet Russia—one can only remember that twenty million people are starving there and that here are billions of bushels of surplus foodstuffs.

What is America going to do about it?

MARGUERITE E. HARRISON

(*Newspaper correspondent, Baltimore Sun, New York Evening Post, Associated Press. In a letter to SOVIET RUSSIA, accompanying the following statement, Mrs. Harrison writes: "I remained in Russia for eighteen months, entering the country by illegal means on February 8, 1920, after I had been refused a permit to visit it legitimately by the Representative of the Soviet Government in the United States. Ten months of my stay were spent in prison, a fact for which I hold only myself responsible." Left Russia July 28, 1921, being the first of the American prisoners released in conformity with the agreement of the Soviet Government with the American Relief Administration.*)

TO any one who has studied internal conditions in Russia it is obvious that the great mass of the people is as yet unripe for any form of representative government, and that the country must necessarily be a prey to minority government for some time to come. The question is whether it is better to have it ruled by a Communist or a reactionary oligarchy. Sane thinking people of all political persuasions should know that this is the real issue. They should be brought to see that continued isolation of Russia will have the effect of completing the economic ruin of the country, with the consequent reaction upon world economics; of strengthening the political dictatorship of the Communist Party, pushing them still further in their tactical program of world revolution; and perhaps of finally driving them to military aggression; that the eventual outcome of the policy of isolation may be anarchy or possibly a reaction far more bloody and far more terrible than the Communist regime.

They should know that the only way to bring about a government in Russia which will represent the will of the great mass of the people is to give them a chance to develop the moral force to express that will in action, and that this can only be done by giving them peace, food and contact with the outside world. They should know that the administrative apparatus of the Soviet Government is strong, well organized, and is the only channel through which it is possible to help the Russian people to find themselves; that whatever may be their opinions of its aims, ideals and

methods, its ultimate chances of success or failure, it is modernizing Russia.

PAXTON HIBBEN

(*Captain, F. A., R. C., Secretary of American Embassy, Petrograd, 1905-1906. Secretary, Russian Commission of the Near East Relief. Between August 16, 1921, and September 12, 1921, travelled from Tiflis to Moscow and return, making a journey of 4,863 miles, through Adjaria, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Daghestan, Gorsk, and Soviet Russia, visiting Baku, Rostov-on-Don, Samara, Penza, Tsaritsin, and many other points.*)

THE thing to be remembered about the political organization of Russia since the Revolution is that it is elastic.

We Americans are a hurried people, and our thought on political matters is not profound. We are in the habit of using tags to classify everything in our experience, and the tags are frequently superficially chosen and carelessly applied. Big Bill Edwards is tagged as a football hero, and a football hero he will remain, however efficient his work may be in other lines. Roosevelt was a rough-rider till he died. We are that way.

But the Government of Soviet Russia is not that way at all. We called it "Bolshevist" in the beginning, and "Bolshevism" became a term of political reproach, not because people knew what it meant, but precisely because they did not know what it meant. They feared it as people often fear what they do not understand. They only knew that they did not approve the Government of Russia, whatever it might be. Later, a few purists began to call the Soviet Government "communist", ignoring the fact that there is not now and never has been a working communism in Russia.

It did not, however, occur to any great number of people to enquire what the actual Government of Russia is and how it works. It comes therefore as a great shock to most of those who go to Russia to find that, all things considered, the Soviet Government is a government, and does work.

As nearly as I can word it, the aim of the Soviet Government is not a theory, but a practical thing, namely: to insure for the great mass of the people of Russia a certain minimum of sufficient food to eat, clothes to wear, a fit place to live in and useful work to do—at any cost.

If, for example, to see that a laborer and his family have decent rooms to live in, instead of a quarter of a subcellar, 12 ft. by 8 ft., it be necessary that a man and his wife who occupy a 14 room house should give up 4 of those rooms to the laborer and his family, then the man and his wife have only 10 rooms left for their own use, and the laborer and his family have the other four. If there are more people than there are rooms, then the man and his wife may be reduced to one room of their 14; but the laborer and his wife will also have only one room. The important thing is that the man and his wife who once occupied a house of 14 rooms will not be ejected and

a laborer and his family established in his place. In this respect the Revolution in Russia differs from the Revolution in France. A definite need is met as best it can be, and no more.

And so throughout, in governmental theory as well as fact. The Soviet Government did not surrender its principles last April, or admit its defeat and return to capitalism, as reported, for the simple reason that it had no fixed principles to surrender. It was seeking the practical realization of the aim stated above, and it is still seeking that practical realization. To claim the contrary is merely to set up a man of straw and then destroy him for one's own satisfaction.

Many of the people's representatives in Russia are Communists; but Russia is not a communistic state. Many of the members of President Harding's cabinet are Christians; but the Government of the United States is a long way from the precept in Matt. 22:39.* It is a tenet of the Christian faith that a man who takes the life of Christ as his ideal may still be a Christian though he sin. It is equally true of Russia today that though the Soviet Government may not provide the minimum for every man which is its aim, it has no more surrendered its principles or proved them wrong than the Christian who has failed to realize Christ's ideal. And what Christian has not?

HULET M. WELLS

(Entered Russia in April, 1921, as special correspondent of the Seattle Union Record and with credentials from the Labor Council of Seattle as a delegate to the First Congress of the International Council of Trade Unions. Made a tour through the Volga famine region with an official investigating party headed by Kalinin, the Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. Left Russia September 12, 1921.)

THE thing that I would most like to impress upon the American people in regard to Soviet Russia is that Russia is still the victim of the cruelest, most cowardly attack ever made upon a suffering people. Russia has a socialist government, but socialism has never been tried there. All that her weary, hungry people have had time or opportunity to do has been to fight one unprovoked attack after another.

Some of these attacks have been nominally from the inside, others have been the deliberate invasion of hostile powers, without cause, without a declaration of war, without constitutional authority of their peoples. But whatever form these attacks have taken, they have all been inspired, planned, backed and executed by the forces of world capitalism and imperialism, which see in the rise of one working-class government to power the menace to their oligarchy.

There is no parallel in history for the heroism and devotion with which the Russian people have risen to each new crisis and held the international wolf-pack at bay. The story of the rise of the Red Army from the ruins left by collapsing Tsarism,

and the brilliant exploits that have followed, would seem like a thrilling romance if it were not for the agony of a suffering people that made it possible.

Germany collapsed in 1918 because her economic resources could no longer stand the strain; but Russia, in a worse position then, fought on for three years more. Russia has had no opportunity to pursue her cherished projects of educating her people or of building up again her industrial system, which the war has completely demolished. The plots still continue. Stripped, starving, ruined, Russia must still keep her weary soldiers under arms or the grey wolves will rush in and destroy her.

The first thing, therefore, that I would have the American workers realize, is that their government, sometimes without the knowledge of the people, and generally without their consent, has had a liberal share in the persecution of the Russian nation. In the name of common humanity and decency I call upon the workers of America to rise and stop this intrigue and infamy, and to make some belated reparation by sending food to the famine sufferers of the Volga. The other point to which I would call attention is that no trial has been made in Russia of Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, or any other innovation in social administration; Russia has been unable to do anything since November, 1917, except fight with her back to the wall.

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*"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

England France and Russia

By KARL RADEK.

At the moment of the October Revolution, France and England had a common policy with regard to Soviet Russia. This policy arose from purely military interests and aimed to prevent Germany from using Soviet Russia as a source of strength in making war and to create a military front in the East which would compel Germany to concentrate there the forces drawn to the Western front after the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Social motives, even the destruction of the proletarian state, were of less importance than these military objectives.

After the defeat of Germany and at the conclusion of that period during which the Allies trembled lest Bolshevism might envelop the world in conflagration, and therefore created White armies to combat this danger, a differentiation arose in the policies of the Allies. After the peace of Versailles, the United States retired from participation in European politics. The share of the United States in the Siberian adventure was chiefly intended to limit the liberty of action of the Japanese. The force of the interventionist efforts, as well as their direction, were determined primarily by France and England.

The French Policy

French policy has very definite and simple aims. Its object is to destroy the Soviet power in order to create a White Russia, the object of which would be to extort from the peasant masses the old national debt incurred by the Tsars. To this White Russia, as an ally of France, would also be assigned the defense of France, with several million bayonets, against the future German revanche.

For this reason the French Government does not favor the creation of separate border states. The single exception has been Poland, which is regarded as a military substitute for Russia, and simultaneously as the watchdog of the Treaty of Versailles. Toward all the other states created on the soil of the former Russian Empire, France has assumed a sceptical and most unfriendly attitude. At best it regarded these states as cannon fodder and never intended to assume any obligations with regard to them. The policy of France was stubborn and undeviating until the destruction of Wrangel.

The English Policy

England pursued an entirely different policy. Of course, the English Government hated Soviet Russia. The destruction of Soviet Russia was and still remains one of the aims of the English Government, but this aim is one to be pursued over a number of years, and the English Government by no means binds itself as to the method by which this is to be achieved. It does not desire the speediest possible destruction of the Soviet

power. On the contrary, the English Government is afraid it might fall too soon. This is the dominant trait of the English policy toward Russia. The causes of this attitude of the English capitalist Government toward the proletarian state are apparent to all who are acquainted, first, with the history of the English oriental policy, and second, with the origin of the Anglo-French controversy, the struggle for domination on the European continent.

England fears the re-establishment and consolidation of any Russia—a White Russia not less than a Red—since any firmly established Russia will again be a decisive factor in foreign policy, particularly in Oriental policy. Such a Russia would be incapable of competing with the capitalist countries in Europe and would doubtless turn its face to Asia and there become a dangerous opponent which could threaten England from the vantage-ground of dry land. The English fleet could not defend India and Persia, and Turkey would be under Russian influence.

It would not be a matter of indifference to English authorities whether these regions were ruled by a White Russia or were under the influence of the revolutionary Russia which has aided them in emerging from the yoke of world capitalism. The English Government is more afraid of White Russia than of Red Russia in this field, as a White Russia would be more likely to conclude an alliance with the capitalist competitors of England, with America and France, than would a Red Russia.

Why England Supported Counter-Revolution

Although England aims at a victory over Red Russia and at the re-establishment of a white bourgeois Russia, it is for the present attempting to postpone this consummation until the main questions of oriental policy (the Turkish question, and the Chinese question) have been definitely settled to the advantage of England, and until England's relations with America and France have been defined. For this reason England supported the Kolchaks, Denikins, and Yudeniches with insufficient aid. This aid was crippled, not only by the conflict of commercial interests with the military clique, but also by the struggle of those influential circles headed by Lord Curzon, which dominate England's Asiatic policy, against Churchill's military party.

By supporting Denikin and Kolchak, the English Government weakened not only Soviet Russia, but Russia in general, as this struggle diverted Russia's attention from economic problems, and gave the country no opportunity to establish itself and gather its forces. Simultaneously, the strength of the Whites was consumed in the conflict. After Denikin's defeat, England was ready to do business with Soviet Russia, as the country

had been sufficiently debilitated by the war. England was even obliged to give up the war upon Soviet Russia as speedily as possible in order to get ahead of her competitors, France and America, in trade, by which alone England could exert a dominating influence on Russia.

England Plays a Waiting Game

The development of relations between England and Soviet Russia after the conclusion of the trade agreement proceeded in a manner that prevented the English aim from becoming apparent for a long time. England was expecting a transformation of the internal Soviet policy. It waited for the wounds inflicted by intervention to exert their influence on Russia's economic policy. The representatives of the Soviet power said frankly that the effects of the economic weakening of Russia would force the country to release all its economic resources, to cease to depend merely upon state activity but to resort also to the activity of the petty bourgeois in the work of reconstruction. They further declared that Soviet Russia would be forced to yield to capital, as it is in need of economic aid from the capitalist world. In its interpretation of the resolution of our March Congress, the *Observer*, the intellectual food of Lloyd George, declared that these resolutions were one of the most decisive political factors of recent days. The English Government wanted to see to what extent the Soviet Government would be able, to what extent it would desire, to realize this new economic policy.

The Soviet Government is carrying out this policy which will lead to a re-establishment of Russian economy. Moreover, the distress that has befallen Russia from the great famine compels a determined attitude in this matter. The English Government and the English business world are convinced, therefore, that it is time to stop talking about economic relations and to begin the organization of these relations. The fact that Leslie Urquhart, one of the chief instigators of the former interventionist policy, began negotiations for the re-establishment of the mighty Ural enterprises once belonging to him, is one of the most striking indications of this attitude.

Economic Penetration

Lloyd George's speech on August 6, on the famine in Russia, stated the platform of English imperialism with regard to Russia. Commercial firms are to buy grain for the hungry provinces, on the basis of a great credit, to be established in their favor by the English Government, in those provinces where the crops did not fail. There is a twofold object in this plan. It keeps out America, which is the chief purveyor of grain, and to whom Soviet Russia might turn if it had money credits instead of goods credits. The form of goods credits proposed by Lloyd George had the object of postponing the moment of economic agreement between Soviet Russia and America. The second object is the immediate economic pene-

tration of Soviet Russia by English commercial capital. The policy proclaimed by Lloyd George is an effort to attain an English monopoly in Russia or at least to secure a dominant influence for England in the Russian market.

A New Trend in France

France has not yet renounced the policy of intervention. It still dreams of an early fall of the Soviet Government. M. Briand still hopes that France's old ally, hunger, which Noulens sought to mobilize as early as 1918, will be of assistance to him. He hopes that hunger will lead to the fall of the Soviet Government, and this not only with the humane aid of the White Guards supported by France, but also with the immediate assistance of French bayonets and the bayonets of France's vassals. Before the end of 1920, however, there arose in France a tendency towards a change of policy. This new trend is to be observed even in influential government circles. In an exchange of notes between the English and French governments beginning last December and continuing through July of this year France took up the question of the resumption of relations with Soviet Russia. Recognition of the debts of the Tsarist and Kerensky governments by Soviet Russia is considered by the French Government to be a *sine qua non* of this resumption, but it speaks of these debts in a manner that leads one to suppose that a portion of the French capitalist class begins to view the formulation of this question not as a means of exacerbating the relations between the two states, but as a method of arriving at a settlement. In the note of November 25, 1920, it is pointed out that of course Soviet Russia would not be able immediately to begin payments on this debt. Postponement of payment and transformation of the debts are also spoken of.

French Apprehensions

A number of voices in the French Press, such as the Delegate Hennessey, such as the paper *Information*, even Poincaré, etc., openly point out the causes of this already apparent transformation. Poincaré, the former president of France, a nationalist of narrow horizon, in an article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, asks: "Shall France stand aloof at a moment when amiable allies on the other side of the channel are selling their goods to Soviet Russia for the money of the Russian treasury, for the money which constitutes a guarantee of the debt of France?" Commercial relations between Soviet Russia and England, which France did not succeed in preventing, force the latter to compound with Soviet Russia. The sober political heads of France begin to understand that the continuation of the intervention policy is a danger to their country. While France pursues a policy of impotent rage against Soviet Russia, England will have so consolidated its economic position in Russia that France, having changed its policy, may find itself approaching a table on

which all the covers have already been reserved by others. The more this danger becomes a reality, the greater becomes France's disquiet.

In judging the world situation, Soviet Russia must consider this tendency in France to reckon with realities. This current represents the view that France is incapable of making war upon Russia and that the isolation of France from Russia will serve only the interests of the English desire for monopoly in Europe. This was revealed in the answer received by France from England. For a month the English Government did not answer the French note, and finally declared: "We beg you to join us in our commercial agreements with Russia." Of course such an answer showed that England was only too delighted to postpone commercial relations between France and Russia.

The external policy of Soviet Russia, taking account of this new tendency in France, must also appraise it properly. In the first place, we must say: The tendency is a new one; it has by no means overcome the interventionist movement. The adventurers of the military party are still in full bloom and still have a strong influence on the French Government. Officially, the power is still in their hands. Second: Even if the Government were determined to resort to the new policy, this would by no means exclude the possibility that it might pursue this new policy in a manner that would be a lively counterpart to the policy of intervention. This might particularly be the case at the beginning of the new policy. To put the case more concretely, let us for a moment examine the procedure of the French Government in Warsaw on September 3.

Ultimatums and Negotiations

What was the intention of the French Government when it forced Poland and Rumania to send ultimatums to Soviet Russia? Was it the intervention policy, the preparation of a new war against Russia? This would show the present weakness of the conciliation tendency. But there might be an entirely different reason. The French Government has undoubtedly lost much time in its interventions; it knows that normally the negotiations on an economic treaty are of long duration. It is not impossible that the adventurers of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs may want to counterbalance the time they have lost, by making threats, now that they know their minds have been made up to take part in negotiations.

It is possible that those who pull the strings in France wanted to create a situation through their vassals by which they might have secured the conclusion of a treaty on terms dictated by themselves. However insane this policy that passes from negotiations to ultimatums may seem, we do not consider French diplomacy to be incapable of such a policy. French diplomacy, which does not understand the real situation of Russia, which is full of internal contradictions, which fears the outcry of the nationalist press, which cannot afford to appear in any other guise than that of

victor; this French diplomacy perhaps thought it would frighten us, instead it has only given us warning what were the goals pursued by the ultimatum of September 3; it has shown that it was ready to rekindle the torch of war in order to hurl Soviet Russia into an abyss of blood and suffering. But if they use ultimatums to play with us, they can never tell how the game will close. Particularly when so reserved and self-controlled a partner as Marshal Pilsudski is used as the weapon of France.

Soviet Russia has been warned. It knows that M. Briand wants either to renew the war or to force from the Soviet Government by military threats concessions which he could not obtain by peaceful negotiations. The Soviet Government, which recently made known to France its readiness for peace, in the splendid and clear communication of Comrade Chicherin to the French people—the Soviet Government is no material for extortionists to practice on. Such attempts, altogether aside from the military dangers involved in threats of this kind, only accentuate the hostility between the masses of the Russian people and the French Government, and create a situation in which England becomes the only factor with whom business and treaty negotiations can be concluded.

The way to reach agreements with Soviet Russia, to reach an understanding based upon the interests of both countries, insofar as such intentions may be possibly assumed in the relations between capitalist and proletarian countries, must be by the abandonment of the policy of egging on Poland and Rumania against Soviet Russia, a policy which, while it may weaken Russia economically, will simply postpone the moment when Russia can begin to buy and sell. So long as this ability to buy and sell is not present, no military devices will squeeze a single penny out of Russia. You cannot get bread from a stone.

GRATITUDE

"Naturally, all Poland, from the highest to the lower classes, and without distinction of creed or politics, is tremendously grateful to America, not only for the food relief which has been sent but especially for the American munitions which saved the country during the war with the Bolsheviks in 1920. America's contribution to Poland at that time has not received sufficient attention; it was even greater than that of France."—*Father Kurkowski, returning from Poland, quoted in New York Times, Nov. 20, 1921.*

SAVINKOV DEPARTS FROM POLAND

Warsaw, Nov. 2. (Transmitted by Vienna Rosta.)—*Gazeta Warszawska* reports the following: Boris Savinkov, who was ordered to leave Warsaw on October 30, begged on October 29 to be permitted to remain two weeks longer. Minister Skirmunt denied this request outright, whereupon Savinkov declared that he would not leave, except under compulsion. He actually had to be led out by the police.

Co-operation in Soviet Russia

(A statement by the Russian Trade Delegation, London.)

IN the early part of this year Russian Co-operation entered upon another stage of its development. The Russian Government, owing to the constantly changing economic situation, and foreseeing new economic difficulties in connection with the approaching calamity of failure of harvest, found it necessary to change the line of its economic policy. The Government devoted its main attention to the organization of an exchange of goods in order to regulate the relationships between the towns and the villages, to increase the productivity of the peasant masses, and thus, increasing export, to put foreign trade on a more normal footing.

The Government has consequently decided to place this task—the exchange of goods—upon the shoulders of Russian Co-operation, i. e., upon the Centrosoyus (the All-Russian Union of Co-operative Unions), without at the same time releasing it from the obligations connected with the distribution of goods, and furthermore enlarging its work in collecting goods on a national scale.

The first period of the development of Russian Co-operation, before the war and up to the Revolution of 1917, proved its vitality and its capacity for work within its own limited sphere.

Co-operation After the Revolution

In the second period—from the revolution up to the end of 1920—Russian Co-operation was enlarged by incorporating the whole population of an enormous country. During this period forty provincial unions completed their organization. The Centrosoyus definitely entered into relations with fifty-three provincial unions in Central Russia and twenty-six provincial unions in the autonomous Soviet Republics and regions. Five hundred sixty seven district branches were united in sixty-five provincial unions. In fifty-six provinces the primary system comprised 20,000 multiple and single shops. In thirty provinces there were 23,191 distributing centres at work.

At this stage co-operation took upon itself the functions of distribution on an unprecedented scale. It began to feel and regard itself as an organ of national importance, although it did not yet conceive the fulness of its tasks.

But in the third period, into which the All-Russian Centrosoyus has entered as a consequence of the new economic policy of the Soviet Government, its grown wings begin to spread out with full force. The Centrosoyus regains its independence, it receives back its nationalized assets, it acts not only as executor but as a collaborator and the nearest assistant of the State power, having in the meantime developed its own organization and resources, with the assistance of the Soviet Government, so that it is now able to assume its new and supremely important functions.

No Return to the Past

Some co-operators of the old, individualistic way of thinking, being unable to distinguish outward forms from the essence of things, have begun to imagine that the new development of Centrosoyus means the restoration of their old privileges and liberties. For the good of Russian Co-operation, and of the co-operative movement generally, it should be made clear at the outset that no such return to the past is implied.

The new independence of the Centrosoyus and its new powers and obligations are far removed from its past self-contained independence and its "parish pump" outlook; equally far apart is the sphere of action which lies open before the Centrosoyus at the present time from the limited sphere in which its work was confined during the first period of its existence. The stage upon which the activity of the Centrosoyus now enters marks, in fact, the actual realization of the remotest aims ever dreamed of by the advanced guard of co-operation.

The new work that lies before the co-operative movement was fully discussed at the All-Russian Congress of Co-operative delegates in July. To this congress 250 representatives with a right to vote and 134 with consultative powers came from all parts of Russia—not only from the whole of Central Russia, but also from Siberia, Ukraine, Turkestan, Caucasus, as well as delegates from workers' and transport co-operative societies.

The congress was opened by the President of the Board of the All-Russian Union of Co-operative Societies, Khinchuk. In his opening address, Khinchuk emphasized the exceptional importance attaching to the fact that the Centrosoyus was entrusted with the exchange of goods as a result of the decree of April 7. In accordance with this decree the stocks of goods accumulated by the Government Provincial Food Departments will be handed over to the Centrosoyus, that is, to the provincial co-operative unions and co-operative societies affiliated to them. On May 15 a general agreement was signed between the Centrosoyus and the People's Commissariat of Supplies for the delivery to the former of the available stocks of goods. From that time up to the middle of July, i. e., in the course of seven weeks, goods to the value of 4,000,000 gold rubles (\$2,040,000) passed into the hands of the Centrosoyus.

The Task of the Co-operatives

Some idea of the extent of the transactions to be carried out by the Centrosoyus may be gained from the fact that the total amount of goods to be distributed by the Centrosoyus amongst the population for the purposes of exchange was estimated for the year 1921 at 296,000,000 gold rubles, i. e. \$150,960,000. In the exchange of goods, the Centro-

soyus is left free to fix the equivalent values of goods to be exchanged.

The financial side of the work of the Centrosoyus has undergone a change corresponding to its new tasks. From September 1, according to a decision of the Council of People's Commissars, the State financing of co-operation ceased and the Centrosoyus henceforward is to carry on its work on its own account. In connection with this development Khinchuk mentioned in his report that it will be essential to subscribe to shares, to stimulate deposit operations, to organize new undertakings, to strengthen productive co-operatives, to establish international co-operative relations, and take steps for the foundation of an international co-operative bank. The granting of loans by the Government is under consideration.

As an inevitable and direct corollary of the functions taken on by the Centrosoyus in connection with the exchange of goods, it has to become a potent factor of trade not only in Russia, but also in the international market.

In Foreign Trade

Among the first tasks before the Centrosoyus is that of working out a plan for export, and the preparation of goods for export—an "export fund". Tikhomirov, a member of the Board of the Centrosoyus, and its acting President, outlined in his report the practical steps which were being taken in this direction. The Centrosoyus was organizing, under the guidance of experienced workers, the collection of goods for export from the surplus of raw materials, agricultural produce, and articles of "Kustar" production (Russian peasant industries) accumulated by the respective co-operative societies in the districts. Further, it must move the goods intended for export to the Black Sea and the Baltic for shipment abroad.

It goes without saying that the Centrosoyus will act in this respect in close touch with and according to the general plan of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade—it maintains a personal contact with the latter through the members of its board—Krassin, Leshava, and Voikov—being at the same time commissary and assistant commissaries of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

Production

The question of the exchange of goods within the territory of Russia, and of the export of goods, are closely connected with the position of productive co-operation. It was natural that the participation of co-operation in the solution of these questions generally, and the change in the economic policy of the State, should have necessitated a revision of the laws on producers' co-operatives. Decrees have been published on small and "Kustar" industries and on producers' co-operatives. The latter have regained their independence, the "Kustar" sections of the provincial unions having obtained the right to organize themselves independently.

The establishment of producers' co-operatives,

whether in the shape of artels or unions of the latter on a provincial scale, was authorized by law to proceed without any restrictions other than formal registration. These co-operative organizations have been given the right to acquire independently, within the operation of the existing laws, the raw materials, tools, and technical equipment necessary for their work.

The All-Russian Co-operative Congress decided to encourage the voluntary association of producers' and consumers' co-operation into one economic system. The sale and disposal of products are left entirely in the hands of the Centrosoyus. It was found possible to organize All-Russian centres of agricultural and "Kustar" co-operative societies, but only as producers' centres and not as centres for sale. Time will show how these various inter-relationships will develop in the light of practical experience.

Famine Relief

New rights involve new obligations, and the Centrosoyus having accepted rights has consequently accepted obligations arising therefrom. The new disaster of famine which has befallen Soviet Russia finds the Centrosoyus in the front ranks of those who are fighting the calamity. The Centrosoyus has called upon all co-operative organizations of the Republic to organize relief work in the famine area by creating special reserve stocks of goods and funds, by collections, and by organizing special productive work to meet the needs of the moment. The Board of Centrosoyus was instructed by the congress of delegates to set aside for the purposes of relief a certain percentage of the goods belonging to Centrosoyus.

It has also been decided, in agreement with and with the help of the State, to carry on the exchange of goods in the provinces which are suffering from the failure of the harvest on specially favorable terms. To assure success to the work of co-operation in the famine areas it has been decided that the Co-operative Branch of the Peoples Bank should grant special long-term credits for the organization of undertakings that may serve to facilitate the fight against the famine, sustain the economic life of the affected area, and prevent its falling into decay.

The Congress also addressed an appeal to the co-operators of Western Europe, asking them to render what help they could to the population of the regions suffering from the famine.

NEW UNIVERSITY IN MINSK

Moscow, Nov. 3.—The new White Russian University, opened at Minsk a few days ago, includes the following faculties: medicine, political science, mathematics, labor. The medical faculty has already enrolled two hundred and eighty students, that of political science eight hundred.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

The Kara Sea Expedition

(The following account of the trading expedition to the Kara Sea, to which we have given brief notice in previous issues of SOVIET RUSSIA, is supplied by the Russian Trade Delegation in London.)

SEVERAL attempts were made in the past to utilize the northern route for trading with Siberia through the rivers Ob and Yenisei. As early as the sixteenth century Russian merchants made use of this route; since then many isolated expeditions have been made, but these were on a small scale, and no regular trading by this route was ever established. The expedition organized this year by the Soviet Government was the first on such a large scale, and inaugurates the regular use of this route to bring Northern Siberia into touch with Europe.

According to the plan worked out by the Soviet Government the expedition was to take to Siberia manufactured goods from England and other countries and bring back from Siberia grain for Archangel and raw materials for European markets. The carrying out of this project was entrusted to the local Soviet authorities in Siberia and the White Sea districts and to the All-Russian Co-operative Society in London, which was instructed to buy the steamers and goods for export to Siberia, as well as to arrange the sale of the return cargoes of Siberian produce.

The London Arcos* bought at the beginning of June five steamers suitable for the expedition. On these wireless telegraphy was installed, and they were also specially strengthened to stand the pressure of ice. The ice-cutter *Lenin*, which was returned to Russia by the British Admiralty, accompanied the steamers. Meanwhile eight other steamers were fitted out at Archangel for the voyage to Siberia, and twenty barges, with seven steam tugs and 400 laborers, were used in Siberia to transfer the grain and raw material from the interior to the mouths of the rivers Ob and Yenisei.

As it is only possible to enter the Siberian rivers by the northern route for six weeks in the year, a definite time limit had to be set for each operation; the last steamer was to arrive in the Ob and Yenisei by August 20; and by September 20 all the steamers were to start on their return journey.

The success of the expedition depended to a large extent on the work of the wireless system in the Arctic regions. It was their duty to gather and send out meteorological information and watch the movements of icebergs. The Soviet Government arranged and set working for this purpose nine wireless stations in the area of the expedition.

The arrangements for the Archangel and the river expeditions were in the hands of the respective departments of the Soviet Government. The leadership of the expedition from England was entrusted to Captain Otto Sverdrup, Dr. Nansen's assistant in his Polar expeditions. The five steamers (*Pinewin*, *Ashwin*, *Brann*, *Tintern Abbey*,

Neath Abbey) were loaded with about 11,000 tons of cargo, which included agricultural machinery and implements, axes, saws, spades, nails, machine belts, etc. The Archangel expedition took to Siberia about sixteen hundred tons of peat, and took back to Archangel grain and flour.

Four of the steamers which came from England unloaded their cargoes in the Ob and Yenisei, and took on about 4,350 tons of Siberian raw materials (wool, graphite, asbestos, bristles, hides) which were brought to England. The fifth steamer carried 2,600 tons of Siberian grain to Archangel and after unloading it there took on a cargo of timber for England.

On August 12 the steamers which came from England, after coaling in Murmansk and having been joined by the steamers which came from Archangel, set out on the final stage of their voyage. The steamers moved in a line preceded by the ice-cutter *Lenin*. The passage was quiet, and no untoward incident occurred during the whole outward voyage. The days were clear and sunny, and it was surprisingly warm for that part of the world. The steamers were in constant communication by wireless, and the *Lenin* was sending out wireless messages for transmission to England.

After the long voyage through lonely and deserted seas the sight of the river expedition waiting at the mouth of the colossal river Ob was very welcome, and the work of transferring the cargoes was immediately begun. In seventeen days of continuous unloading and loading, the operations were successfully completed. The whole process of loading was carried out on the water about three miles from the shore. Practically no member of the expedition went ashore the whole time. It was impossible to carry out much investigation work owing to lack of time. The shore of the bay is very low, the ground is marshy and thaws to a depth of only about two or three feet. Wild birds are plentiful; there are about twenty varieties of ducks alone; and large flights of wild white swans were seen occasionally. The natives—Samoyeds—could be seen on the banks with their herds of deer.

The return journey was made under less favorable circumstances. As soon as the expedition left the river banks it met with icebergs and was subjected to violent snowstorms. For more than three days the steamers were ploughing their way through fields of ice in the Kara Sea. Very often the ice-cutter had to come to their assistance and extricate them from the ice.

On the fourteenth day of the return journey the expedition arrived at Murmansk. It had fulfilled the program it set itself to achieve with regard to the quantity of goods brought back and the time limit set for the various operations, in spite of the unfavorable conditions for navigation and the presence of icebergs in the Kara Sea.

*All-Russian Co-operative Society.

Valuable information was obtained by the expedition, which will be of help in the investigations now in progress with a view to the regular use of the northern route to Siberia. The expedition proved that if the State undertakes the organization of such enterprises with the necessary technical preparations, and with the assistance of wireless stations and geographical experts, the northern sea route can be successfully utilized for commercial purposes.

BREAKING INTO THE ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

THE learned world is not always favorable to innovation. Long after the newspapers of the world have become filled with new words and new conceptions, the dictionaries and encyclopaedias display reluctance in admitting the new words and ideas. We therefore did not expect to find much information in such books with regard to the leaders of the Russian Revolution, and were agreeably surprised by the following lengthy (though inexact and not entirely fair) account of the life of Leon Trotsky in Volume 30 of the Swedish encyclopaedia, *Nordisk Familjebok* (Stockholm 1920):

Trotsky, Lev Davidovitch, Russian Revolutionist, of Jewish parentage, originally named Leo Bronstein, born at Nikolayev, Province of Kherson, 1877. For his connection with an illegal association of Russian workers in his native city, he was sentenced to exile for four years to Siberia (1899). In the third year of his exile he succeeded in escaping and took a prominent part in the revolutionary movement in Petrograd in the fall of 1905, where he became the head of the Workers' Council established in that city. On December 3 he was arrested and sentenced in 1906 to exile to Siberia for life. He succeeded in fleeing from Siberia to America and during the following years lived in France, Switzerland, Austria, Germany (attending the University of Leipzig for a portion of the school year 1906-7), Turkey, and Bulgaria. During this period he was a member of the moderate (menshevik) wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party. In Vienna, where he lived in very modest circumstances, he issued the newspaper *Pravda*, in which he sought to mediate between the menshevik and the radical wing of the party (bolshevik). In 1913 he was war correspondent at Constantinople to cover the Balkan War for a bourgeois radical German paper, after which he spent some time in Bulgaria, engaged in studies of the Macedonian question. At the outbreak of the World War in August 1914, Trotsky, being a Russian subject, was expelled from Vienna, after which he lived first in Switzerland and then in France, where he issued from Paris the Russian newspaper *Nashe Slovo*. The hostile attitude of this paper to the war led to his expulsion from France, whence he entered Spain, which also expelled him; he stayed some time in the United States and Canada and left for home (March, 1917) after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, but was detained and interned by the British authorities in a concentration camp for German prisoners in Halifax. After his return to Russia (May, 1917) Trotsky attached himself to Lenin (see Ulianov) the leader of the bolsheviks, who in 1915 had already been issuing violent polemics from Zurich against Trotsky's alleged predilection for the "social-chauvinists." Trotsky now became one of the most trusted leaders of the bolsheviks and spent a short time in prison after their unsuccessful attempt in July to seize power, but was soon liberated and took an active part in the preparations for the next revolution (November 1917). He now became People's Commissar for Foreign

Affairs and as such on November 21 presented to the belligerent powers, in the name of the new Government, a proposition for an armistice and for negotiations for a democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, simultaneously beginning the publication, in *Pravda* and other organs closely connected with the new Government, of a number of documents from the ministerial correspondence of the former Russian governments. After the armistice, Trotsky was Chairman of the Russian Delegation to the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk (December 1917—February 1918), where he sought to use the negotiations as a basis for agitation addresses, with the object of advancing world revolution, from which the bolsheviks expected an early peace and a general victory for the communist ideas. As this method ultimately became rather transparent, and the General Powers were trying to urge the Russian Delegation to negotiate with the Ukrainian delegates as representatives having equal privileges with them, Trotsky on February 10, 1918 issued a declaration that Russia would sign no such treaty, but would rather continue the war. The Central Powers considered this to be a denunciation of the armistice and resumed hostilities, and the Russian Government, consequently, decided to submit without further ado to the German peace conditions of Brest-Litovsk (March 1918). Trotsky resigned his post in the Ministry, but remained as the so-called Commissar for Military Affairs. In this position he worked with great energy for the establishment of a "Red Army", in which he succeeded, by means of drastic compulsions, in bringing about a new military venture (against anti-bolshevik Russian armies, against Ukraine, etc.), thus enabling him to maintain discipline in his new army.

Trotsky is a skilful popular orator of the demagogic stamp, with much flexibility of manner, a good organizer, very impulsive and not a little vain. He has published a vivid description of the activity of the bolsheviks during the period preceding the Brest-Litovsk Peace.

Dr. F. F. V. SÖDERBERG.

The above article has many inaccuracies. It gives the impression that Trotsky lived in the United States before 1913—which he did not—although it does not say so directly. It overlooks entirely his enormous literary and journalistic activity before the Revolution. It places his stay in Canada before his departure for Russia in 1917, while the fact is that the British authorities took him off his ship, which had called at Halifax, and interned him in a Canadian camp for German prisoners, after he had taken passage at New York for Europe. The negotiations with Germany at Brest-Litovsk are somewhat distorted. The German Government was for a recognition of the Ukrainian representatives of the bourgeois class; Trotsky wanted to have the Ukrainian proletariat represented, but by no means objected to Ukrainian representation. But it is good to see anyone write a serious, even if inaccurate article on a Soviet leader.

In general, there seems to be much less information available on the life of Trotsky than on that of Lenin (see review of the pamphlet on the fiftieth anniversary of Lenin's birth, in last month's *SOVIET RUSSIA*); and it will be observed that Mr. Söderberg does not venture to place Trotsky's birth more accurately than to give the year 1877, which by the way, is not the year assigned by others (1879 and 1880 are also given).

We are glad that Mr. Söderberg does not follow the malicious example of some American library cataloguers, who bury Trotsky under his original name, "Leo Davidovich Bronshtein"; and hide Zinoviev by calling him "Radomyslsky".

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This magazine endeavors to present its readers with the most recent available information concerning the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the form of official documents and authoritative articles. The editor does not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles. Manuscripts are received only at the risk of the sender.

The drawing by Lydia Gibson which appears on our cover this month is reproduced by courtesy of the Liberator.

PAUL N. MILIUKOV, an adherent of the "Bourgeois Revolution" in Russia, whose hostility to the Soviet Government is known to be so great that he has been admitted, together with Avksentyev, to serve as a specialist for the Disarmament Conference recently held in Washington, still believes in the possibility of driving the workers from power in Russia, and that "elements of new power, the nuclei of new governmental structure are to be found everywhere in the country and they can crystallize at any moment as liquid crystallizes under a certain degree of temperature." Mr. Spargo has long been expressing a similar conviction, in fact, our next quotation (taken, like the first, from Miliukov's speech in the "Town Hall", New York, February 11, as reported by him in a letter to the *New York Times* of November 15) sounds so much like the political creed of the sage of Old Bennington that it is difficult to believe that Miliukov did not consult Spargo in forming his sentences:

"It may happen that in more than one place local centres of power will be formed and that they will unite at some later stage. Under the present state of Russia's dismemberment it would only be natural and would even mean a sound reaction against the former state of excessive centralization. Russia can only win through that process of local differentiation. Focuses of new individualized life will rise above that monotonous and uniform level of Russia's boundless plain. From a 'colossus on feet of clay,' an empire of the Eastern style, Russia will be transformed into a living compound of national and regional units, having come to a compact on the basis of equality, freedom and federal unity. Thus Russia will be healed from what was one of the chief causes of her constitutional weaknesses."

Miliukov does not say from whom he expects this fair process of crystallization and counter-revolution to proceed, but now that the Non-Partisan Committee is no more, he may be placing his hopes on the American Relief Administration. For there is little doubt that those who dislike the Soviet Government, and who wish to see it fall, regard every new agency that is set up in Russia, no matter what may be its ostensible purpose, as a potential centre of counter-revolution, as a promise of "restoration". Karl Radek has brilliantly described this attitude of the counter-

revolutionists in a special article devoted to the recent dissolution of the Non-Partisan Committee, a body that had offered its services to the Soviet Government to combat famine and epidemics, and whose services were readily accepted, because help at that time was very much needed. Here is what Radek says on the view taken of the Committee by enemies of Soviet Russia abroad:

"The White Guard press abroad, as well as the capitalist press of the West, thought they heard the death knell of Soviet Russia in the creation of this Committee. They interpreted the consent of the Soviet Government to the forming of this Committee as an evidence of our weakness, and regarded the Committee itself as the germ of bourgeois power. But these dreams did not intimidate the Soviet power, which very well knew that it might dismiss these bourgeois gentlemen at any moment, whenever they should attempt to make common cause with their foreign advisors. A group in the Committee began to distinguish itself from the very outset by the fact that they had no other thought but that of playing a political role. In this group, inspired by Prokopovich and Madam Kuskova, the love of power far transcended their ability to reason. They wanted to show the world that their people were still alive and kicking. All they have done by their activity is perhaps the uncovering of the existence of a Cadet organization, which was still making use of its old publishing apparatus. But all this is of no importance, although it is quite characteristic."

HOW does Miliukov state the effect abroad of the creation of the "Non-Partisan Committee"? We again quote from his letter to the *Times*, of November 15:

"The creation of this committee elicited such a reverberation both inside and outside of Russia that the Bolsheviki became frightened. Provincial branches of the Moscow committee sprang up everywhere and began to be regarded by the population as organs of new administration intended to take the place of the Bolshevik ones. Finally, the Bolsheviki decided to put a speedy end to the experiment which proved for them so dangerous."

And there is no doubt that the danger involved in the counter-revolutionary activities of the committee was the reason, together with the Committee's refusal to enter the famine region, for its dissolution by the Soviet Government. Radek's article has this to say on the reasons for dissolving the Committee:

"The conflict came to a head in the discussion of the question of sending a delegation of the Committee abroad. The Government had consented to the sending of such a delegation, but in its eyes the choice of the moment of sending the delegation was to be made in accordance with the international situation and the work of the Committee in Russia itself. Only the Government can make arrangements with foreign powers, not the Committee. This most rudimentary truth was recognized by all the members of the Committee in words, but they did not seem to wish to draw

the necessary conclusions from this recognition, which was after all quite simple: since the Entente had not made concrete decisions with regard to aid for Russia, it was clear that any negotiations to be conducted could be entered into only by the Soviet Government.

"Another argument against the departure of the delegation lay in the fact that the Relief Committee had not displayed the slightest activity. When the Government proposed to the Committee that it postpone the journey, it simultaneously demanded of the Committee that it send its representatives to the famine districts in order to accelerate the work of organization, which must be finished by the time the various missions from foreign countries are expected to arrive and the distribution of grain from the new harvest may begin. The Soviet Government showed by this step that it was eager to attract everyone to the task of relief who really wished to help. Faced with the question of whether they wished to give real help to those that were hungry, or merely to play a political game, the politicians of the Committee did not understand that hunger is not a thing to be trifled with and that anyone playing this game will lose it."

* * *

STINNES went to London last month, and for a day the papers resounded with mighty conjectures as to the plans the great man had in mind with reference to the economic future of England and Germany, for in the newspaper eyes of a public that feeds chiefly on visions of the great, even a German plutocrat in the days when marks run at two hundred and fifty to the dollar is still a magnificent figure. Some of the papers said that he had great plans in connection with Russian business, that he was the head of a syndicate that was about to "rebuild the economic life of Russia," and that was about to begin an economic penetration of the country, the method of which was to be this: great quantities of goods, to be manufactured in England and Germany, would be carried into Russia, first into the border regions, there to be exchanged for available Russian stocks. This barter would supply materials to Western European commerce, and also would give to the Russian people the manufactured products of which there is such great lack. And then the whole matter disappeared from the columns of the daily press—which is perhaps the only reason for taking it very seriously.

A new shudder of joy must immediately have thrilled the great, flabby tentacles of counter-revolution the world over. Another possible point of radiation for influences hostile to the Soviets! Beginning at the border, one city after another will be gradually glutted with the great stock of counter-revolutionary wares and thoughts, and successive populations will succumb to the benevolent embraces of business enterprise, to the undoing of the murderous Bolshevik "hordes" that would centralize foreign commerce and feed the popula-

tions suffering from famine, and to the great profit of all persons associated—either as stockholders or office-holders—in the great Stinnes-London-Russian enterprise. Perhaps the new "white hope" will also be dashed to the ground; perhaps nothing will come of the whole scheme, and the new "captain of industry" will leave the scene even more noiselessly than did the Non-Partisan Committee.

* * *

RED SAILORS' MERRY LOT

Defeat British Crew at Soccer,
Give Girl Champaign Bath.

In its issue of November 9 the *New York Times* prints, as a sort of belated Fourth Anniversary celebration of the November Revolution, a Cronstadt dispatch of November 7 credited to the Associated Press. The title given by the *Times* to the item is that printed above. The data in the dispatch itself are: Six thousand Bolsheviki were killed in the nine-day siege of Cronstadt that was necessary in order to recover that city from the hands of the mutineers who seized it last March. Soccer games between Russian and British sailors at Petrograd are usually won by the former. And this: "The correspondent was entertained by the sailors at their club, which was formerly used as clubrooms by the officers of the Tsarist regime. The officers, the sailors said, were a gay lot, and at one banquet gave a dancing girl a champaign bath in a great glass goldfish tank which stood in the dining room." It would have been regrettable to have left on the reader's mind the impression that officers would do such things, and it was therefore sensible of the *Times* to provide a headline that would make the item "fit to print". And even better taste was displayed in the late editions of the *Times*, which omitted the item altogether, as there was danger that some persons might read it through and that the title would not sufficiently counteract the contents. But we cannot blame the headline writer for having assumed that the facts as given must be of a nature to justify "putting it on the Reds", else why should they have been included in the *Times* at all?

* * *

CHARLES Recht, Attorney, 110 West 40th St., New York, has asked us to print the following warning:

Persons wishing to send private relief to friends and relatives in Russia and Ukraine should send nothing through unauthorized organizations, as relief so sent cannot be delivered. At present, the only organizations authorized to sell and transmit private relief parcels are: The American Relief Administration (Hoover's organization), the All-Russian Jewish Public Committee (clothing parcels) and the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee (sending food parcels directly through Soviet agencies).

Banditry and Counter-Revolution

By LEON TROTSKY

(In an article in the November SOVIET RUSSIA, entitled "Can This Go On?", Trotsky pointed out the Polish complicity in the depredations of the Petlurian bands. The following detailed statement of the case was published in "Novy Put", Riga, September 29. Trotsky's remarks are based on personal observations in the districts affected.)

A MONTH ago, when I set out on my journey, we were sure that there would be no attempt either by Poland or Rumania, at least in the immediate future, to send any regular troops into Russia. The present operations are merely attempts, with the aid of irregular Savinkov and Petlura bands, to sound our territory, with the intention of sending in regular troops only in case there should be proof that our national organism had been so weakened by the famine in the Volga region, and by our economic difficulties, as to make serious resistance by us impossible.

The Situation in Ukraine

It is a general observation that the army reflects in a high degree the morale of the population. So long as the spirit of Petlura and the ideology of the large peasants were still of a political character, our Red troops, particularly on the right bank of the Dnieper, were subject to demoralizing tendencies. Now, however, practically all traces of this have disappeared. The Soviet system, which is the bearer of the workers' and peasants' propaganda, has developed considerably in Ukraine, and a profound transformation has made itself felt among the peasants on the right bank of the Dnieper. The Petlura movement has ceased to be a political movement. Ukraine, until recently a chaos, with a great number of bandits and bandit hordes, now presents an incomparably improved state of organization.

The Army in Ukraine

It is no secret that manoeuvres were in progress on the right bank of the Dnieper which created quite a stir in the foreign press. The matter was represented as if the Soviet Government were concentrating great numbers of troops on the right bank of the Dnieper, in preparation for an attack on its western neighbors, etc. Of course all this is nonsensical. These manoeuvres had no other object than the training of our soldiers. Though I shall not deny that we also desired to remind those who had forgotten the existence of the Red Army that this army was still very much alive. The countless idiotic reports of the disorganization of the Red Army, which were appearing in the White Guard press, were calculated to give our next-door neighbors an entirely erroneous conception of our forces. It appeared necessary, therefore, to demonstrate, at a distance that could be covered by a good field-glass, that the Red Army still lived, and that, in spite of the desire for peace on the part of the whole country, the Red Army was ready and willing to defend the country, if any such necessity should arise.

The Bandits and Their Strength

Both in the matter of banditry, as well as in that of economic, political, and military affairs, Ukraine may be divided into two parts: that to the right, and that to the left of the Dnieper. The right bank was the base for the bandit hordes of the Petlurian chauvinist stamp. Banditry on the left bank was more anarchistic in its nature (as is illustrated by the case of Makhno). As Petlura lost in popularity, the political movement resolved itself into an organization of military detachments, with whose aid Petlura and his adherents attempted to conquer Ukraine. In consequence of the pronounced transformation among the peasants, these detachments changed into small bands of robbers, whose numbers shrink day by day. At present their total strength is not more than 2,000 to 3,000.

Most interesting in the whole business is the fact that many of the leaders of these bands, particularly those who are not plain thieves, but idealistic nationalists, such as school-teachers and other persons of petty bourgeois origin, are surrendering to us voluntarily, for the simple reason that the peasants will not tolerate them any longer.

The history of banditry in Ukraine justifies an optimistic view of the Soviet system in that region.

Formerly the Petlura movement, in a country with predominant petty bourgeois layers of population, was of political character, embracing the great masses. With the sharpening of the class struggle in the provinces, Petlura's adherents, from having been a political party of the masses, were transformed into armed detachments which lent their support chiefly to the wealthy peasants. This process of disintegration is still going on, the peasants are deserting, and only the bandit sections remain faithful to Petlura. These sections also disintegrate, until only small robber bands remain. The first period of the Petlura movement was an effort for the political conquest of Ukraine; the second, an attempt at military conquest; the third, the present, is the period of decline, of the small robber bands whose object it is to make Ukraine suffer for having so poorly fulfilled the expectations of Petlura.

Poland and Rumania

Petlura's adherents, no longer finding any support in Ukraine, have transferred the centre of their activities to foreign soil. Simultaneously, these bands are ceasing to be an expression of Ukrainian nationalism, and are being transformed into the tools of the foreign general staffs, whose object is to damage our technical resources.

Naturally we cannot live at peace with a neighboring country which, while not openly at war with us, yet serves as a base for the formation of such hostile bands. This refers both to Poland and to Rumania.

As for Poland, we have always been of the impression that, in spite of a long series of misunderstandings, particularly in connection with this very matter of the bandit hordes, there would be no disturbance of our relations. And I am still of the opinion that this peaceful condition may be maintained. But I must admit that the troubles we are observing now are far more serious than we assumed three or four weeks ago.

We have a number of documents clearly proving the relation of the Savinkov bands and the Polish general staff. The Polish Government declares that it knows nothing of this activity. Is this not astonishing? None the less hypocritical is the reference to the Third International. Of course this is an organization of men whom we regard as brothers, to whom we give our hospitality. But it is an international organization, existing in all countries. And how can the Third International—a world-wide organization of the working class—be compared with the bands of Savinkov and Petlura? In our protests there is no reference to the centres of counter-revolution, the "Russian" committees, newspapers, etc., of the monarchist, Socialist-Revolutionist, and other reactions. We fully understand the close relation existing between the Russian exile landed proprietors, merchants, etc., and their Polish and Rumanian compeers, and we take this relation fully into account, and similarly, we do not deny our community of ideas with the working masses of Poland and Rumania.

But that is by no means equivalent to our sending armed detachments over the border, as do Poland and Rumania.

In spite of the fact that we have not the slightest sympathy with the capitalist-feudal regime in Poland, it is nevertheless our intention strictly to observe our treaty with Poland, for we want peace. And although we have not the slightest sympathy with Boyar Rumania, we are none the less ready to sign a treaty with Rumania, which we would carry out conscientiously. But we find that our neighbors are constantly playing with fire. They do not make war upon us; yet they throw a fire-brand into our house from time to time, and then express surprise at our resentment.

The Ultimatum

In answer to the representations made by our People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, to the effect that a treaty imposes obligations upon both contracting parties, Poland decided after long vacillation to comply with France's order and to send us an ultimatum.

A conflict may be avoided only by means of concessions made by both sides. But we must point out that our relation to Poland is by no means the same as Poland's relation to France. The renewed impudence of the Paris Bourse may

be able to impose its will on the Polish people, but we, in spite of hunger and other sufferings, are in no position to be subject to anyone's dictation. One may negotiate with us, but not issue orders to us.

We think it is about time for the Polish bourgeoisie to call the howlers and adventurers to order. And if the Polish bourgeoisie should not succeed in calling the adventurers to order, we hope that the workers and peasants of Poland may succeed in calling the Polish bourgeoisie to order, and in prevailing upon them to pursue the paths of peace.

CHINA, MONGOLIA, AND RUSSIA

On September 10, Bodo, Mongolian Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressed a note to the Soviet Government, announcing the fact that relations between Mongolia and China have not yet been regulated, and asking the assistance of the Soviet Government in adjusting the matter. To this note the following answer was sent:

The toiling masses of Russia and the Peasant-Worker Government which expresses their will, welcome with great joy the formation in Mongolia of a People's Revolutionary Government and the liberation of the Mongolian people from a foreign yoke and the bloody rule of the former Tsar's general Ungern. The valiant Red Army of the Soviet Republic of Russia, side by side with the army of the friendly, allied Mongolia, fought the oppressors of the Mongolian people and enemies of the workers and peasants of Russia, and helped in the liberation of the Mongolian people from oppression. The Russian Government thanks the People's Revolutionary Government of Mongolia for its friendly feelings towards the toiling masses of Russia and the Soviet Government, and for the confidence in them as expressed in Mr. Bodo's note of September 10. The Russian Government fully shares the conviction of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Government as to the necessity of establishing peaceful and business relations between Mongolia and China on the basis of the right of the Mongolian people to self-determination, and it hopes that the steps taken by it in this direction will soon bring satisfactory results. On various previous occasions, both directly and through the representatives of the Far Eastern Republic who are in communication with the Chinese Government, the Russian Government has approached the Chinese Government for negotiations on this subject. The Russian Government hopes soon to establish permanent relations with the Chinese Government through the commercial delegation to be sent to Peking. The Russian Government notes with pleasure the readiness of the Mongolian Revolutionary Government to open negotiations with the Government of China, as expressed in Mr. Bodo's note of September 10. The Russian Government has already begun negotiations with the Government of China on this question. It expects that the Chinese Government will meet its offer, which it will advance in the capacity of a mediator with a view to removing the possibility of a conflict between the People's Revolutionary Government of Mongolia and the Republic of China.

(Signed) CHICHERIN,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

Minister Bodo's original note emphasized the fact that the peoples of Russia and Mongolia were united by having fought a joint battle against the white guard bandits of General Ungern-Sternberg, and had succeeded in driving these reactionary forces out of Eastern Siberia and Mongolia.

Official Notes to Foreign Powers

I.

(Below we give a full translation of the Soviet Government's Note in which proposals for peace and co-operation are renewed.)

THE PAYMENT OF DEBTS

Moscow, October 28, 1921.

The Conférence of the Powers at Brussels, according to the Western Press, laid down as a condition for the offering to Russia of credits to help the famine-stricken populations, the recognition by the Russian Government of the debts of preceding Governments.

Up to the present the Russian Government has not been officially informed of the decisions of this Conference. Nevertheless, in view of the famine which afflicts masses of people, the Russian Government has resolved not to heed the niceties of diplomatic etiquette, and feels that it is its duty at once to make known its point of view on the Brussels decision.

The English Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, in a speech in the British Parliament on August 16, described the proposal to take advantage of the famine to compel Russia to recognize the Tsarist debt as "diabolical".

That did not prevent the Brussels Conference (well aware though it was that the extent of the famine makes it impossible for the Soviet Government to save from its own resources the smitten population) from laying down the recognition by the Soviet Government of the old debts as the condition for the opening of credits without which any adequate assistance to the famished people is impossible.

Soviet's Policy

In drawing the attention of the working masses of all lands, and of all citizens to whom the interests of humanity are dear, to this conduct of the Brussels Conference, the Russian Government declares at the same time that the proposal to recognize the old debts under certain conditions corresponds with its own intentions at the moment.

From the beginning of its existence the Soviet Government has proposed, as one of the principal aims of its policy, economic co-operation with the other Powers. It has always declared its intention of allowing a sufficient profit to foreign capitalists who would assist in developing the national wealth of Russia and in re-establishing its economic machinery.

At the present time in the speeches of the President of the United States and of British Ministers there occurs a constant repetition of the idea that three years after the end of the war there is still no real peace, that the misery of the masses is becoming more and more acute, that public debts are accumulating, and that ruin grows.

World Problem

Now, it is quite obvious that it is impossible to re-establish complete peace without Russia and its 130,000,000 inhabitants; that it is impossible to prevent economic collapse without the revival of Russia, and that the question of the relations between Russia and other countries—a world problem of the first importance—cannot be settled except by agreement with the Soviet Government.

From the point of view of the permanent interests and of the ever-present needs of all States and all peoples, the economic restoration of Russia is an absolute necessity not only for herself but for them.

The absence of economic relations with other countries makes the economic revival of Russia a very difficult task, for the accomplishment of which a much longer time will be required.

The Workers and Peasants' Government is better able than any other would be to carry out this task.

The selfish interests of separate groups of capitalists do not prevent them from working for the restoration of the national prosperity. The Workers and Peasants' Government is guided by the interest of the masses, which is in the last analysis that of all society.

Having as its aim the interests of all the working

people of Russia, the Workers' and Peasants' Government which has emerged victorious from unparalleled ordeals of civil war and foreign intervention, is offering private enterprise and capital the opportunity of co-operating with the power of the workers and peasants in the task of developing the natural wealth of Russia.

The Soviet Government has re-established private property and private enterprise in small business, concessions and leases in regard to big undertakings. It gives to foreign capital legal guarantees and a share of profit sufficient to satisfy its requirements and to induce it to take part in the economic work of Russia.

Peace Essential

In this way the Soviet Government aims at establishing economic agreements with all the Powers, for which purpose it is first of all absolutely essential that a definite peace shall be concluded between Russia and the other States.

In pursuit of this object the Soviet Government finds the way barred by the demand of the Powers for the recognition of the debts.

The Soviet Government declares that it is firmly convinced that no people is obliged to pay those debts which are as chains riveted on it through long centuries.

But in its unshakable determination to come to a full accord with the other Powers, the Russian Government is inclined to consent in this matter to several essential and highly-important concessions.

In this it is meeting the wishes of the numerous small holders of Russian bonds (especially in France), for whom the recognition of the Tsarist debt is a matter of vital interest.

For these reasons the Russian Government declares itself ready to recognize the obligations towards other States and their citizens which arise from State loans concluded by the Tsarist Government before 1914, on the express condition that there shall be special conditions and facilities which will make it possible to carry out this undertaking.

It follows automatically that the absolute condition of this recognition is that the great Powers undertake simultaneously to put an end entirely to every action which threatens either the security of the Soviet Republic and of the friendly Far Eastern Republic, or their sovereign rights or the inviolability of their frontiers; and that they undertake to observe scrupulously their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In other words: the Soviet Government cannot give the undertaking in question unless the Great Powers conclude with it a definite peace, and recognize its Government.

A Conference To Be Called

For this purpose the Russian Government proposes as a matter of urgency the calling of an international conference to deal with the above questions, to examine the claims of the Powers against Russia and to draw up a definite treaty of peace between them.

Only a conference of this kind can bring about a general pacification.

The approaching fourth anniversary of its existence will emphasize everywhere the fact that the efforts of all its enemies at home and abroad have only served to consolidate the position of the Workers' and Peasants' Government as the true defender and representative of the interests of the working masses of all Russia and of the independence of the country.

The new interventions planned against the Soviet Power, of which the reality is proved by numerous declarations of the influential organs in the Entente countries, will only again strengthen the indissoluble ties which bind the working masses of Russia to the Workers' and Peasants'

Government, which represents their will. But the carrying out of these plans might again extend the sufferings of the working masses, and again delay the complete revival of Russia—striking, at the same time, a blow against the interests of all other nations.

The proposal which the Russian Government makes is the best proof of its desire for peace with all States and for economic relations which nothing can disturb.

The carrying out of this proposal harmonizes with the interests of all Governments and all peoples. The Russian Government expresses the sincere hope that this proposal will be speedily followed by the definite establishment of economic and political relations between Russia and other States.

G. CHICHERIN,
People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

II.

LORD CURZON REFUTED

A note from the Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinov, to the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated September 27, 1921, in reply to the note of Lord Curzon, dated November 7.

On September 15 Mr. Hodgson handed to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs an extensive document, printed in the form of a note from the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, without any address and without any signature, dated September 7. This document, Mr. Hodgson declared, was not intended for publication, but it has since obtained wide publicity and served as material for judgment by the press.

It was sufficient for the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs to cast a rapid glance through the document he had received, for him to tell Mr. Hodgson that the accusations contained in it were either devoid of any foundation at all, or based on erroneous information or forged documents. But the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs did not consider it desirable to follow the example set by the British Ministry for Foreign Affairs of returning with undue haste notes that have been received and that contain what are in its opinion accusations that may at first glance be declared to be baseless, and thus, aiming to remove all causes for misunderstanding between the Russian and British governments, has read through with the most careful attention all the accusations presented to it and all the facts that might be considered as a basis for the above accusations.

Accusing the Russian Government of a violation of the obligations assumed as a result of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of March 16, the English note refers to the activity of the Russian Government and its representatives in Eastern countries, which it declares to be directed against the interests of England. As a basis for its accusations, the note drags in the Third International, and quotes a number of speeches said to have been delivered to its Central (?) Committee by members and official persons of the Russian Government, as for example, Comrades Stalin, Elyava, Karakhan and Nuorteva, and also introduces a quotation from a speech said to have been delivered on June 8 by Comrade Lenin in a session of the Third International. As a matter of fact, the quotations given from the reports and speeches serve as material for the remaining accusations and are taken as evidence of a conscious policy said to be pursued by the Soviet Government with the deliberate purpose of undermining the influence of the English Government in the East and arousing a revolutionary movement in the colonies and other territories dependent upon Great Britain, and that the Russian representatives in their activities are merely carrying out this policy of the Third International, which, the note affirms, is identical with the Russian Government.

The Third International

The Russian Government desires to take advantage of this occasion to affirm once more, as it has frequently done before, that the fact that the Third International,

for perfectly obvious reasons, chose Russia as the country in which its executive committees resides—Russia being the only country that allows full liberty for the spread of Communist ideas, as well as personal liberty to Communists—and also the fact that certain members of the Russian Government, in their capacity as private individuals, belong to this executive committee are no more to be taken as a basis for declaring that the Third International and the Russian Government are identical, than the fact that the Second International, constantly in session at Brussels, and including among the members of its executive committee the Belgian Minister Vandervelde, may prove the identity of the Second International with the Belgian Government.

Furthermore, the Executive Committee of the Third International consists of thirty-one members, of whom only five are Russians, three of whom do not belong to the staff of the Russian Government.

Apocryphal Speeches

However, the Russian Government is in a position not only formally to refute accusations based upon its identity with the Third International, but also to refute these accusations as such. Thus, for example, Stalin, who, according to the English note, made a number of reports to the "Central Committee" in the name of the "Eastern Section of the Third International" in June, 1921, on questions concerning this section, never had anything to do either with the Third International or with any of its sections, and consequently could never have had occasion to make the reports attributed to him, and never did make any such reports. As a matter of fact, the Eastern Section ceased to exist in the Fall of 1920. Similarly fictitious is the quotation assigned to Elyava, who also never worked for the Third International, and who never made any kind of report to the "Central Committee" in connection with the Third International. Comrade Karakhan also never made any reports "on the situation in the Near East," or on any other question. Even more baseless is the reference to the report said to have been made on June 20 by Nuorteva, whom the English note calls the "head of the propaganda section of the Third International." Nuorteva also never had any function at all in the Third International, and at that time there existed no "propaganda section". Furthermore, Nuorteva could not have delivered the above mentioned report, or any other report, in June, 1921, for the simple reason that he has been in prison since March. As for the speech assigned to Comrade Lenin, and said to have been delivered on June 8 at the Congress of the Third International, the English Government, if it should desire to acquaint itself with the Moscow newspapers that printed full reports daily concerning the transactions at the sessions of the Congress, might easily convince itself that Comrade Lenin did not deliver any speech on June 8, and that in the few speeches pronounced by him at other times the sentences assigned to him are entirely lacking, not having any relation whatsoever with the subject of his speeches.

Forged Documents

It is perfectly clear that all the reports, speeches and declarations enumerated in the English note are inventions devised and fabricated for some ulterior motive. They appeared some time ago in various counter-revolutionary Russian newspapers, which also printed a number of other documents, circulars, and letters, alleged to emanate from the Third International, from various Soviet institutions, or from Comrades Lenin, Trotsky, Chicherin, Litvinov, Preobrazhensky, or other Russians who had some relation with the Soviet Government. Desiring to trace the history of these lying documents down to the very source, the Russian Government dug up the "Bulletin" issued in Germany under the name *Ostinformation*, by an anonymous group of spies and delivered chiefly to counter-revolutionary newspapers and secret agents of the various governments who desire to obtain secret documents dealing with Soviet Russia. Regardless of the stamp "Extremely Confidential," the *Bulletin* not only does not conceal, but even prints outright the address of its printing office, (A. Winsor,

Wilhelmstrasse 11, Berlin, S. W. 48), and in one of its numbers even gives the name and address of its bank (Westerhagen & Co., Potsdamerstrasse 127, Berlin, Supplement 1), to which subscriptions should be sent. Actual copies of these *Bulletins* were shown to Mr. Hodgson in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs; and this present note is supplemented by photographic copies of a number of pages of the *Bulletin*. This *Bulletin* also publishes most of the lying and sensational documents, such as: instructions, circulars, private letters, confessions, etc., of various Soviet leaders. It is probable that this is the source from which was drawn the lying information concerning Soviet Russia and the Soviet leaders which appears in the Official Report of the Parliamentary Committee headed by Lord Emmott. Particularly regrettable is the circumstance that such fictitious reports and speeches should find a place in the official note of the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs and should there be used as a basis for accusations against the government of a friendly country. All the more is it evident that the fact that most of these apocryphal speeches of Stalin, Elyava, Nuorteva, Karakhan, and Lenin were printed in the *Bulletin* of the German spies with precisely the expressions that are quoted in the British note, as for example, the reports ascribed to Elyava (Supplement II), Nuorteva, Karakhan (Supplement III), or the speech said to have been delivered by Lenin (Supplement IV), is not a mere coincidence.

The Soviet Government knows very well that the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs is being led into error by a gang of professional crooks and forgers, and that if it knew how dubious were the sources from which its information actually came, it would never have written the note of September 7.

Unfounded Charges

The Russian Government has not yet been able to uncover the source of the equally erroneous information of the British Government concerning the remaining accusations advanced in the note of September 7 under the heads: "India", "Persia", "Turkestan", "Angora" and "Afghanistan", which are also to a considerable extent based on the above mentioned never-delivered reports and speeches. But it desires to state in the most categorical manner that from the moment of the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement it has had no relation direct or indirect with Mr. Chattopadiah, or with any other Indian revolutionist; that no propaganda school exists at Tashkent with the object of preparing emissaries for India; that it never had any relations whatever with Dr. Chiginz, and does not know of his smokeless powder factory. On the other hand, it is true that a certain Hindoo proposed to the Soviet Government the organization of a trade in arms by way of Kabul, but he was arrested as an agent provocateur and has since been in prison. The Soviet Government definitely disclaims all responsibility for the activities of Djemal Pasha in Kabul, to whom no assistance was ever given. The crossing of the Russian boundary on journeys to Afghanistan by native Hindoos or persons of other nationality does not appear to be a greater violation of the Anglo-Russian treaty than is the hospitality and freedom of motion that are granted in England to a considerable number of counter-revolutionary conspirators.

Further, the Soviet Government would like to call attention to the fact that the accusations contained in the British note that the Soviet Government is attempting to prevent an agreement between the Angora Government and the British Government is without any foundation whatsoever, as is also the declaration that the Soviet Government has concentrated considerable forces along the Anatolian boundary. This accusation is the more baseless since the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs but recently granted material assistance in bringing about a meeting between the British official agent and the Turkish Minister at Moscow, thus giving them an opportunity to discuss the differences that had arisen between their governments.

Russia and the East

If the British Ministry for Foreign Affairs had at its disposal more precise information, or had in its possession

actual Russian documents, it would know of the categorical instructions issued by the Russian Government, after the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, to representatives in the East in which the latter were ordered to refrain from all anti-British propaganda and to adapt their activity to the new relations that had been brought about between the Russian and British Governments by virtue of the signing of the agreement. The Russian Government has no reason to believe that its representatives are not acting in accord with the instructions received by them, and that they are not limiting themselves merely to the defense of Russian interests, without in any way violating the interests of Great Britain. True to its principle of the right of all peoples to self-determination, the Soviet Government and its representatives regard with the utmost respect the independence of the governments of the East, renouncing all privileges and capitulations which the Tsarist Government had obtained from them by force, and even granting certain material and financial assistance in order to wipe out in this way the injustice inflicted upon them by pre-revolutionary Russia. The Russian Government cannot understand how the assistance granted to Afghanistan, with full publicity, on the basis of a treaty, of which the British Government was informed by Mr. Krassin, may be regarded as an act hostile to Great Britain. The accusations advanced in this case by the British Government are either vague and unfounded, or are founded only on absolutely invented data, such as, for example, the matter about the Revolutionary Committee formed by Mr. Rothstein at Teheran, or his efforts to obtain the resignations of the Afghan representatives, who, as a matter of fact, are highly esteemed by him and enjoy his personal friendship.

Possibly representatives of the Russian Government may in certain cases have unconsciously violated British interests, not knowing precisely how close these interests were to the British Government. We must remember that at the time of the conversations concerning the Anglo-Russian Agreement the Russian Government more than once demanded a full statement of the above questions and a precise definition of the mutual obligations, and that it made this demand only with the object pointed out at the time in all its notes, namely, the elimination for the future of all misunderstandings that might arise owing to the indefiniteness of their obligations, and that it was the British Government which insisted on the termination of the agreement by means of wireless exchanges, in the most condensed form, of the mutual obligations. Nevertheless, the Russian Government did everything in its power to carry out precisely all the obligations undertaken by it and has attempted to avoid all causes for frictions and misunderstandings; but of course the Russian Government has not been able to prevent persons with evil intentions from forging the documents by which the British Government has been so badly deceived. It surely did not expect that the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs would consider it possible to make use of such documents with the object of discrediting the Russian Government and casting a doubt upon its loyal fulfilment of the obligations assumed by it.

Unfriendly Attitude of British Government

The Russian Government on its part considers itself obliged to call attention to the fact that the position recently taken by the British Government toward it has been anything but friendly. The arrest of a number of Russian Commercial Representatives at Constantinople by British authorities and their deportation from that city without the filing of any charges against them, the joint activity of the British and French Governments in the so-called "Russian question," the constant support by the British Government of the French policy of interference with the attempts of various countries and international organizations to help Russia's starving population, and finally the British note of September 7 with its serious accusations based exclusively upon fabricated data and unverified reports, obtained from dubious sources—these are facts which would hardly encourage the Russian Gov-

ernment to cultivate friendly relations between the peoples and governments of both countries.

The British Government is fully aware of the readiness of the Russian Government to discuss in a friendly manner the best ways and means for the elimination of all obstacles in the way of the establishment of normal relations, and if it would show an equal readiness to adjust differences in a reasonable way, instead of resorting to unfounded accusations, or casting doubts upon the integrity of the Russian Government, or preventing other nations from concluding agreements with Russia, it would encounter the same readiness on the part of the Russian Government to meet it half way.

(Signed) MAXIM LITVINOV,
Vice People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

III.

ASSASSINATIONS IN RUMANIA

(The following protest against Rumanian atrocities and against the bad faith of the Rumanian Government is signed jointly by the Commissars of Foreign Affairs of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine:)

To Take Jonescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bukarest.

The answer made by the Head of your Government, General Averescu, on September 27, to our request for the extradition of the bandit Makhno and the accomplices who were with him, is rather a declaration of principles of legal nature than a communication on a practical subject, and does not enlighten us on the status of this question from the point of view of actual fact. The declaration does not even include a confirmation of the arrival of Makhno in Rumania. As soon as the necessary material has been gathered and the legal forms required by you have been filled, you will be duly acquainted with the result. The Russian and Ukrainian Governments feel, however, that forms of procedure have only a secondary importance, and pale into insignificance in view of the fact that a band of criminals that has long been terrorizing the peaceful population of Ukraine has found refuge under the protection of the Rumanian Government.

Broken Pledges

The legal rigorousness displayed by the Rumanian Government on this occasion by no means characterizes its own conduct in matters that are extremely essential, such as, for example, the observation of treaties. Let us cite as an example the treaty of March 9, 1918, signed for Rumania by General Averescu, by which Rumania pledged itself to evacuate Bessarabia within two months. This legal rigor also failed lamentably to materialize in the pretended annexation of Bessarabia by Rumania on November 27, 1918, when, after the arrival of General Vaytoy-anu at Kishinev, forty-six members of the Moldavian nationalistic society, *Soatuliseri*, out of one hundred and sixty-two, were taken by surprise by the reading of a telegram to the King of Rumania, announcing this annexation, and when the Chairman of the Assembly declared that the annexation had been adopted, although no vote had been taken. We are obliged to consider as but slightly in accord with the truth your statement that capital punishment is no longer applied in Rumania. On the contrary, capital punishment is very frequently carried out in Rumania by virtue of the military laws prevailing in the districts under state of siege. After the occupation of Bessarabia by Rumanian troops the death penalty was applied on an enormous scale in order to oblige the population to submit to Rumanian occupation. On the very first day of the arrival of Rumanian troops in Kishinev, in the centre of the city, in the building of the Ecclesiastical Seminary, a torture chamber was installed by the Rumanian command, in which, at the slight suspicion of any feeble effort at resistance to the Rumanian Government, Bessarabian citizens were tortured and put to death. Seventeen soldiers of the Moldavian Regiment who then refused to take an oath of allegiance to the King of Rumania were publicly executed before a crowd of on-lookers.

Murder

These facts have been publicly revealed by an organization of great masses of the Bessarabian population, under the name: "Alliance for the Liberation of Bessarabia". The declaration made by this Alliance states that the number of Bessarabian citizens drowned in the Dniester by the Rumanians has never been even estimated. Two persons who had been expelled from Bessarabia were shot on the bridge at Bender and their bodies were thrown into the Dniester. All over the country districts the number of persons shot has never been counted. Innumerable insurrections have marked the internal situation of Bessarabia since its annexation by force, and all have been choked in blood. In 1919, after the crushing of the insurrection in the Khotin district, the Rumanian authorities did not leave a single village unharassed. At one place three merchants of Odessa, Conus and Ayassy were shot. The organizer of this assassination was the same Colonel in the Army who later, by the admission of the Rumanian Government itself, caused the putting to death of Roshal, Representative of the Russian Government in Bessarabia. Rudnyev, President of the Bessarabian Soviet Congress, the Russian Socialist Grinfeld, and others, were shot. Many Bessarabian communists were executed in innumerable general applications of the death penalty. In the village of Doloniuu the Rumanians hurled themselves on a religious procession, killed the priest, and opened fire on the marchers. In a wood near Cherouta, the Rumanian authorities after finding in the forester's house about sixty women and children who had sought refuge there, set fire to the house and burned all its occupants alive. On January 21, in the same village of Khotin, the Rumanian commandant summoned the population to hear an order read to them. Nearly five hundred persons, who had appeared in the public square, were surrounded by soldiers and slaughtered by machine-guns. With regard to the political party whose members are at the head of the Russian Government, the death penalty is regularly their lot in Rumania. Already in July, 1917, by order of Lieutenant Romelle, the Social-Democrat Vexler was put to death.

Extermination of Communists

Only recently the western press, in spite of the denial of the Rumanian Government, declared that Deputy Boris Stepanov, Secretary of the General Trade Union Committee Constantin, Popovich, and the Editor of the Central organ of the Socialist Party, Fabianu, had been killed in the course of an attempt to flee. The systematic extermination of Communists is still in progress. On September 24 the newspaper *Dinintsoa* published information to the effect that in the village of Klehtshig, near Kishinev, two persons suspected of Communism were arrested and put to death on the Kishinev Road while, as is alleged, they were attempting flight. The newspaper adds that many other persons who had been arrested suffered the same death, and that their attempts at flight had no existence except on paper. In view of the fact that such methods are being used by the Rumanian Government against the Bessarabian people, struggling against the occupation, and against persons suspected of Communism, it is astonishing that that Government should make such loud protestations of legality when the question of the Ukrainian bandits dwelling on its territory is raised. For the Governments of Russia and Ukraine the security of their population is a matter of prime importance. Ready as they are to comply with the formalities of procedure required by the Rumanian Government, the Russian and Ukrainian Governments regard this question chiefly from the standpoint of this security. There is hardly any doubt that if the Makhno bandits should be tried by a Rumanian court-martial in Bessarabia, they would be sentenced to death. The Russian and Ukrainian Governments content themselves with demanding the extradition of these criminals and cherish the hope that once these formalities have been complied with, the

Rumanian Government will consider it a matter of duty to satisfy this most elementary and just demand.

CHICHERIN,
People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs
of the R. S. F. S. R.

RAKOVSKY,
President of the Council of People's
Commissars, and People's Commissar of
Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet
Republic.

October 22, 1921.

COLLECTION OF FOOD TAX

At the session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on October 5, 1921, Svidersky reported on the collection of the food tax. This was making very satisfactory progress, and with the use of the workers transported from other areas it had been possible to organize the apparatus for collection and despatch so that very little delay had taken place. In no area had any conflicts arisen over the collection of the tax. In the following provinces especially good progress had been reported:

	Tax Collected. Percentage of Program
Ivanovoznesensk	99
Tula	88
Orel	69
Briansk, Vitebsk, Moscow, and Tver...	50 to 60

The collection of potatoes had been very successful in all areas. The following figures show the comparison with previous years:

	Potatoes Collected
1919	8,200 tons
1920	16,600 "
To October 1, 1921	330,000 "

The following figures show the collection of other important items:

	1921 Program.	Collected to Oct. 1
Meat	16,500 tons	6,000 tons
Milk Products .	39,000 "	10,500 "
Eggs	415,000,000	105,000,000

HOW THE TAX IS DELIVERED

There could be no more convincing evidence of the assured stability of the Soviet power than the sight of peasants, on the very edge of the famine area, voluntarily delivering to the government storehouses the precious seed grain which is their quota of the tax in kind. The supposedly rebellious and coerced farmers who figure in counter-revolutionary imagination were entirely absent from the scene repeatedly witnessed by the members of the Russian Commission of the Near East Relief during their tour through Russia last September. Mr. Paxton Hibben, the Secretary of that Commission, has supplied us with the following notes taken down from personal observation in his journey

from Penza to Rtishchevo, along the outer edge of the famine region:

"There was no more evidence of the presence of the Red Army than an occasional station guard preventing the overcrowding of the train by refugees. . . At almost every station there was a large grain elevator to be seen and frequently a flour mill. At the grain elevators there were drawn up long lines of peasants' wagons loaded with large sacks of grain which was being delivered to the Soviet authorities at the elevator. At none of these stations was there any soldier seen nor any indication that any force whatever was being used to compel the peasants to deliver the grain to the authorities. Questioning elicited the information that the grain being brought in was the tax in kind levied on the farmers of Russia, replacing the former requisitions of grain, as explained by Lenin in his speech of March 15, 1921, at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party."

We recommend to the careful study of our readers the report of the Russian Commission of the Near East Relief, a document based upon careful economic and sociological observation and presenting a wealth of illuminating data upon present conditions in Russia. The report is published in part in *The Nation*, December 7.

FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES OBSERVE ANNIVERSARY

The diplomatic reception held by the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in honor of the fourth anniversary of the Revolution was attended by all the foreign representatives in Moscow. The guests included the Persian Envoy Extraordinary, the Turkish Ambassador, the Afghan Ambassador, the Representative of the German Government, the British Trade Representative, the Latvian Envoy, the Estonian Envoy, the Polish, Lithuanian and Finnish Plenipotentiaries, the Representatives of the Austrian and Czecho-Slovak Governments, the Mongolian Delegation, the Representative of the American Relief Administration, and representatives of all the Soviet republics.

Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, welcoming the guests, called attention to the great increase since last year in the number of foreign states which have concluded treaties and entered into peaceful relations with Soviet Russia. Emphasizing the sincere desire of the Soviet Government to devote itself to economic reconstruction and the renewal of economic intercourse with all nations, Chicherin said that he hoped that these peaceful aims would soon be understood by those countries which had not yet resumed relations with Russia. The Persian Envoy Extraordinary, as Dean of the Diplomatic Corp in Moscow, responded on behalf of the guests. Congratulating the Russian people on the fourth anniversary of their Revolution, he wished the fullest success to the peaceful efforts of the Soviet Government towards economic reconstruction.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

Trade in Soviet Russia

By E. VARCA

A FOREIGNER in Soviet Russia at present will remark at the lively trade being carried on in Moscow and other Russian cities. This appears to be in contradiction with the economic system of Communism. We must point out first of all, however, that the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not the era of Communism. In this period of transition, therefore, trade within certain limits is justifiable.

But it is a fact that a year ago, for example, trade activity in Russia was much slighter than it is to-day. This is a consequence of the change in the economic policy of Soviet Russia, which was initiated by the abolition of the government monopoly of all agricultural products and the levy of a tax in kind. The basic idea of the monopoly system was that the agricultural population was obliged to surrender to the State its entire surplus of foodstuffs, after deducting the portion required for the feeding of the members of the family and for carrying on the establishment; in return for which the proletarian State was to place at the disposal of the peasants all the products of industry they required. Under that system there could be no legal trade, as all the surplus food, according to the law, belonged to the State. Under the system of the present tax in kind, on the contrary, the peasant can freely dispose of all his products, after he has paid his tax in kind. The peasant is thus enabled to exchange the surplus of his products for articles of non-nationalized small industry.

State Monopoly a War Measure

It will, of course, occur to everybody to ask the question: Why did not Soviet Russia take this course from the very beginning, why was the system of State monopoly introduced at all? The answer to this question is very simple: as long as Russia was obliged to carry on war, the government was compelled to lay claim to everything the population possessed, in order to be able to feed the army and the indigent population of the cities. The State monopoly of all the products of peasant agriculture was, therefore, a necessity of war that became untenable as soon as the war ceased.

It was untenable for various reasons. First, because it was possible while the war lasted and the defence of Soviet Russia against its external foes was being conducted, to make the hundred million peasants understand why they had to surrender their surplus to the State. And the peasants for the greater part yielded to this necessity voluntarily, because the struggle against the foreign enemy meant not only the protection of the Soviet power, of the proletarian dictatorship, but at the same time the protection of the property of the soil gained by the peasants during and by the revolution.

The peasants knew full well that if either Denikin, Wrangel or Kolchak succeeded in overthrowing the power of the Soviet government, it would signify the return of the great landowners and the reversion to the latter of the land taken by the peasants. Because they were aware of this fact, the peasants were prepared to accept the system of State monopoly. The same trend of thought kept millions of peasants in the Red Army as fighters for the proletarian power, which they otherwise did not entirely favor, made the system of State monopoly for them, if not entirely agreeable, at any rate tolerable.

Trade Encouraged Within Limits

On the cessation of the defensive war, this system had to be given up. It had all the more to be abandoned, as the injurious economic consequences of the system were undeniable. For it was a contradiction, that on one hand the peasant was the de facto private owner of his land and his other means of production, and on the other hand, under the system of monopoly, was only permitted to keep a part of the proceeds of his labor, whether great or small, for the sustenance of his family. There was consequently no stimulus for the peasant private owner to produce very much. That was the reason why the cultivated area since 1916 constantly diminished (the grain monopoly was already then introduced by the Tsaristic government). This diminution of the cultivated area, the noticeable tendency on every hand of a return to the antiquated form of self-sufficing home production, could only be prevented by abolishing the monopoly and enabling the peasant private owner to increase his income by more intensive labor. Such is the economic significance of this transition.

Naturally the aim of the proletarian government is to confine trade within certain limits. This is accomplished in two ways; first, by the monopoly of the means of transport; and secondly, by lending every support to co-operative societies, which appear to be the proper bodies to place all the surplus products of the peasants. This eliminates the middleman who cannot intervene between the peasants and the industrial population in exchanging their products. The introduction of the tax in kind, in connection with the permission of local trade, is therefore no retrogression, as the Mensheviks of all countries declare, but simply the abolition of war measures which have become untenable due to the return to peace.

PORT OF BATUM

There is great activity in the port of Batum (Black Sea) at the present time. During August, 20,834 tons of various goods were imported—ten times more than in July.

Russia's New Financial Policy

An account of a report by Krestinsky, People's Commissar for Finance.

(A recent issue of the Petrograd "Pravda" reports an address by Commissar of Finance, M. N. Krestinsky, at a meeting of responsible party workers at Petrograd on the new financial policy of the Soviet Government. Explaining in general the causes of the new policy, Krestinsky demonstrated that the policy of the years 1919-1920 was not only a correct policy, but, in view of the economic situation at that time, was a very necessary, in fact the only possible economic policy. The main portion of this report, which deals with the new financial policy as an adjunct of the new economic policy, is reproduced below.)

THE state formerly obtained its necessary material resources by the grain deliveries and by the national exchange of goods, and the workers, the Red Army, and other groups of the urban population were supplied out of these resources. Money issues served to strengthen the national resources. Even supposing that money may fall in value—this was our former view—if we fully supply these groups with everything they need, we may renounce the use of money altogether and enter upon a new era of moneyless economy. But now that we are no longer supplying the non-working population, nor even all of the workers themselves, out of the national funds, and intend to satisfy a part of the demands of the workers with money, and to permit them to use this money in free trade, the problem of supplying the worker with money is no longer easy. Formerly we had our system of money issues, but now we must proceed to stabilize circulation, and draw up our budget in such manner as to work without a deficit.

Taxes.

It is not only possible, but politically necessary to collect taxes from the new entrepreneurs. We cannot permit persons who are acquiring great fortunes under the present circumstances to go scot free of taxes, as well as of state imposts. We cannot free the bourgeoisie, which is about to grow up, from the duty of paying taxes and imposts in order to benefit the large-scale industry which is the cornerstone of our communist structure. Taxes will facilitate the raising of our money quotations, and this in turn will enable us to limit our issues of money. A number of objections are raised against the taxes: it is said that the taxes will be of insignificant importance as compared with the gigantic sums of money we have issued. But the collection of commercial and trade taxes, from the railroads, post office, telegraph, tramway lines, and other national utilities, will nevertheless yield at least one-tenth of what our money issues amount to, not including, of course, the tax in kind.

A few figures illustrate this statement: in June the receipts of the railroads were 610 million rubles; in July, after the introduction of the new railroad tariff, the receipts increased to 4,320 million rubles, and in September will amount

to not less than 18 billion rubles, and this in spite of the fact that many passengers and freights are transported free of charge. The receipts of the post office and telegraph in May were 15 million rubles; in the first days of June they had already risen to 475 million.

It is objected that the proletarian masses will suffer most from the taxes. The effort to lessen the burden on the shoulders of the workers has caused us to undertake a few changes in the general decree on railroads, posts and telegraphs. It is absolutely necessary to substitute other taxes for some of those that the merchants and industrial magnates impose upon the people. It is natural that certain technical defects be felt in our decrees at first, but corrections will be made continuously.

National Budget Without a Deficit.

There is a great difference between our budgets and the arbitrary police budgets of Tsarism. In 1914 the needs of industry received 34 millions of the 3 billions provided in the budget. In other words, less than one per cent. In 1916, they received 32 millions out of 15 billions, or 0.2%. In 1918, in spite of civil war and our still very incomplete nationalization of industry, we assigned 7,633 millions, or 16% of our budget, for the needs of industry. In 1921, on the other hand, we assigned more than 9 trillions, of the 22 trillions of our budget, to industry, or 40%; and this in spite of the fact that quite a number of industrial establishments were no longer supported by the state.

In 1914, the expenses for military and naval affairs were 994 millions, or 46%; in 1921 they were only 446 billions, or 2.1% of the total budget. These figures are characteristic and give evidence that the proletarian government is not forging weapons for warfare with its neighbors, but that its expenses for military purposes are of insignificant size.

Turning to the expenses for railroads, posts, telegraphs, improvement of agriculture, food supply operations, etc., we find that in 1914 these amounted to 1605 millions or 23% of the budget; in 1916, 1328 millions, or 7.8%, in 1918, 13,740 millions, or 29%; in 1921, they are 11,250 millions or 49.5%. Summing up our expenses in the economic field, we see that they are almost

90% of our total budget; in other words, 90% of our budget goes to improve and develop our country.

Our most important task now is a national budget without a deficit. Up to the present our financial expenditures were covered only to an insignificant degree, owing to the fact that our nationalized industry worked with considerable losses. For this reason our deficit cannot be entirely eliminated by financial operations, as only an improvement in our economic life will make it possible for us to work without losses. If we attempted to solve this problem by financial operations alone, we should arrive at a negative result, as this would be possible only by our giving away the material resources of our enterprises, or by imposing an incredibly high tax upon the peasants. It is clear that the national economy can operate properly only if we heal our economic life and permit our industry to work without losses.

Shortage of Money

The present great money shortage is to be explained above all by purely technical causes. When we drew up the production program of the National Printing Office for 1921, we were governed by considerations based on the year 1920, and failed to see a number of new factors which increased the need for paper money to an enormous degree, particularly for the exchange of goods. At present notes are in circulation for three or three and a half billion rubles. Taking them at their gold equivalent, and comparing the circulation of paper money with that of the year 1914, it is clear that there was then ten times as much paper money as now. We estimated the country's need of paper money for 1921 at 7 billions; now, after the changes in the tariff and economic policy, 22 billions are needed instead of 7 billions. It is, of course, hard to remedy this situation at once, even though we may alleviate it by special measures, but it will be impossible to do away with the money shortage before 1922.

The Exchange Value of Soviet Money.

The causes for the made depreciation of our paper ruble are two in number: lack of goods, and increased issue of paper money. To stabilize our money, we must eliminate these causes. Together with the extension of free trade, the demand for money tokens has increased and the new economic policy has neutralized to a certain extent the first of these causes.

The second cause of the falling quotations of our money was the issue of more paper money than was needed by economic transactions. Now owing to the fact that the need of paper money has increased, a certain rise in the rate of exchange is noticeable. But this is of slight importance, and to solve this problem we must, first of all, limit our paper money issues. This will be partly attained by the introduction of

taxes, but here also the main emphasis is to be laid on the improvement of the economic life rather than on financial measures.

Banks.

Banks completely disappeared in the course of our revolutionary process and even the State bank had hardly any turnover. Petty industry and the peasants furnished all their products to the state, so that even the demand for credit ceased completely. Now there is unquestionably a need for banks. They are necessary, in the first place, as custodians of the gigantic sums in the hands of individual persons. It is true that now that the ruble is dropping, the opening of a current account is not of advantage. But there is still need to preserve the sums in a secure place. In the second place, private trade in goods and private industry require credit. Our factories will also need such credit, for they are no longer to be run at the expense of the state. We are directly interested in the granting of this credit as a nation, as it is precisely this credit which will increase our production of goods by the use of private initiative, and this will not be a charitable operation, but a commercial credit.

The question of opening a co-operative bank in addition to the State bank is a passing one. (We are not speaking now of private banks.) May we permit the existence of a co-operative bank? Our answer should be that a co-operative bank is politically, as well as economically, of no advantage to the state. Our State bank will be guided in its granting of credits by general national interests and will favor those enterprises necessary for the nation as a whole. The co-operative leaders, on the other hand, will permit themselves to be guided by the needs of their particular co-operative group. If our State bank has a monopoly in this field, it will control all money operations with foreign countries, and if foreign capitalists want to invest money in Russia, they will do so by granting a loan to our bank. Should there be a co-operative bank, the granting of such loans abroad would be utilized in the interests of the co-operatives, so that while the economic life of Russia might be improved, the ruling system would be politically weakened. A co-operative bank would be disadvantageous to us also by reason of the fact that this bank would at first exist on national subsidies, which would necessarily involve a loss to us, owing to the falling ruble. In addition, if the co-operatives have an economic basis, they will also desire to have an equally strong political organization. (Even the Famine Relief Committee made such a demand before we dissolved them.) A co-operative bank would serve as a centre for all the bourgeois elements. With such a bank existing in our country, bourgeois Europe, which admits the necessity of granting relief, would grant this relief through the co-operatives, and thus take away the ground from under our feet.

We can be concerned now only with the creation of a solid State bank, which will finance and regulate all industrial enterprises with the exception of the national enterprises which are to work according to a budget. We cannot even consider the creation of a co-operative bank.

The People's Commissariat of Finance is now organizing the State bank as the sole financial apparatus, to begin functioning in the near future. The State bank will also have branches in the provinces, but that will involve no concessions to the petty bourgeois, and will be a logical consequence of our economic policy.

Prospects for the Future.

To what extent will the new economic policy actually enter into life and what will be its results? Here much depends on whether we succeed in obtaining the aid of Western Europe in the form of loans or concessions. Concessions are economically and politically admissible. If we give Russian capital opportunities to develop, we shall do this in even greater measure for foreign capital, since foreign capital can offer us much more in the form of technical improvements, factory plants, etc.

Shall we be successful? Without any doubt we shall. And even if no foreign concessions should come, and Western European revolution

not break out, we need not lose our courage. Our industry is on the whole in a condition to work, if we apply a sufficient supply of raw materials to its support. The Donetz region, for instance, is in such a state. We cannot put the Donetz basin into full operation without foreign aid, and a very large part of the output of coal must be used to keep the mines in working condition. If we should flood some of the shafts, we could produce a sufficient quantity of coal in the others, but even though we use up much coal for the purpose of keeping the shafts in repair, we nevertheless have certain good results to record. The case is the same in lumbering. If we now concentrate the national labors on the cutting of wood in certain districts, and hand over to the provinces the task of satisfying their own demands for wood, we should again be able to record a great saving of labor and thus achieve maximum results.

We must assign to a secondary place everything that is not of first rate importance, and concentrate all our energies on a few enterprises that should work at full capacity. Thus we shall advance. We should not fritter away our forces, but concentrate them. Only in this way shall we make any progress. We must change from extensive operation of our economic life to intensive operation and, this being the case, we shall look the future calmly in the eye, with success assured.

Justice in Soviet Russia

By KURSKY, People's Commissar for Justice.

(The following article by this authority on Soviet law was published in "Novy Put", Riga, October 10, on the occasion of Kursky's passing through Riga on a trip abroad.)

FOUR years ago, when the first decrees of the Workers' and Peasants' Government were issued—and I am concerned here chiefly with the decree on court administration—they were laughed at by our enemies, who hoped that our new decrees would last no longer than the placards on which they were printed for the information of the population. But as the outcome did not justify their hopes, reports continued to appear in the foreign press hostile to Soviet Russia which declared that there was no such thing as law in Russia, since the all-powerful "Extraordinary Commission" alone had anything to say in this matter. It would hardly avail to cite any evidence to contradict these claims of the counter-revolutionary press. Let me merely point out that each time a victory has been scored against counter-revolution, we have immediately followed it up with a number of amnesty decrees.

In connection with the reorganization of court procedure, all criminal cases, including those of speculation, malfeasance in office, etc., which hitherto have been under the jurisdiction of the Extraordinary Commission, have been assigned to the People's Court, and the Extraordinary Com-

missions now retain only the authority to assign to concentration camps persons and representatives of parties waging open war against the Soviet power, as well as White Guard elements.

Aside from the negative attitude of counter-revolutionary circles toward Soviet Russia's administration of justice, a lively interest in our methods of justice is being evidenced in foreign quarters. Already a number of monographs have appeared devoted to study of Soviet legal practice. Like any revolutionary law, the law of the Soviet Government is a law of the present, and the precise opposite of such accumulations of laws as, for example, the Code Civile. The Soviet power is never daunted by the necessity of radical innovation in its legislation if that should be in the interest of the workers and peasants.

The new economic policy involves not only certain alterations in the field of purely economic legislation, but also in that of criminal law.

The ideologists of bourgeois economic life who criticize Communist economy and hold up bourgeois economy as a model, behold in the establishment of private property and economic freedom

the sole escape from Soviet Russia's present economic crisis, (as, for instance, in Struves's report at the last Congress of Russian industrialists in Paris). They regard the new course of our economic life as an expression of those principles that might in their opinion save the economic situation. But only those who desire a collapse of the Communist economy, or superficial persons in general, can judge the present situation in this way. The real trend of economic life in Soviet Russia at present, which is consequently also the trend of legal practice, does not lead to the re-establishment of the basis of property as such, in other words, property rights in immovable possessions, nor does it lead to that economic freedom which is so much desired by Struve and his adherents. Neither in the decrees already published, nor in the civil code that is now being prepared by the People's Commissariat for Justice, is there any ordinance that speaks of denationalization or demunicipalization. As a matter of fact, this code contains only laws that deal with leases and trade. The innovation brought about by the decrees already published, and which is attained in still greater measure by the proposed civil code, is a regulation of the questions of the law of obligations. The law of things is not touched by this code at all, as the laws of nationalization of industry, socialization of land and municipalization of urban real estate are the bases of the new decrees.

Similarly, the decree abolishing inheritance is not to suffer any profound alteration. The question of the participation of members of the family in industrial and other enterprises, after the death of the concessionaire, will be regulated either by contracts, if the State regards the continuance of the lease desirable, or by the ordinance providing for the social maintenance of incapacitated members of the family, such as is provided for in the decree abolishing inheritance.

The fundamental jurisdiction in penal cases remains with the People's Court, which is also the sole court for civil cases. The People's Court consists of a permanent judge and two associates. An experience of almost four years has justified the composition of these courts as well as the great liberty in the matter of passing sentence that has been granted them. In accordance with this experience, the People's Commissar of Justice published a decree this year, which sets the maximum period of captivity in penal cases at five years, and also provides for discharge before the expiration of this penalty. The legal code which is now being prepared in the Commissariat of Justice is based upon this very principle of liberty of passing sentence: by determining the nature of the crime, the code merely indicates the nature of the punishment which most corresponds with the character of the offense, without limiting the court by fixing the extent of punishment. The choice of a different sort of penalty is permitted. The practice of defense is built upon the same principle as the participation of the as-

sociates in the court; defense cases are assigned in rotation to defending lawyers on the basis of special lists of such lawyers. In addition, the assumption of the function of a lawyer for defense is granted also to persons closely associated with the defendant. In connection with the extension of civil jurisdiction it is planned to admit to the court the attorneys of the cooperatives and of the various enterprises, without thus creating any legal class of the bourgeois type.

As for the tribunals, their reorganization was determined upon at the last session of the All-Russian Central Committee. This reorganization is now being carried out. The goal aimed at is the union of the tribunals under the head of the supreme tribunal, as well as a decrease in the number of tribunals, involving chiefly a dissolving of the tribunals of war and the railroad tribunals (with the exception, however, of tribunals at the front and a number of others in certain particularly important railroad centers). In each province there is to be only one tribunal, with a precisely fixed jurisdiction.

Many specialists possessing scientific qualifications have been appointed to participate in the technical work of the People's Commissariat of Justice; for instance, Professors Kotliarevsky, Krasnokutsky, Kovalenko, Feldstein, as well as a number of well-known jurists who have had much experience in the field of criminal law.

An institute for Soviet law has been established in Moscow, connected with the university, which not only prepares qualified jurists, but also offers an opportunity to study Soviet law. This institute has already issued papers on Soviet Russian laws, in three European languages.

GERMAN LOCOMOTIVES TESTED

Locomotives manufactured for the Soviet Government in Germany were tested on the Nikolaiev Railway on October 29 in the presence of Soviet railway experts, German and Swedish factory experts, the German Representative, Professor Wiedenfeld, the Swedish Commercial Delegation, and American commercial agents. The tests of these locomotives, which are the first of an order for seven hundred placed in Germany, proved satisfactory in every detail.

During a dinner held for the guests at the trials, speeches were made by Professor Wiedenfeld, the German Representative, Professor Lomonosov, Chief of the Soviet Government Railway Purchasing Mission, Mr. Hagemann, a director in the Krupps firm, Mr. Anderson, a Swedish factory owner, and an American commercial agent. Professor Wiedenfeld complimented Russian hospitality and emphasized the equal necessity for Russia and Germany to husband their resources and energies. It was, therefore, in Germany's interest, he said, to deliver to Russia only the best and most reliable products. —*Russian Telegraph Agency.*

Bringing "Liberty" to Bezdno

By MICHAEL LEMKE

(The following little story appeared in the special famine paper, "For the Volga Peasant," of which one page was printed in facsimile in the October SOVIET RUSSIA. The story recalls to the peasant of today the treatment accorded his father by the Tsar's officers and soldiers.)

IN March 1861, a copy of the "General Ordinance regarding Peasants Liberated from Serfdom" at last reached the remote districts of Russia. A large-sized, fairly bulky volume, largely interspersed with expressions of the old-fashioned language of Russian officialdom. Now for the true meaning of the long awaited freedom—freedom for which the Russian peasantry had almost entirely given up its former summary dealings with the estate owners, firmly trusting in the heart and soul of their white tsar.

The lawmaker had very adroitly avoided the unpleasant word "freedom"; only in matters of secondary importance, such as notes added to the Articles between the estate owners and the peasants, the words "were given freedom" crept in.

This rarely used expression had to be diligently hunted for.

In the village of Bezdno, Spassk County, State of Kazan, the town clerk was the Old Believer, Anton Petrov. He was trusted by all the peasants, and to him they looked for the promulgation of the tsar's will, which had been "beclouded" by generals and officials. He was to read it, think it over, and interpret to his townsmen the contents and true meaning of the new law.

Anton Petrov perused it many, many times and finally came upon the above mentioned words.

After reading in Article 33 of the "Regulations of the manner of carrying out the Ordinance regarding peasants liberated from Serfdom," Petrov came to the page where the actual text of the arrangement was given. No figures are cited, as these must be inserted in each individual case, the text simply stating thus:

"Household servants 00
Peasants 00"

0—means to us Zero, but to the Volga reader of that time, who only knew and was accustomed to reading holy books, the 0 stood for something quite different. To him it was no Zero, but "Onik", i. e. having the same meaning for "o", as for example, "Alpha" for "a", etc., etc. "Onik" also means something else, something of greater significance—He, God.

This was on the one hand.

On the other — on a previous page the reader accustomed to slavonic print came across the mystical and unfamiliar cipher "10%". "This is the sign of Saint Anna"—decided Petrov and drew the general conclusion:

"Almighty God has blessed by sign our liberation; Saint Anna has sealed it with her cross, and the earthly tsar has on the same sign written with his hand 'Let it be so.' . . .

Everything is clear: the moujiks are given com-

plete freedom, and, consequently, all their former land must be returned by the estate owner. . . .

Petrov is entranced, he burns with the dream of freedom, he reads on feverishly to the peasants of their freedom, he spreads it to all the neighboring villages; the news spreads to distant villages. . . . A pilgrimage starts for the true interpretation of the liberation. . . .

The sheriff tries to arrest Petrov,—but is unsuccessful; another official is sent—without results. Finally, information is sent to the governor in Kazan: "insurrection, uprising, necessary to take firm and decided measures." . . .

Adjutant-General Count Apraskin, arrived from Petrograd, is placed at head of the military forces sent to bring the populace of Bezdno into the tsar's conception of serfdom and the economic oppression of the estate owners. . . .

A crowd of several thousand greet the count with bread and salt, in the fixed belief that carrying out the will of the tsar, he will not dare deny his instructions. . . .

Apraskin gives the order to charge; the dead and wounded fall, the rest of the crowd flee in panic. . . . Anton Petrov is caught in his festive garments—all in white—with maddened eyes: so great is his disappointment in the general, whom but the night previously he had seen in his dream as the harbinger of freedom, the messenger of the earthly tsar. . . .

The estate owners had prescribed to the peasants the actual freedom; the forces left to keep the disturbed district in order, added to it; the governor strengthened both of these; Apraskin received full approval of his action from Alexander, the "Tsar-Liberator." . . . Kazan greeted Apraskin, the murderer, with a ceremonious feast, where champagne flowed. . . . Quiet reigned for a long time in the state.

Thus the tsar introduced to the peasants his "sacred" will.

The spot where Petrov was executed was for a long time after that, a place of public worship. A wayside church was built there.

PERMISSION TO REPRINT

There is no objection to the reprinting in other papers of material appearing in SOVIET RUSSIA. It is asked, however, that in all such cases due credit be given, and that a marked copy of the issue containing the reprint be sent to the Editor.

The Progress of Trade

RUSSIAN IMPORTS

There were imported into Soviet Russia during the first seven months of 1921, 271,089 long tons of goods, according to *Pravda*, August 8, 1921. During the period of August 1 to 15 there were imported 72,353 long tons (*Gudok*, September 2, 1921), or a total of 343,442 long tons, of which 34 per cent were foodstuffs and 30 per cent coal.

The following are the figures by months:

Long Tons	Long Tons
January 11,883	May 55,767
February 25,846	June 45,800
March 10,048	July 87,651
April 34,094	August 1-15 . . . 72,353

Imports into Soviet Russia for the first half of September through Yamburg, Sebez and Petrograd exceeded the imports in previous months for the corresponding period. According to *Economic Life*, October 3, the total imports for this period were 79,698 long tons, of which 34,353 tons passed through Petrograd, 27,193 tons through Yamburg, on the Esthonian frontier, and 18,145 tons through Sebez, on the Latvian frontier.

Of the total imports 75.4 per cent or 60,128 tons were food stuffs, including 43,099 tons of rye, 8,175 tons wheat, 3,475 tons flour, 1,753 tons rice, 1,717 tons beans, etc. Among the other imports was one shipment of 8,410 tons of fuel, including 5,507 tons of coke and 2,879 tons of coal. Shipments of metal and hardware of 7,754 tons included 5,790 tons of rails and 1,331 tons of agricultural implements.

During the same period 2,382 tons of goods arrived through the above points for the famine districts.

TRADE WITH ENGLAND

Details of English trade with Russia up to the end of August are given in the following statement issued by the Russian Trade Delegation, London:

The All-Russian Cooperative Society, Ltd., 43, Moorgate-street, London, makes all purchases for Russia. Between October, 1920, and August 31, 1921, it bought £5,620,000 worth of British products. The most important items were:

Coal	£720,000
Provisions	£1,695,000
Cloth	£1,400,000
Land Machinery and Implements	£282,000
Chemicals	£148,000
Seeds	£190,000
Binder Twine	£94,000
Clothing	£192,000
Sewing Cotton	£148,000
Steel-Wire Rope	£67,000

In pre-war years, the exports of British pro-

ducts to Russia averaged about £14,000,000 a year. Russian trade, even allowing for increased prices, has already reached something like a quarter of its pre-war importance to Britain. And it is steadily growing.

To get a true idea of what this trade has meant to Britain, the figures of shipping used for transport of the purchases to Russia must be added. During the last six months up to September 30 the following general shipments were made:

	No.	Total Cargo Tons
Chartered—whole steamers	120	159,600
Part Cargoes	56	12,358
	176	171,958

Coal shipments are not included in the above; during the three months July, August and September, a total of 82,483 tons of coal were sent to Russia.

IMPORTS IN SEPTEMBER

During September 2,886 carloads of goods, 40,000 tons in all, chiefly foodstuffs, were imported by way of Yamburg. Through Sebez there came 1,000 carloads with 17,226 tons, including 350 carloads, with 4,725 tons for the famine sufferers, consigned to the American Relief Administration. At Novorossiisk, 1,670 tons of agricultural machines and fertilizer were received. Through Byelo-Ostrov there arrived 193 carloads with 1,848 tons, chiefly paper, and also 17 cars with foodstuffs for the starving. At Odessa 16,800 tons were received and at Mariupol 3,190 tons. Petrograd received 67,600 tons of goods of all kinds, particularly railroad tracks, fuel, and grain, besides 2,740 tons of foodstuffs of various kinds for the famine sufferers, including 2,165 tons addressed to the American Relief Administration. In all, Soviet Russia imported 165,000 tons of goods of all kinds during September.

The import into Russia of the goods and fuel acquired abroad for the purpose of barter has now been practically completed. The consignment of garden tools bought in Finland has also arrived.

EXPORTS

Amongst the articles recently exported to Germany are flax, hemp, wool, hides, bristles, spirits, and tobacco. The export of timber is going on regularly. Trade between Russia and Persia is also increasing. A large consignment of cement has recently been sent to Persia, as well as over 100,000 yards of silk.

TRADE WITH SWEDEN

(The following report appeared in *Commerce Reports, Washington, D. C., October 31, 1921, prepared from information supplied by American Consuls and others:*)

Trade between, Sweden and Soviet Russia is on the increase, and the two regular sailing steamers, departing alternately from Stockholm for Reval on Sundays and Wednesdays, are to be supplemented by two additional ships, according to a report from D. I. Murphy, consul general at Stockholm, dated September 8. The two last-mentioned steamers were loading at that time with cargoes amounting to 1,000 tons each destined for Soviet Russia. (Three of these four steamers, according to Lloyds Register, have each a gross tonnage of between 600 and 1,000 tons). At the end of July the Steamship *Brann* was loading at Goteborg for Petrograd with a cargo consisting largely of American agricultural machinery and machine tools, the total of which was valued at 2,000,000 Swedish crowns (\$406,500). Vice Consul George Fuller, Malmo, Sweden, reports under date of September 21, 1921, that about 10,000 tons of rye have recently been shipped to Baltic ports destined to Soviet Russia and that 10,000 additional tons were awaiting shipment. Consul General Murphy also reports that orders have been received by Swedish firms for agricultural machinery, locomobiles, motors, pumps, spades, pitchforks, and other like implements, transformers, and cream separators. He further reports under date of July 29 that the first instalment consisting of 10 locomotives, which were built for the Soviet Government under contract with the Gunner Anderson Syndicate, are ready for shipment. It is reported that the amount involved in this syndicate contract for locomotives is about 40,000,000 Swedish crowns, or about \$8,130,000 at the rate of exchange at that time.

According to the publication *Sormlandsposten*, of Eskilstuna, the Munktells Mekanska Verkstad have received an order from the Soviet Government for steam tractors to the amount of 1,000,000 crowns (about \$215,000). This publication also states that Aktiebolaget Kias Tonnblom, of Eskilstuna, have received orders for fine steel products.

It is believed that all these orders have been arranged on the basis of payment by gold.

Trade with Germany

German exports to Soviet Russia amounted to approximately 100,000,000 paper marks (about \$1,000,000) for the first six months of 1921, according to press information. This report consisted largely of railroad supplies, and agricultural machinery. No shipments have been made except for cash in advance. The newspaper *Novy Put*, of August 25, 1921, states that recently there arrived in Petrograd the following German steamers: *Estland*, with a cargo of rails and scythes, amounting to 943 tons; *Frankfurt*, with rails and bolts, 1,117 tons; *Gretchen*, with 1,722 tons of

rails; *Marita*, with 499 tons of rails, 342 tons of bolts, and 15 tons of dressings.

ENGLISH CLOTH FOR RUSSIA

(The following report from the United States Consul at Leeds, England, appears in *Commerce Reports, October 31, 1921:*)

The consul is reliably informed that three or four firms in Dewsbury, Batley, and Huddersfield some time ago accepted heavy contracts to supply cloth, offered them through London from the Russian authorities. The consul calls attention to the following article in the *Yorkshire Post* of August 30:

"Inquiries in various parts of West Riding show that cloth manufacturers, chiefly in the heavy woolen and Huddersfield districts, have received very large sums of money on contracts placed in Yorkshire by the Soviet Government of Russia. These orders, which were for woolen goods, both for civilian and army use, had been completed with delivery early this year or at the end of last year.

"A person who is in a position to know the nature of the transactions between Yorkshire manufacturers and the Russian Trade Delegation informed a representative of the *Yorkshire Post* recently that the total value of the goods delivered is between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000, but of this amount not more than £1,000,000 worth was sent direct to the Russian Government. The indirect trade was done through northern capitals, particularly Stockholm. It is understood that a large quantity of gold has been received in payment, not in this country but on the Continent, where it was cashed into credit transfers, which were forwarded to England."

LOCOMOTIVES THROUGH LATVIA

An agreement has been signed between the representative in Latvia of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade and the Latvian Minister of Communications, for the transit through Latvia of 250 locomotives purchased abroad by the Russian Government. The locomotives will be delivered in the port of Vindau early in December, by which time the Minister of Communications undertakes to have the port works in order, including an adaptation of the Riga-Vindau Railroad Line to the Russian gauge (5 ft. width between tracks, while the Latvian gauge has hitherto been 4 ft. 8½ inches, the so-called "normal" gauge), as well as a repair of the cranes to be used in unloading the locomotives.

ARCOS AND ENGLISH CO-OPERATIVES

During 1920 and the early part of 1921, the All-Russian Co-operative Society Ltd., made continuous attempts to arrange commercial transactions (both purchases of British produce and sales

of Russian produce) with the Co-operative Wholesale Society in England, but until after the Trade Agreement had been signed no actual business was done. Since July of this year, however, Arcos has made several important purchases from the C. W. S., including towels, clothing, piece goods, and foodstuffs. Up to the middle of October, these purchases amounted to over £42,000. The order for fustian placed during September was carried out by the C. W. S. Fustian Works, Hebden Bridge; these works at the time were only working one or two days per week, but the size of the order was sufficient to engage the full capacity of the factory for eight weeks.

CANADIAN TANK CARS FOR RUSSIA

From Commerce Reports, October 31, 1921, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

Five hundred oil tank cars built in Canada will immediately be placed on a Canadian steamer for transportation to Novorossiisk, a Russian port on the Black Sea, according to a report from Consul Felix S. S. Johnson, at Kingston, Canada.

Four of the largest Canadian Government freighters will be employed to carry the cars to Russia, and it is expected that the final shipment will be made before the close of navigation.

The contract for the manufacture of the tank cars was secured through the Soviet Trade Commission, London, at a price of \$2,000,000. The railroad gauge of 5 feet will be used in connection with Russia's extensive oil fields.

A technical expert representing the Soviet Government is now in Canada testing the completed cars, and as these are approved they are placed on board the two Government ships which will carry the first shipment to Russia. The remainder of the cars will follow aboard two other Government vessels before the close of navigation.

THE PORT OF PETROGRAD

A message from Moscow of October 15 reports a speech by Zinoviev in which the latter declared that the hardest part of the difficulties of Petrograd had been conquered. The mortality figures were down to pre-war levels. The port activities were very great. Two hundred vessels had arrived since the opening of navigation. Petrograd, said Zinoviev, is destined once more to become what Peter the Great called it: "Russia's window to the West."

According to incomplete figures published by the United States Department of Commerce, 91 steamers had arrived at Petrograd during the season of 1921 up to August 25.

"According to information from various consular reports, 61 vessels arrived in Petrograd during the season of 1921 up to July 22. Of these, at least 30 were German vessels, 6 Estonian, 4 Swedish, 5 Danish, 3 English, 3 Dutch, 2 Finnish, 1 Lettish, 3 Russian, 1 from Memel, and 3 not designated in the reports. Part of the German vessels were Admiralty transport ships, carrying prisoners of war between Russia and Germany.

"The first foreign vessel to enter since the establishment of the Soviet regime was a Dutch vessel arriving May 27 with a cargo of herring from England. Up to August 25 a total of 91 steamers had arrived at the port with various cargoes, nationalities remaining the same except for addition of 2 Norwegian steamers, and English vessels apparently in the lead during August. While no American vessel had entered the port at that date, the United States Government places no restrictions on granting of clearance papers for Russian ports."—*Commerce Reports, October 24, 1921, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.*

A cable from Moscow, October 18, reports the arrival in Petrograd from September 16 to 27 of eight steamers (6 German, 1 Danish, 1 English) with 13,338 long tons of railway material, coal, agricultural implements, rye, eggs, and other provisions. Between September 27 and October 2, says this same report, more steamers arrived from Germany, England and Esthonia.

Another message of October 13 reports the arrival of two English steamers and one German, with mixed cargoes, and the German steamer "Odin" with nine locomotives, the first of seven hundred locomotives ordered in Germany by the Soviet Government. Two large freight steamers are under construction in German shipyards for the delivery of these locomotives.

COMMERCE IN THE BALTIC

The extent to which the Baltic States are profiting by the opening of Russian trade is revealed in the following excerpts from an official report of the United States Department of Commerce, *Commerce Reports, November 7:*

"A certain amount of improvement has occurred in trade conditions in the Baltic States during September, due partly to increased foreign demand for Baltic exports and partly to active transit trade with Russia.

"Shipments of newsprint paper (from Finland), under the 8,000 ton contract with the Bolshevik Government, were well advanced during the month and further business is expected from this source.

"In Esthonia active transit trade was the chief factor in a somewhat improved tone in business, shipments of rye from Scandinavia to Soviet Russia being the leading items in this trade.

"Transit trade with Russia through Latvia increased during the month with the movement of Bolshevik grain purchases and American relief supplies. It is reported that English interests are negotiating for a lease on the government ship-building yard at Libau, to be utilized, in conjunction with other local establishments, largely on ship and railway repair work for the Bolsheviks."

RUSSIA BUYS AMERICAN SHOES

European Russia was the largest buyer of American made men's shoes in the nine months' period, January to September, of this year. According to a report by the Chief of the Shoe and Leather Division of the U. S. Department of Commerce, Russia took more than half—54.8 per cent—of American exports of men's shoes in that period. The next best customer was Mexico, which took only 7.9 per cent. (See *Commerce Reports, Nov. 14, 1921.*)

Peasant and Working Women in Soviet Russia

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

TH**ERE** is no separate woman's movement in Russia. The struggle for proletarian dictatorship and its realization, as well as all other endeavor tending toward the creation of the new commonwealth, is conducted by the proletariat of both sexes. Moreover, to insure the success of unified work and struggle, the Communist Party considers it imperative to add to its many problems the problem of enlisting all the active women in the constructive work of the Soviet State in the struggle against the enemies of the first Labor Republic of the world, in or outside of Soviet Russia.

At the dawn of the proletarian Revolution, in the spring of 1917, the Executive Committee of the Bolshevik Party began by publishing a special magazine entitled "The Working Women" in which the problem of the enfranchisement of the working women was fully considered. This organ served for agitation purposes among the working women, and also helped to rally them under the banner of Bolshevism.

In the rosy period of bourgeois chauvinism and of the Kerensky administration, at the time when the poisonous flowers of "compromise" with the bourgeois government of Russia had not as yet faded away, the editorial board of the "Working Women" organized in June, 1917, an international meeting, as a protest against the bloody world war. This was done as a reply to the threat of military advance fostered by Kerensky. At this international meeting (the first public international meeting in Russia) an appeal was made to the solidarity of the workers of the world. During the period of the hardest struggle of the workers for Soviet Power in autumn 1917 and at the time of the menacing attacks of General Kornilov, the class conscious women followed the Bolsheviks, taking an active part in the civil war. The vast masses of the working and peasant women, however, stood aloof from the movement. They remained passive, bearing the ever-growing burdens of economic dislocation, misery and suffering, all these being the inevitable consequences of the civil war.

The October Revolution and the seizure of power by the workers conferred all economic, civil and political rights on women. This opened a new era, putting an end to the century-long inequality. Henceforth women were to enjoy in Soviet Russia equal opportunity in all phases of life, economic and social.

From the very first days of the October Revolution the Communist Party hastened to utilize the assistance of the communist women and the support of all those working women, who were in sympathy with the Soviet Government. Women began to be appointed as commissars and to carry out other responsible state work. Great responsibility and work of importance have been en-

trusted to them since then. One woman was from the very beginning of the Soviet Government a member of the Council of People's Commissars of Russia.* The women generally learned to become active in the construction of the newly-formed Soviet system. But apart from this, broad masses of women, especially the peasantry, were very antagonistic to the Soviet Government. They failed to realize that only through the power of the Soviets would women be emancipated. For example, the efforts of the Commissariat of Social Welfare to transform the Alexander-Nevsky Monastery into a home for invalids, were met with a storm of opposition. Together with the priests the women marched through the streets of Petrograd singing religious hymns, carrying ikons as a protest against this act.

The most counter-revolutionary utterances were heard chiefly at the food-distributing centres. This was due to a lack of understanding of the new order of government which inaugurated a new system of food distribution. The mechanism of food distribution at the beginning entailed waiting in long lines, and the women, already exhausted by four years of capitalist war, wearied by the high cost of living, lost patience and showed great discontent.

The doors of the Communist Party were wide open to the toiling women but the women stood aside. The laws afforded them full right to participate in the Soviets. Thus through the Soviets they were given the opportunity to improve conditions at large and their own life in particular; but, notwithstanding this, the vast mass of working and peasant women dreaded the Soviet Government. The Communists were regarded by them either as destroyers of order and tradition, or as atheists, who were intent on separating the Church from the State and on depriving the mothers of their children by giving them over to the State. The fears and discontent of the women, as well as their antagonism toward Communism, were prompted mainly by their suffering, hunger and other privations.

When, in the fall of 1918, the counter revolutionists, aided by the Czecho-Slovaks, attempted to put an end to the Bolshevik power and to abolish the Soviet Government, the Communist Party realized the necessity of imparting to the proletarian women a feeling of class consciousness. Those women who stood aloof from the work of strengthening the Soviet power became more or less conspicuous factors in the counter-revolution. It was deemed necessary by the Party, in the very interests of Communism, to win the sympathy of the women and to recruit them into staunch supporters of the Soviet order. The general methods of Communist

*The author of this article was People's Commissar of Social Welfare, a position now held by Vinokurov.

propaganda and agitation proved insufficient. The problem of approaching the poorest strata of the working and peasant women had to be solved in another manner. The conditions called for a method of political work which would practically instruct the women to make use of their rights and enlist them in the constructive work of a new labor state.

Methods of Organizing the Working Women

Thanks to the initiative of a small group of active women members of the Party, supported by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, the first All-Russian Congress of Proletarian Women was held in Moscow in November 1918. More than a thousand delegates elected by working and peasant women of all parts of Russia were gathered at this convention. Agitation was fostered, and a new line of political work among the working women was laid. With the guidance of the Communist Party it was decided to organize committees of propaganda among the women. These committees aimed at enlisting the proletarian women in the process of building up the Labor Republic and awakening their activity in the struggle to realize Communism. The efforts made by the committees to achieve this purpose received the full recognition of the Communist Party.

The method of these committees was to carry on propaganda not only by word of mouth, but chiefly by action, by deed, by practical work. The idea was to develop conscious and active Communists by setting the women to actual and constructive work in the Soviet institutions. This would make a practical change for the better in their conditions of life. With this view the committees created a special apparatus: regular conferences of working women's delegates which served as a means of contact between the proletarian women and the Party. Every shop and institution sends one delegate for every 25 to 50 women to the weekly delegates' meeting. These delegates are elected for three months. At these meetings the delegates become acquainted with the current political events and the work of the departments which particularly relates to the emancipation of the women, such as education, public kitchens, protection of motherhood, etc. The delegates not only attend the meetings, but their activities also spread to various governmental institutions, such as the Committees for the Improvement of Labor Insurance, Motherhood Welfare, Inspection of Soviet Institutions, etc. . . They study the practical method and system of Government organization, being appointed, by a special law, to different Soviet departments for two months practice. As the work of the Party among the women expanded, it became necessary to strengthen its forces. In the autumn of 1919 the Party reorganized the Committee of the Working Women into special departments. At present there is a special women's department in every local district committee, as well as at the Central Executive Committee of the Party. The Women's Department does not confine its work merely to

enrolling the women, but also encourages initiative in them to participate in the formation of the Communist order. The Central Working Women's Department has presented to the Party and the Soviets various practical measures, tending to free the women from their drudgery.

Work of the Women's Department

Thanks to the initiative of the Department for Work Among the Women, a law was passed abolishing punishment for abortion. At the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets a resolution was passed, calling upon the women for active work in the reconstruction of the economic system of production. This was followed by a provision including women in the various economic and administrative bodies which rule and conduct production in the Soviet State. A special committee for a nation-wide campaign against prostitution, as well as the organization of special committees to assist the work of protection of childhood and motherhood, was inaugurated by the initiative of the Women's Department.

Various other measures pertaining to the welfare of the working women were brought into life by the persistence of the Women's Department; thus for example special points protecting the health and interests of mothers were outlined in April, 1920, when the compulsory labor law was worked out. In April, 1921 the Council of People's Commissars passed a law worked out by the Women's Department which permits working women to be sent for two months to Soviet institutions with a view to training them into active workers and promoters of social welfare.

Women in the Construction of the Soviet State

During the two and half years of special work done by the Party to win the women for Communism great success has been achieved in paving the way of the Workers' Republic towards Communism. At present the passive, indifferent attitude on the part of the women toward the Soviets has totally vanished with the exception of some very obscure parts of Russia where the Party has not as yet organized strong Women's Departments.* The membership of the women in the Party represents 9 or 10 per cent of the total membership.

Indirectly through their delegates the women are drawn into the big field of actual work for the formation of the State based on Communist principles. Thirteen provinces, according to the latest information, had about 110,556 women participating in the special Saturday Work (*subbotniki*), and about 4,459 worker and peasant women have been working in various Soviet institutions. Thus by having these women participate in the economic reconstruction of the country, as well as aiding the Red Army and the peasantry and taking an important part in the infant question as for instance the "Child Welfare Week", etc., they take

*Women's Departments exist all over the country, wherever the party has its branches.

an active part in all the Party and Soviet campaigns. The Communist Party not only brings forth fresh workers to function in the Soviet organization, but educates them as conscious and staunch supporters of the Labor Republic and Communism.

Although from the very first days of the Revolution women have been elected to the Soviets, yet there were only individual cases where women were entrusted with important administrative work. Even at present the women are not largely enough represented in the Soviets. In the 13 provinces previously spoken of, 635 members make an average of 53 in each province. The more characteristic fact is that there are 574 women members in the district Soviets and only about seven in the provincial Soviets. In the Province of Moscow there are 1,500 members, and only 137 women. In Petrograd there are 340 women members, in Samara 30, in Kharkov 40, in Odessa 10. And still the number of women engaged in various government institutions has grown immensely within the last years. In ten industrial provinces 3,344 women perform now important and responsible work in various government offices. Out of the 704 delegates of the working women, who have been sent to perform some practical work in different Soviet departments in the province of Moscow, 41 have become superintendents of various branches of work; 519 women have been delegated to work as students in different institutions. In Petrograd about 733 women are student workers and 4,660 do temporary work in the Soviet institutions. A very significant service to the government has been rendered by the women in the inspection of various institutions such as soup-kitchens, hospitals, children's homes and other institutions of the Social Welfare Department.

The women, owing to their vigilance, were able to detect many errors and the conscious abuse of the work on the part of numerous clerks and professionals of the former bourgeois class. The evil conduct of many of these workers has been ably disclosed by the women. As inspectors the women have shown remarkable ability. This accounts for the fact that there were about 25,000 women inspectors throughout Soviet Russia, according to the last reports of the Commissar of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. In twelve industrial provinces there were 3,436 women inspectors selected from the delegates of the working women. In Petrograd about 50 women participated in the investigations of the hospitals. According to the report of the Department of Health, women have played a great part in the improvement of hospital conditions of the Red Army by organizing sanitary units, by mending the linen of the soldiers and by taking careful notice of all the needs of the hospitals. They have also rendered great comfort to the wounded men by reading to them from papers, books, magazines, and by writing letters for them. All this has proved of great service to the suffering soldiers in the hospitals.

Women in Army Service

While rendering valuable service to the country in their medical work, women also served the Republic faithfully and bravely when the Revolution was exposed to danger from attacks by the counter-revolutionaries. The history of the civil war for the past three years reveals episodes in which women have played a conspicuous part. In 1919, when the White Guards were besieging the District of the Don Basin and Lugansk, Denikin threatening Tula, while Yudenich was approaching Petrograd, the women, side by side with their male comrades, helped to smash the enemy forces. These women were determined to defend these cities to their last drop of blood. When Denikin was at Tula, threatening Moscow, the women resolved that he would gain entrance to the city "only over our dead bodies".

The heroism of the Petrograd women when Yudenich in 1919 was but a few miles from the city is well known. The energetic proletarian women not only sent 500 nurses to the front, but performed actual military service. They dug trenches in cold dreary weather, they took an active part in machine gun companies and helped to put up barbed wire around the city of Petrograd. In the special detachments against deserters the women also proved to be very alert.

When the Workers' Republic was confronted with military invasion it had to resort to the active support of the women, contrary to the pretense of bourgeois society that "woman's place is in the home."

(To be continued in next issue)

FEDERATED COMMITTEE EXPANDS

The Federated Press reports from New York: Representatives of 33 labor organizations and publications, in conference here at the call of the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, have united to enlarge the activities and unite all the elements of the committee. The first definite plan to be put into action as a result of the conference will be the sale of "food drafts" for individuals in Russia.

An executive committee, formed to expedite the relief work here, has defined the general policy of the Federated Relief Committee as not to interfere or to enter into competition with any of its member bodies in the matter of collections or appeals, and to approach no prospective donors except as the member bodies designating such donors may find them unresponsive to their individual appeals.

On this general understanding, the work of the committee is described as that of pooling the funds collected to make them available for wholesale purchasing and shipping, to be handled wholly by the Federated Committee. The moneys held by the Committee are deposited in the Mount Vernon Bank of Washington, D. C., subject to withdrawal by signatures of a finance committee of three.

In order to increase the usefulness of the Federated Committee's buying and shipping facilities, the executive committee has made the following recommendations to the affiliated organizations:

1. That all affiliated organizations ship direct to the relief agency designated by the Russian Soviet Government.

2. That they centralize the purchase of supplies by notifying the Federated Committee's executive committee each week of the amounts appropriated by the separate organizations for Russian relief. The purchasing committee will then organize bulk shipments for the total.

3. That all shipments through the agency of the Federated Committee be billed from the organization making the donations, and that future "overhead" expense be apportioned on the basis of business done.

Relief supplies of a total value of \$375,000 already have been sent by the Federated Committee to Russia, either directly or in cooperation with others. Word has just been received that one relief cargo sent by the Committee and affiliated organizations to Petrograd has reached there safely on the steamship "Margus".

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

We have received the following statement from the Friends of Soviet Russia in description of the work and aims of that organization:

The Friends of Soviet Russia is an organization of labor bodies in many cities of the United States and Canada, whose main office is at 201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y. These bodies conduct an active campaign for relief in Soviet Russia, collecting money by various means (meetings, moving-picture lectures, subscription lists, sale of literature, etc.) for the purchase of supplies to be sent direct to Comrade Soloviov, President of the Russian Red Cross, to be distributed by him in the manner the Russian Red Cross may consider best fitted to fight the famine. Already the appeals of this organization, which are addressed chiefly to working people, and which ask for aid in order that the workers' government in Russia may be strengthened in efficiency and prestige, have resulted in the collection of over \$230,000, which has been spent in the purchase of food, transportation, and insurance.

The agent who purchases the stocks and ships them abroad is the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee.

Literature to aid in making collections for the famine sufferers may be obtained from the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, at the address given above.

In the next column the reader will find a list, received by this organization from an official source in Moscow, of foods and other things now most needed in Russia.

I. Food

1. Corn, grain, flour, cereals.
2. Vegetables (dried and preserved).
3. Meat and fish (smoked and preserved).
4. Butter and fats generally.
5. Tinned milk.
6. Eggs.
7. Cocoa.
8. Sugar and sweetmeats generally.
9. Special infant foods.
10. Rusks for breast babies, and ailing children.
11. Phosphates for children.

II. Clothing, Linen and Footwear

1. Children's under linen: shirts, breeches, pants, petticoats, under bodices, vests.
2. Bed linen: sheets, pillow-slips, towels.
3. Linen for expectant and feeding mothers.
4. Linen for newborn babies: napkins, little shirts, jackets, coverlets, sheets and small pillows.
5. Clothes: dresses, suits for boys and girls of all ages.
6. Coats for boys and girls of all ages.
7. Stockings and socks for boys and girls of all ages.
8. Footwear for boys and girls of all ages.
9. Gloves and scarves for boys and girls.
10. Warm hats for boys and girls.

III. Equipment of Children's Institutions

1. Utensils, soup plates and cups (tin), forks, knives and spoons.
2. Kettles, saucepans, frying pans, etc., for kitchen use.
3. Soap for children.
4. Soap and powder for washing.
5. Combs, and tooth combs.
6. Clippers for hair cutting.

IV. School Books and Other School Appliances

1. Exercise books.
2. All kinds of paper, white and colored.
3. Black and colored pencils.
4. Pens.
5. Paints.
6. Scissors.
7. Gum.
8. Cardboard.
9. All kinds of cotton for sewing and darning.
10. Pins and needles.
11. Tools for handicraft: bootmaking, carpentry, drawing and cardboard box making and mechanics' tools.
12. "Froebel" appliances for Kindergartens, etc.

V. Medicines

1. Iodine.
2. Quinine.
3. Aspirin.
4. Castor Oil.
5. Cotton Wool.
6. Bandages.
7. Cod Liver Oil.
8. Thermometers.
9. Ice bags.
10. Warming pans, etc., etc.

Books Reviewed

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER: *The Russian Revolution.* Published by The Trade Union Industrial League, Chicago, Ill., 1921. Paper, 155 pp.

"In Russia the irreverent say that there are two times: Standard, or God's time, and Daylight Saving, or Lenin's time. And they also say that as Lenin is the bigger man of the two in Russia his is the time that is followed. It is three hours ahead of Standard time." This is typical of the racy treatment and vocabulary in Foster's book, which aims to speak about the country that concerns the masses so much in a language that the masses understand. There are two interesting and encouraging facts that impress themselves on you as you turn its pages: the author went around and looked at each factory and institution he talks about; he never appears to be using mere book material, and this makes all his observations seem sensible and real; and he wrote his book before his memory had grown cold, before the months and years elapsed in such measure as to make his material out-of-date and second-hand: his preface is dated November 1, and he left Russia August, 1921. All who return from Russia should follow this example: it is far more useful than the example of those who look about for publishers for months and meanwhile refuse to let a word about Russia leave their mouths, for fear someone may use it without paying a royalty for it.

Foster is the most competent and reliable observer America has thus far sent to Russia. Himself the organizer of great numbers of American workers, he understands the difficulties facing the Russians in their tremendous effort. "I am not astonished or discouraged that the workers are making a poor job of establishing the new society in Russia — I have had too much practical experience with the masses to expect anything else. Have I not organized as many as three or four thousand packing-house or steel workers in a single local union and then searched in vain among them for even one skilled or adaptable enough to keep the simple financial accounts of the organization or to conduct its meetings? What, then, could I expect from the even less experienced Russian workers with the enormous tasks of the Russian Revolution suddenly thrust upon them? Nothing more than the shrieking incompetence and indifference of the masses that I found—with a few live wires doing all the real work. Nor am I appalled at the terrible suffering of the people. I do not attempt to ignore it, but I know very well that it is only through starvation and all-round misery that the workers can make progress. Every great strike teaches that lesson. And the Russian revolution is only a strike raised to the nth degree."

Every important Russian industry or institution has a short chapter devoted to it: The Agricultural Revolution, the Cooperative Movement, the Press, Bolshevik Railroad-ing, the Trade Unions, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, a Rest-Home for Workers, a Munition Plant. Two chapters are particularly up to date—are, in fact, the only reports on their subject matter that have been brought by any American who actually saw these things in operation: "The Congress of the Red Trade Union International," and "The New Economic Policy." Many groups of American workers will want to read about the life and the working conditions of the corresponding groups in Russia, and almost every such group will find something in this book. Thus Chapter XXIII, "Garment-Making Industries," will give the garment-worker in America a good idea of what Russia needs in this line. Foster, accompanied by a party of garment workers from various countries, visited three of Moscow's largest clothing shops. "We were shown about by a couple of Russian union officials and Brother Resnikov of Local No. 2, Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' International Union of America." They visited one place that was an extremely primitive shop, having once been a prison workshop devoted to tent-making, now devoted to the manufacture of all sorts of military clothing. Of its 900 workers, four-fifths were women. "The plant was made up of several one-and two-story buildings, scattered

about in a way that would make Taylor, the efficiency expert, turn over in his grave." Particularly disheartening must have been the spectacle of great numbers of women sitting about and sewing buttonholes by hand, which resulted in the turning out of thirty buttonholes per day, on the average, "whereas one operator on a machine could easily do 1500, or fifty times as much". It is machinery that the Russian shops need, and the Russian metal industry is unfortunately not yet ready to turn out enough of this machinery. American workers are sending some of the needed mechanism to Russia. A few weeks ago the steamer *Elzasier*, leaving the port of New York, carried with it not only great quantities of food consigned by American workers to their Russian brothers, but also a few machines—a mere beginning of what should be done in this respect—sent by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to the clothing workers of Russia.

Another garment shop visited by Foster was a big five-floor factory with 700 workers (it will be observed that these Russian factory units employ many more hands than do similar enterprises in America), managed by "Brother Bogaratchov, formerly a member of the Baltimore Baaters' Local, Amalgamated Clothing Workers." This shop was being developed into an efficient unit, according to American methods. Foster's book sells at a low price, and everyone should read it.

Народный комиссариат по делам национальностей: *Политика Советской власти по национальному вопросу за три года. 1917-XI-1920.* — People's Commissariat for Nationalities: *The Policy of the Soviet Power in Nationalities Matters, for the Three-Year Period, November, 1917, to November, 1920.*—Moscow: State Publishing House, 1920. Paper, 185 pages.

The function of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities—whose activities for three years are recorded in this volume in the form of decrees and ordinances issued by the Commissariat during that period—is to examine and adjust the needs of the various national groups inhabiting such portions of the territory of the country as enable them to be considered as separate social bodies. Among the races taken up in this volume are not only those that are represented by actual national states, federated with the R. S. F. S. R., such as the Ukrainians, Karelians, Armenians, Georgians, Tatars, etc., but also at least one race that was always more or less homeless in Russia, until the Bolshevik Revolution, namely, the Jews, and another group that had always been much favored by Russian society in earlier days, for chauvinistic reasons, the Czecho-Slovaks, to whom in 1918, during the notorious Czecho-Slovak disturbance in Russia, the Commissariat for Nationalities was compelled to devote considerable attention.

The contents of this book are exclusively official, the various documents being arranged alphabetically by nationalities—and the number of races will surprise anyone not acquainted with the rich ethnographic material to be found in the great compass of European and Asiatic Russia—with the addition of some documents in which the general questions of nationalities, the rights of minority populations, etc., are taken up. It was difficult, the compiler of the book states in his preface, to determine precisely what was the success of the various measures in the provinces, owing to the results of the civil war and the continuous isolation from the marginal regions; in fact it was impossible for a long time to have any sort of satisfactory communication with the representatives of the various regions and nationalities concerned. "Now, thanks to the complete collapse of all the White Guard bands, to the cleaning up of the borders and the strengthening of our activities, we have at last been able to call a Conference of Nationalities, to take place December 15, 1920." It was at this Conference that there were presented the splendidly formulated theses on nationalities that had been prepared by I. V. Dzhugashvili-Stalin, People's Commissar

for Nationalities, which were later approved by the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, and printed in SOVIET RUSSIA, October, 1921.

A portrait of Stalin is the volume's only illustration. The edition was 20,000 copies.

Красная Москва, 1917-1920 гг. Издание московского совета р. к. и кр. д. — Red Moscow, 1917-1920. Published by the Moscow Soviet of Workers', Red Army, and Peasants' Delegates. Moscow: December, 1920. Folio, paper, 743 pp., with many illustrations and colored plates.

This is the biggest book, in size, that has reached us from the Russia of post-November days. It is a complete history of the "Red Heart of Russia," from the 7th of November, 1917, to the same day three years later. An idea of its contents may be obtained from the following translation of the chapter-headings (if the reader will recall that each chapter is a large monograph in itself): "The Moscow Soviet and the October Revolution" (a full account of the composition and the activities of this important body for the three years); "Population and Movement of Population in Moscow" (rich statistical material: counter-revolutionists will be particularly pleased with the full page birth, marriage, and mortality diagrams; births went down from 1914 to 1918, and, while they have since risen, have not yet reached pre-war figures; the death-rate in 1920 was very high, almost as high as in 1919, and higher than that of any preceding year; marriages went up considerably after the 1917 overturn, and have not much decreased since then); "Feeding the Moscow Population" (results of special investigations, 1918-1920); "Activities of the Moscow Consumers' League"; "Moscow's Trades" (occupational analysis of the city's population); "Factory Industries of Moscow" (statistics of production); "The Position of Labor in Moscow"; "The Fuel Crises in Moscow" (1917, 1918, 1919, 1920); "Municipalized Trading"; "Higher Prices and Speculation"; "The Soviet Power and the Housing Problem in Moscow"; "Moscow Housing Conditions"; "Agricultural Works of the Moscow Soviet" (pictures of prize melons, potatoes, etc.); "Moscow in Disease and Health" (a description of the hospital and prophylactic systems); "The Social Insurance of Labor"; "Popular Education in Moscow, 1917-1920"; "Books, Newspapers, and Printing in Moscow"; "Theatrical and Musical Moscow"; "The Artist's Moscow"; "Learned Moscow"; "Literary Moscow, 1918-1920"; "Revolutionary Moscow in War Activity"; "The November Revolution in Moscow"; "Moscow and the Third International".

It is a volume from which the future historian will draw much, while much has doubtless become momentarily antiquated because of the new policies as to food, free trade, and concessions. On pages 523-535 there is a full list of all periodicals—thousands of names—printed in Moscow in 1918, 1919 and 1920, with an indication of the number printed! The historian will need no better guide when he begins to look for original sources. The book closes with full biographies of all the important revolutionists, scholars, and artists who have died in Moscow since the Revolution, with many portraits.

Наш Журнал. — May, 1921. Vol. I, No. 1. A Periodical, printed at Moscow, 32 pages, folio. 10,000 printed.

Printed on heavy paper, this magazine seems destined for hard usage: perhaps it is meant to be distributed chiefly among peasants, although there are a number of industrial and cultural articles. The editors are Maxim Gorky (who writes the introductory article), Bor. Baks, V. Pletnev, M. Savelyev, and G. K. Sukhanova. Wherever a little space can be obtained, it is filled with admonitions to the peasants to till their spare fields, to keep the cattle out of the fields: "Do not let the cattle into the fields: they will not get much food, and great harm will be done. If you drive the cattle into the fields, you will lose from twenty to thirty poods of grain. Would it not be better to find fodder elsewhere? As to how—ask the agricultural

expert." The back cover has what appears to be an advertisement in the style of the American farm journal, with illustrations of farm machinery offered for sale. It is really an article in large type on the advantages of the tractor, explaining what are the uses to which these machines may be put, and declaring that they are now being purchased by the Soviet Government in America, and also being manufactured—on a small scale—in Russia.

II. ЗУЕВ: Угольная промышленность и ее положение. — The Situation in the Coal Industry Moscow: State Publishing House, 1920 Paper, 16 pages; 30,000 printed.

In this pamphlet of only 2000 words, the author gives us a masterful analysis of the present status of the coal industry in Soviet Russia. The subject matter is treated in an accurate, scientific and technical manner.

Zuyev conveniently arranges his statistical findings into: (1) importance of coal in lighting, heating and economic production, (2) location of the coal mines and their relative productivity, (3) factors for improvement, development and increased production, and (4) production for 1920. With the exception of a number of small and relatively unimportant coal mines, known as "peasant shaft mines," which yield less than one-half million poods of coal annually, the coal industry is completely nationalized. At the present time, the author points out, the coal industry is suffering from lack of construction materials, skilled labor, expert technicians and engineers, and transportation facilities. In spite of this, Russia in 1920 produced about 700,000 tons of coal, an increase of 14 per cent over the production estimate. This low production, only 21 per cent of that of 1913, is accounted for by the fact that great hardships were encountered in working the mines. The richest mines, especially in the Donets Basin, were in the fighting regions and were flooded and otherwise disorganized by the enemy forces before they were reconquered by Russia. Prior to 1914, Russia imported 70 per cent of her total coal consumption. The difficulties for economic regeneration are shown to be the result of the blockade. The author mentions that up to 1920, Russia could not apply herself systematically to the increased production of coal but now good results may be expected from the close cooperation of the Coal Miners' Union and the Chief Committee on Coal.

J. R. M.

THE WHITE SLAVER OF THE WORLD: The Book of Facts, the Most Sensational Book ever Published. Edited and decorated by Tom Patterson, Former Secretary, Department of Public Safety, City of Pittsburgh, Penna. Published by The Rights of Labor Association, Toledo, Ohio. Paper, 128 pp.

Among the adornments contributed by the decorator to the front cover are: "This is the man who sells women's souls into Hell Fire".—*Louise W. Kneeland*.—"Liberty is a goddess, not a wanton, as you brutes seem to picture her. In your hands Liberty has become a harlot, a thing to make good men shudder and women turn away in loathing. Ah, how I despise you all—and how I pity you! For you will never understand. A man must be a man before he can be free!"—*The Brotherhood of Man*—*Sat. Eve. Post*. And a picture of a woman held firm in the grasp of a male whose wide-open mouth and waving agitational arm are presumably proclaiming the disgusting gospel of nationalization.

The whole book is about nationalization—not of factories, but of women, not in discussions, but in disconnected, casual clippings, cartoons, interviews, and world-war poetry. Cartoons by Raemaekers and others, directed against other institutions entirely, are renamed, retitled and

retaxed to make a counter-revolutionary holiday for those whose own reluctant virtue delights in contemplating impossibly monstrous evil in others. "Free love," "harlotry," "legalized prostitution," "bolshivism," "the sword of license," "woman is crucified," such are the shibboleths that about through these obscene pages—obscene because they denounce alleged lust in others by pandering to the disguised lust of the inexperienced reader. Every ten pages or so occur—in some prominent place—the words: "Male citizens have the right to use one woman not oftener than three times a week for three hours," which are alleged to be quoted from a Soviet decree issued in a Russian town whose name we had not seen before. Official and unofficial voices are afforded the opportunity to express every possible and impossible form of indignation over bolshivism. Holland's Minister to Russia is quoted from the *Congressional Record* to the effect that "Wherever Bolshivism rules the nation has been beaten to a pulp and is utterly helpless." Perhaps these words were written in 1919, immediately after Bolshivism had been overthrown in Bavaria and Hungary, with quite the result described by "Holland's Minister", who doubtless expected the White Guard invasions then meeting with success in Russia to beat that country into a pulp and into utter helplessness.

The editor and decorator is right: his title-page does not lie when it declares that it covers "The Most Sensational Book Ever Published." But more even than most sensational claptrap it leaves the impression that the sensation produced is not likely to be of long duration.

BALTIC ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The Chairman of the Russian Delegation at the recent Baltic Economic Conference, Miliutin, reports the following important results of the conference:

1. Economic union between Esthonia, Latvia, Finland, Lithuania and Soviet Russia is assured by the creation of a permanent economic bureau.

2. The Conference will result immediately in the elaboration of commercial agreements between Soviet Russia and each country participating in the conference.

3. Many important steps were taken for perfecting transportation and railway facilities by the creation of a joint transport commission representing all the Baltic countries.

Miliutin stated that he was convinced that the representatives of the various Baltic countries at the conference clearly understand the indispensability of relations with Soviet Russia for the economic development of their respective countries and that they see that economic intercourse with Russia is the best safeguard of their economic independence against the grasping attempts of the large capitalist powers. In conclusion, Miliutin observed that the foreign press, manifestly inspired by some hostile interest, had predicted that this conference would not take place; and yet the conference did take place and brought a close economic understanding which augurs well for all concerned. The conference having successfully accomplished its aims, the respective governments must now take steps to realize these important decisions.

Russian Telegraph Agency.

Working Class Laws for Workers

The laws of the Socialist Republic of the Russian workers and peasants are the first to be enacted by and for the working class, and wholly in their own interests. These laws deserve careful study. Read:

THE MARRIAGE LAWS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Printed in booklet form (85 pages). Complete official text of the laws regulating marriage and divorce, civil status and domestic relations, rights and duties of husbands, wives and children, property rights of children and parents, guardianship, inheritance, etc. Copies of this booklet sent postpaid for 25c each.

THE LABOR LAWS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

The full official text of the Soviet labor laws is given in this booklet of 80 pages. The Right to work, protection of workers, labor distribution, compulsory labor, working hours, etc., are among the subjects treated in this code. There is a supplement on "Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia" by S. Kaplan, of the Commissariat of Labor. Sent postpaid for 25c per copy.

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial statements. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses and income. The text suggests that a systematic approach to record-keeping is essential for identifying trends and making informed decisions.

Next, the document addresses the issue of reconciling accounts. It explains that regular reconciliation is necessary to detect any discrepancies between the company's records and the bank statements. This process involves comparing the two sets of records and investigating any differences. The text provides a step-by-step guide to performing a reconciliation, highlighting the importance of doing so at the end of each month.

The third section focuses on the preparation of financial statements. It outlines the various types of statements that a company should prepare, including the balance sheet, income statement, and cash flow statement. The text provides detailed instructions on how to calculate each of these statements and how to present them in a clear and concise manner. It also discusses the importance of having these statements reviewed by a professional accountant to ensure accuracy and compliance with accounting standards.

Finally, the document discusses the importance of budgeting and forecasting. It explains that a budget is a plan of action that sets out the expected financial performance of the company over a specific period. The text provides a guide to developing a budget, including how to estimate revenues and expenses. It also discusses the importance of monitoring the budget and making adjustments as needed to stay on track.